K
942
An78
v.28

Arnold
Bennett

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL

THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1786.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL

LONDON:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1788.

942
An78
v.28

20328

PREFACE.

CONSIDERING the very long acquaintance which we have ſo happily maintained with the Public, a Preface to our Twenty-eighth Volume ſeems a very unneceſſary ceremony. Even acknowledgments of kindneſs and profeſſions of gratitude become tireſome by a continued repetition; and yet, if cuſtom has rendered ſuch an introduction neceſſary, and it is expected that we ſhould ſay ſomething upon the ſubject, how can we poſſibly refrain from the genuine expreſſion of our ſentiments, under the ſtrong impreſſions which the liberal and unvarying favour of that Public, through ſo long a courſe of years, has indelibly ſtamped upon us? The proper manifeſtation, however, of our gratitude, will be in act and not in words; in uſing our utmoſt exertions ſtill to preſerve the Annual Regiſter in that ſtyle of reputation and character, which has hitherto procured it ſuch marked diſtinction and ſo unlimited a patronage.

As the year of which we treat did not ſuperabound in political events of great general importance, and was happily free from the dazzling brilliance of military exploits, theſe circumſtances afforded us an opportunity, which we gladly embraced, of completing our retroſpect of ſuch matters of conſideration, as the exceſs and urgency of matter in late buſy years, had neceſſarily occaſioned our poſtponing. Of theſe, the public affairs of our ſiſter iſland and kingdom, not only claimed the firſt place from our mutual relation and intereſt, but demanded it on the account of ſuperior importance to all others. We have likewiſe brought into view no ſmall ſhare of curious and intereſting matter from the tranſactions of foreign nations, which ſeemed hitherto to have been overlooked. Spain, in particular, has, through the great improvements which for ſome time have been taking place in that kingdom, afforded a moſt pleaſing and fertile field for retroſpect. Nor have other countries, apparently more ſterile, been by any means unproductive. In the buſineſs of the preſent year, the exceedingly complicated affairs of Holland, preſented ſo alarming an aſpect, and indicated conſequences by which the intereſts and even ſecurity of this country might have been ſo deeply affected, that their diſcuſſion neceſſarily required our utmoſt care and moſt ſerious attention.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1786.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Ireland. Retroſpective view of the internal ſtate of affairs in that country. Attempt to reform the conſtitution, by ſhortening the duration of parliaments. Mutiny bill paſſed. Meetings of the Iriſh volunteers to obtain a parliamentary reform. Ineffectual attempt to induce them to diſband. Bill for effecting a parliamentary reform—rejected by a great majority; and reſolution thereupon. Addreſs to his majeſty on that ſubject. Counter-addreſs. Another bill preſented, and rejected. Propoſition for the relief of the Roman catholics. Petition of the delegates conveyed to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt's anſwer. Diſunion among the volunteers, on the ſubject of the Roman catholics. Lord Charlemont thanked by the city of Dublin for his conduct. Steps taken by government to prevent the meeting of the delegates. Letter from the Attorney General to the ſheriffs of Dublin. High ſheriff of the county of Dublin proſecuted, fined, and impriſoned; others alſo proſecuted. Meetings of delegates nevertheleſs held. Another bill preſented, and rejected. Diſtreſſes of the manufacturers of Dublin. Committee appointed for their relief. Mr. Gardener's plan—rejected by a very great majority. Violent ferment amongſt the people. Outrages of the mob, who are diſperſed by the military. Bill for reſtricting the liberty of the preſs. Petitions againſt. Modified, and paſſed. Non-importation agreements entered into. Precautions to prevent enormities. Lord Lieutenant incurs popular odium, and is openly inſulted. Commercial arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland. A ſet of reſolutions preſented to the houſe of commons in Ireland; agreed to; tranſmitted *to England. Buſineſs opened in the houſe of commons there by Mr. Pitt; his ſpeech. Propoſitions minutely inveſtigated. Ten new propoſitions added. Propoſitions paſſed. Very ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of lords; paſſed. Bill thereupon. Propoſitions tranſmitted to Ireland; their reception there. Bill moved for, correſpondent to that in England; debates thereupon. Speeches of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood. Bill brought in; ordered to be printed. Further proſecution of the meaſure declined. Mr. Orde's ſpeech on the occaſion. —Intended emigration of the Geneveſe to Ireland. Reception of their commiſſioners there. Diſagreement between the parties. Scheme proves abortive.*

WE have already ſeen, that by ſeveral acts of parliament which paſſed in the year 1780, the commerce of Ireland was freed from thoſe ruinous reſtrictions with which it had been long ſhackled, through the ſhort-ſighted policy and narrow prejudices of the Britiſh nation.

In the year 1782, the declaratory act of George the Second was repealed; and by another ſtatute, which paſſed in the following year, the authority of the Britiſh parliament, in all matters both of legiſlation and juriſdiction, were renounced, and the political independence of the kingdom of Ireland was compleatly eſtabliſhed.

The only object therefore that remained for the conſideration of the reſpective governments of each country, was the ſettlement of a ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe betwixt the two kingdoms upon a firm and permanent baſis.

Before we enter upon this part of our hiſtory, it may be neceſſary to take a ſhort retroſpective view of the internal ſtate of affairs in that country.

The ſpirit of reforming the conſtitution, by ſhortening the duration of parliaments, and eſtabliſhing a more equal repreſentation of the people, which broke out in Great Britain about the year 1779, paſſed over at the ſame period into the kingdom of Ireland.—It has always been queſtioned, whether any conſiderable part of the people of England, however unpopular the houſe of commons may at times have rendered itſelf to the nation, was at all diſſatisfied with the eſtabliſhed mode of repreſentation, or expected any effectual relief from the more frequent return of elections.

In Ireland, theſe projects of reformation certainly met with a much more general reception—a circumſtance not difficult to be accounted for, when we conſider the ferment which then exiſted in that kingdom, and how favourable ſuch moments are to every ſpecies of political innovation.

In the year 1779, the parliament of Ireland, in their addreſſes to the throne, had in firm and manly language demanded the reſtoration of their commercial freedom. In order to give effect to this requiſition, reſolutions were entered into by the inhabitants of the trading towns to prevent the importation of Britiſh manufactures; and theſe reſolutions were often enforced with a degree of violence and outrage, which the civil authority of the country was unable to reſtrain. This vigorous and determined ſpirit of the people had a forcible effect upon the deliberations of parliament; all new ſupplies for the current ſervices of the executive government were denied,

nied, and the truſt of the old revenue, which had uſually been voted for two years, was reſtricted to ſix months.—A mutiny bill was alſo paſſed for the king's army in Ireland, which before had always been regulated under the authority of an act of the Britiſh legiſlature.—Theſe vigorous meaſures, as we have already ſeen in the tranſactions of the year 1780, produced their intended effect, and led to ſtill more important conſequences.

The paſſing of the mutiny bill was a ſtep that went in its principle ſo evidently and ſo directly to the acknowledgment of the independence of the kingdom of Ireland, that it is not eaſy to conceive how it came to meet with ſo little oppoſition from adminiſtration, or to receive ſo readily the ſanction of the Britiſh cabinet, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the circumſtance of its being made perpetual had rendered it acceptable to government. But in Ireland, where one great conſtitutional principle appears to have been ſacrificed merely for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing another, it was eaſy to foreſee that they would not long ſubmit to a reſtriction which rendered the advantage they had obtained not only not uſeful, but dangerous to their conſtitution.

Accordingly in the following ſeſſion an attempt was made to get rid of the obnoxious part of the bill, by repealing the clauſe of perpetuity. But here government made a ſtand; and this, as well as a motion made to obtain a modification of Poyning's law, was rejected by a large majority.

The failure of theſe efforts of the minority in parliament, appears to have given occaſion to the firſt meeting of the volunteers on the ſubject of parliamentary reform. On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers of one of the Ulſter regiments came to an unanimous reſolution, "That "to reſtore the conſtitution to its "original purity, the moſt vigorous "and effectual methods ſhould be "purſued to root corruption and "court influence out of the legiſla"tive body:" and with this view a meeting of delegates from the ſeveral regiments of the province was convened at Dungannon on the 15th of February following.

Dec. 28th, 1781.

On that day the repreſentatives of 143 corps of volunteer troops aſſembled. Their reſolutions, which were adopted in ſubſtance by all the volunteers of the ſouthern provinces, were confined for the moſt part to the aſſertion of the political independence of the kingdom.—This primary object being ſoon after eſtabliſhed, by ſolemn acts of the legiſlature of both nations, the ardour for parliamentary reformations appeared for a while to have almoſt entirely ſubſided*.

The exiſtence and increaſe of the volunteer army, after the neceſſity which firſt gave riſe to it had been ſuperceded

---

* During the courſe of this, the Iriſh parliament paſſed the following acts, for the purpoſe of giving effect to their new conſtitution:

An act to empower the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, and council of this kingdom, for the time being, to certify all ſuch bills, and none other, as both houſes of parliament ſhall judge expedient to be enacted in this kingdom, to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, under the great ſeal of Ireland, without addition, diminution, or alteration. All ſuch bills, thus tranſmitted, and returned ſuperceded by the eſtabliſhment of peace, and after the great conſtitutional objects to which it had ſecondarily directed its views were fully attained, called for the moſt ſerious attention of government.—Accordingly, ſoon after the tranſactions we have juſt related, an attempt was made to induce them to diſband, by raiſing under the authority of government a kind of national militia, by the name of *Fencible Regiments*.—It is probable that this deſign, though too glaring to be concealed, and accordingly almoſt univerſally condemned and oppoſed by the volunteers, would in time have produced its effect, if ſome new object had not been found upon which the united efforts of that body might again be exerted.—The reform of parliamentary repreſentation furniſhed this centre of union, and the diſcuſſion of it was again reſumed with great zeal and ſolemnity.—Delegates are aſſembled from the ſeveral corps of the ſeveral provinces; committees of correſpondence are appointed; and letters * are diſpatched to the moſt celebrated political ſpeculators, or parliamentary reformers in Great Britain, for their advice on ſo great and momentous an occaſion.

On the eighth day of September, 1783, a general meeting of delegates from the province of Ulſter was held at Dungannon. A plan of reformation was here propoſed and agreed upon; and it was reſolved, that a grand national convention of repreſentatives from the whole volunteer army ſhould aſſemble at Dublin on the tenth day of November following. In theſe meaſures the volunteer corps of the other three provinces almoſt unanimouſly concurred.

The convention in Dublin was both full and reſpectable, and the meaſures were at leaſt commendable for their moderation. On the ſubject of parliamentary reform, it was propoſed to extend the right of voting in all cities and boroughs to every proteſtant inhabitant poſſeſſed of a freehold or leaſehold, for 31 years or upwards, of the value of forty ſhillings a year; that in decayed boroughs, where the number of voters ſhould be leſs than two hundred in the province of Ulſter, one hundred in Munſter and Connaught, and ſeventy in the province of Leinſter,

returned under the great ſeal of Great Britain, without addition, diminution, or alteration, and none other, to paſs in the parliament of this kingdom. No bill neceſſary to be certified into Great Britain as a cauſe or conſideration for holding a parliament in Ireland.

An act to limit the mutiny act to two years, and to repeal the other obnoxious parts of the late ſtatute.

An act providing that from henceforth all erroneous judgments, orders, and decrees, ſhall be finally examined and reformed in the high court of parliament of this kingdom only; and that for this purpoſe the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, ſhall and may grant warrants for ſealing writs of error returnable into parliament.

An habeas corpus law, and one for rendering the judges independent of the crown, were alſo enacted.

* Theſe letters were addreſſed to the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Effingham, Mr. William Pitt, Mr. Wyvil, Major Cartwright, Dr. Price, and Dr. John Jebb.

the neighbouring pariſhes ſhould be admitted to a right of voting; and laſtly, that the duration of parliaments ſhould be limited to three years.

Mr. Flood undertook to bring forward the diſcuſſion of theſe topics in the Houſe of Commons; and accordingly, the day following, he moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the more equal repreſentation "of the people in parliament." The motion was received by a great majority of the houſe with the ſtrongeſt marks of diſapprobation. Without entering into the conſideration of the wiſdom or folly of the plan propoſed, it was urged that the houſe could not poſſibly, without betraying its truſt, and abdicating its authority, conſent to receive propoſitions tendered to them at the point of the bayonet, by a body of armed men. That however reſpectable they might be in other points of view, yet to ſuffer them to beſet the houſe of parliament, and to dictate to the legiſlature with arms in their hands, would be to eſtabliſh a precedent ſubverſive of the very exiſtence of all order and government.

The motion being rejected by a majority of 157 to 77, the houſe came to a reſolution, which was moved by Mr. Yelverton, the attorney-general, "That it was now "neceſſary to declare, that the "houſe would ſupport the rights "and privileges of parliament a"gainſt all encroachments." An addreſs was alſo ordered to be preſented to the king, on the motion of Mr. Conolly, "to expreſs the "happineſs they enjoyed under the "eſtabliſhed government, and to "aſſure him of their determination "to ſupport the preſent conſtitu"tion with their lives and for"tunes." The addreſs being ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, received their concurrence.

On the report of theſe meaſures to the convention by Mr. Flood, it was agreed, that a counter-addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king, in the name of the delegates of all the volunteers of Ireland, "to im"plore his majeſty, that their hum"ble wiſh to have certain manifeſt "perverſions in the parliamentary "repreſentation of that kingdom "remedied, might not be imputed "to any ſpirit of innovation, but "to a ſober and laudable deſire to "uphold the conſtitution, to con"firm the ſatisfaction of their fel"low-ſubjects, and perpetuate the "cordial union of the two na"tions."

The change which ſoon afterwards took place in the adminiſtration of both kingdoms, gave freſh ſpirits to the friends of reformation. It was not unreaſonably expected that the weight of government would now be thrown into their ſcale, as the firſt miniſter in England, and the firſt miniſter in Ireland *, had been among the moſt eager and loud in ſupport of the ſame meaſures in Great Britain. But notwithſtanding theſe flattering appearances, they were doomed to experience a ſecond diſappointment.

March 13th, 1784.

On the 13th of March 1784, Mr. Flood again moved for leave to bring in his bill; as the motion was ſupported by a great number of petitions, and all occaſion of offence was avoided, by

---

* Mr. Pitt, and the Duke of Rutland.

keeping the volunteers out of view; the bill was allowed to be brought in, but, on the ſecond reading, it was rejected by nearly the ſame majority as before.

Theſe repeated defeats did not abate the ardour of the Iriſh reformers in the purſuit of their favourite object; but as all hope of obtaining the deliberate co-operation of parliament was at an end, they turned their applications to a quarter from whence experience had already taught them to look for more effectual exertions; as government had not yet ventured to queſtion the legality of the volunteer aſſociations, the people at large were called upon to provide themſelves with arms, and to array themſelves under that deſcription. Several unpopular acts of the new government, in ſome of which parliament was alſo involved by the ſhare it had in them, ſerved greatly to increaſe the general diſcontent of the nation.

June 7th. On the 7th day of June a meeting was held of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin. It was here reſolved to preſent another petition to the king, and in the mean time to endeavour, by a circular addreſs, to ſtimulate the body of the people to a general and vigorous exertion.

The petition, after enumerating their ſeveral grievances, and lamenting that his majeſty's adminiſtration ſhould have taken an active part in all the meaſures of which they complained, ſtates, "That this "was a circumſtance the more extraordinary, as the firſt miniſter "of England had virtuouſly declared himſelf in favour of the "principal meaſure which had been "rejected; that his majeſty had "lately thought it neceſſary to appeal to the electors of Great Britain againſt the power of an ariſtocracy; that on that occaſion "but one-fourth of the people of "England exclaimed againſt their "Houſe of Commons, and the ſovereign prudently diſſolved a parliament which had loſt the confidence of a quarter of the nation, and declared his readineſs "to adopt whatever he ſhould collect to be the ſenſe of his people; "and that they therefore looked "up to him with the utmoſt confidence for the immediate diſſolution of the parliament of Ireland, in compliance with the almoſt unanimous requeſt of his "loyal ſubjects of that kingdom."

In the addreſs, the complicated hardſhips they had ſuffered from the abuſe of power were detailed with great warmth and freedom; the continuance of theſe ſufferings they attribute to the defects of their repreſentation in parliament; and they appeal to experience for the inefficacy of every means they had employed to obtain redreſs. They therefore call upon and conjure their fellow-ſubjects to unite with them in the purſuit of ſome more efficacious plan for the removal of the general calamity; and with this view they propoſe that five perſons ſhould be elected from each county, city, and conſiderable town, to meet in Dublin in national congreſs.

But the moſt remarkable feature in this addreſs was, a propoſition to admit the Roman catholic ſubjects of that kingdom to a participation in the rights of ſuffrage at the election of members of parliament. Though this meaſure was not only conſonant to the general principles of the reform they meditated, but promiſed no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to the common cauſe, yet the ſincerity of the Iriſh proteſtants on this point, farther than as it ſerved the preſent turn, has been much doubted.

In a former volume we had occaſion to remark, as one of the conſequences of the general calamity in which the late war had involved the country of Ireland, that the prejudices entertained againſt the papiſts in that kingdom appeared, in ſome degree, to be giving way to more liberal, wiſe, and equitable ſentiments. The volunteers, at a very early period, expreſſed their abhorrence of the unjuſt and impolitic treatment of ſo great a majority of their fellow-ſubjects; they recommended their cauſe to the attention of the legiſlature, and, in ſome counties, even invited them to range themſelves under the ſame banners in the field. But the great political objects then in view being obtained, no other relief was granted to the catholics, than the repeal of a few of the moſt cruel and oppreſſive clauſes in the laws enacted againſt them *.

When the buſineſs of equal repreſentation began to be agitated, the caſe of the Roman catholics was again brought forward, and the delegates of the meeting at Dungannon, in the year 1783, were inſtructed to conſider of the beſt plan of admitting them to an equal participation in the benefits of the projected reformation. At the ſubſequent meeting of the convention in Dublin, when that ſubject was propoſed for their conſideration, a pretended letter was produced from the Earl of Kenmare, purporting to convey the general ſentiments of the Roman catholics of Ireland, in which they were made to expreſs their perfect ſatisfaction with what had been already done for them, and that they deſired no more than peaceably to enjoy the privileges they had obtained. But though this letter was publicly diſavowed, both by the reſpectable perſon from whom it was ſaid to have come, and by a general aſſembly of the committee of the Iriſh catholics, who acknowledged themſelves to have too great a reſemblance to the reſt of their ſpecies to be deſirous of oppoſing any thing that tended to their relief, and that they ſhould

---

* By an act paſſed in 1778, Roman catholics were empowered to take leaſes for any term of years, not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine, or for any term of years determinable on any number of lives, not exceeding five. They were now enabled to purchaſe or take by grant, limitation, deſcent, or deviſe, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, with certain exceptions, and to diſpoſe of them by will or otherwiſe; to deſcend according to the courſe of common law, deviſable and transferable in like manner as the lands of proteſtants. By the ſame law, certain penal acts reſpecting the hearing and the celebrating of maſs; forbidding Roman catholics to keep a horſe of or above the value of five pounds; empowering grand juries to levy from them, in their reſpective diſtricts, money to the amount of ſuch loſſes as were ſuſtained by the depredations of privateers; requiring them to provide in towns proteſtant watchmen; and forbidding them to inhabit the city of Limerick, or ſuburbs, were repealed.

So much of the former acts as forbad them to teach ſchool publicly, or to inſtruct youth of their own profeſſion in private, was alſo repealed; and a law enacted to permit them to have the guardianſhip, the care, and the tuition of their own children.

receive any indulgence the legiſlature ſhould be willing to grant them, yet, in the plan of reform digeſted at this meeting, they were left preciſely in the ſame ſituation as before.

But to return to the proceedings of the citizens of Dublin.—An application was made to the lord lieutenant to convey their petition to the throne. In anſwer to their requeſt, he informed them, that though it was his duty to convey the papers they preſented, yet he found himſelf obliged to accompany them with his entire diſapprobation; as they contained unjuſt and indecent reflections upon the laws and the parliament of Ireland, and as they tended to foment fatal diſſenſions among the people.

The credulity of the Iriſh reformers was proof againſt all diſapprobation. They could not be perſuaded, but that the Engliſh miniſter would heartily concur in the ſupport of meaſures founded on principles which he had himſelf ſo often and ſo oſtentatiouſly avowed.

July 8th. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, a petition to the king was conveyed to Mr. Pitt, by the inhabitants of Belfaſt, nearly of the ſame tenor with that of the citizens of Dublin. In the month of September, Mr. Pitt informed them, in his anſwer, "That he had "undoubtedly been, and ſtill continued, a zealous friend to a reform in parliament, but that he "muſt beg leave to ſay, that he "had been ſo on grounds very different from thoſe adopted in their "petition. That what was there "propoſed, he conſidered as tending to produce ſtill greater evils "than any of thoſe which the "friends of reform were deſirous "to remedy."

But the cauſe of reform received about this time a more fatal blow, from the diſunion which broke out amongſt the volunteers themſelves, ou the ſubject of admitting the Roman catholics to the rights of election. In an addreſs preſented by the Ulſter corps to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, after ſome ſtrong expreſſions of their deteſtation of *ariſtocratic tyranny*, they hint at the neceſſity of calling in the aid of the catholics, as the moſt juſt as well as effectual means of oppoſing it with ſucceſs. In anſwer to this addreſs, the Earl of Charlemont lamented that, for the firſt time, he felt himſelf obliged to differ from them in ſentiment. He was free from every illiberal prejudice againſt the catholics, and full of good will towards that very reſpectable body; but he could not refrain from the moſt ardent entreaties that they would deſiſt from a purſuit that would fatally clog and impede the proſecution of their favourite purpoſe.

As this nobleman was very highly and very deſervedly reſpected by the whole nation, his opinion was eagerly embraced, both by the timid, whoſe apprehenſions were alarmed by the boldneſs and extent of the project, and by a great number whoſe prejudices againſt the catholics appear rather to have been diſſembled than cured. In the month of October, the thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin was voted him for his conduct on this occaſion.

The meeting of a national congreſs, was a meaſure of too alarming a nature, not to attract the moſt ſerious attention of government; and it appears to have been their reſolution to take the moſt vigorous ſteps for preventing it if poſſible.

A few days previous to that which was fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the attorney-general addreſſed a letter to the ſheriffs, expreſſing his very great ſurpriſe at having read a ſummons, ſigned by them, calling a meeting for the purpoſe in queſtion. He obſerved, that by this proceeding, they had been guilty of a moſt outrageous breach of their duty; and that if they proceeded, they would be reſponſible to the laws of their country, and he ſhould hold himſelf bound to proſecute them in the court of King's Bench, for a conduct which he conſidered ſo highly criminal, that he could not overlook it. Theſe threats ſucceeded ſo far as to intimidate the ſheriffs from attending the meeting in their official capacity; but the meeting was nevertheleſs held, delegates were choſen; and in revenge for the attorney's letter, ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions were agreed to, relative to the right of aſſembling themſelves for the redreſs of grievances.

But government, having once ſet their faces againſt the election and aſſembling of delegates, purſued a mode of conduct that had ſufficient of reſolution in it at leaſt. From denouncing threats, they proceeded to actual puniſhments.

Henry Stephens Reiley, Eſq. high ſheriff for the county of Dublin, in conſequence of his having called together and preſided at an aſſembly of freeholders, who met on the 19th of Auguſt 1784, for the purpoſe of choosing and inſtructing their delegates, was the firſt object of miniſterial proſecution on this occaſion. The attorney-general proceeded againſt him by *attachment* from the court of King's Bench. The aſſembly, and the reſolutions they came to on this occaſion, ſigned by Mr. Reiley, in his character of ſheriff for the county, were both declared to be illegal, and Mr. Reiley was ſentenced by the court to pay a fine of five marks (3l. 6s. 8d.) and to be impriſoned one week.

Aug. 19th.

This mode of legal proceſs, except for the purpoſe of bringing perſons before the court, to receive the ſentence of ſuch court for contempt of and diſobedience to its orders and directions, has ſo ſeldom been reſorted to, that even the legality of the proceſs itſelf, on any other ground than the one above mentioned, has remained a matter of general doubt and uncertainty.

In the preſent caſe it met with much leſs oppoſition than might have been expected. Clamours without doors, and debates within, on the ſubject, there certainly were, but both too feeble and ill-concerted to promiſe any ſucceſs.

It is probable too, that the apprehenſions that many perſons began to form of the delegates themſelves, whom they looked upon in ſome meaſure as a new order riſing up in the ſtate, might induce them to acquieſce in, if not to approve of, an extraordinary and unuſual mode of proceeding on this occaſion.

But government did not confine their proſecutions to Mr. Reiley.—Having once adopted a mode of proceeding, which ſo effectually anſwered the end for which they deſigned it, informations were moved for, and attachments granted againſt the different magiſtrates who called the meetings, and ſigned the reſpective reſolutions of the freeholders in the counties of Roſcommon and Leitrim. At the ſame time, the preſs too came under the laſh of the attorney-general; and the printers and publiſhers of ſuch news-papers as had inſerted the obnoxious reſolutions, ſuffered with the magiſtrates who had ſigned them.

Notwithſtanding theſe violent meaſures which adminiſtration were purſuing, the national congreſs met, purſuant to its appointment, on the Oct. 25th. 25th day of October. But as it was far from being compleat in point of number, and ſeveral of its moſt reſpectable members choſe to abſent themſelves, they adjourned, after having paſſed a number of reſolutions to the ſame purport with thoſe which had been agreed to at the previous meeting; and exhorted, in the moſt earneſt manner, the communities which had not ſent repreſentatives, if they reſpected their own conſiſtency, if they wiſhed for the ſucceſs of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and proſperity of their country, not to let paſs this opportunity of effecting the great and neceſſary confirmation of the conſtitution.

At their ſecond meeting, which January 2d, 1785. was held on the 2d of January 1785, the repreſentatives of twenty-ſeven counties, and of moſt of the cities and conſiderable towns of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to upwards of two hundred perſons, aſſembled. Their proceedings appear to have been of the ſame nature as thoſe they had before adopted, with only this difference, that in the propoſed application to the Houſe of Commons, it was agreed to confine themſelves to the moſt general terms, and to leave the mode of redreſs as free and open as poſſible to the conſideration of parliament. After ſeveral adjournments, they held their final meeting on the 20th April 20th. of April; and on the 12th of May, the bill May 12th. which Mr. Flood had again brought in, in purſuance of their common object, was again rejected.

During the courſe of the proceedings relative to parliamentary and conſtitutional reformation, intereſts of a more preſſing and important nature frequently divided the attention of the people, and were purſued with a more intemperate degree of zeal and violence. It ſhould ſeem as if the manufacturers of Ireland had conceived an opinion, that the reſtitution of commercial freedom would operate like a charm, and diffuſe in an inſtant that general proſperity over the nation, which could only be the effect of a long courſe of frugal, attentive, and perſevering induſtry. The fallacy of theſe ſanguine expectations was ſoon apparent; and the evil, if not partly cauſed, was greatly aggravated by the idleneſs of the loweſt claſs of people, and that neglect of their proper occupations of the better ſort, which was the conſequence of the general diſpoſition to political ſpeculations.

Towards the end of the year 1783, the diſtreſſes of the manufacturers of Dublin had ariſen to ſuch a height, as for a ſhort time to ſuperſede all laws, and to reduce the city to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion; as a temporary remedy to this miſchief, ſubſcriptions were ſet on foot for their relief, which were very liberally ſupported, and in the mean time a committee was appointed by the Houſe of Commons to take into conſideration the ſtate of the manufactures of the kingdom. Mr. Gardener, who took the lead in that buſineſs, paſſed over into England, in order to conſult with the king's miniſters on the alarming exigence of affairs; but, as ſhould appear from the event, without being able to agree with them on the adoption of any ſpecific meaſures.

On the 31ſt of March 1784, the houſe took into conſideration the report of the committee; on which occaſion Mr. Gardener brought forward a plan, for which the people had for ſome time been extremely clamorous, namely, that of *protecting duties*—of protecting their own manufactures, and enforcing the conſumption of them at home, by laying heavy duties on ſimilar manufactures imported from other countries.

After ſtating the nature and extent of the diſtreſſes under which the manufacturers laboured, Mr. Gardener adverted to the ſeveral modes which had been propoſed of affording them relief. The firſt was to force the home conſumption by non-importation agreements.—This was a meaſure which, he ſaid, was not very likely to receive the ſanction of the legiſlature, nor did he think it adviſeable in itſelf; the expedient had been fully tried, as far as voluntary compacts could carry it, and had been attended with the moſt pernicious inſtead of beneficial effects; not to mention the outrageous exceſſes into which the people had been led in the enforcing theſe agreements, it ſtill left it in the power of the intereſted and avaricious to draw additional profits from the diſtreſſes of the country. The home manufactures were not only vended at the moſt extravagant price, but all incitement to emulation being removed, they had declined in their quality to the loweſt extreme.—The ſecond was, to encourage by bounties the export trade. But this, he thought, was beginning at the wrong end. Foreign trade could only be ſecured by the excellence of the manufactures, and that, he contended, could only be obtained in the gradual progreſs of a home conſumption. There then remained no other meaſure than that he now propoſed, by which a preference only would be given to the native manufacture, a preference which, he believed, in all other commercial countries, was uniformly ſecured. He therefore concluded with moving, "That a "duty of two ſhillings and ſixpence per yard be laid on all "drapery imported into that kingdom." At the ſame time he declared his intention of moving for proportionate duties on paper, manufactured iron, and a variety of other articles.

In anſwer to theſe arguments it was urged, that the protecting duty, if made effectual, would neceſſarily produce all the conſequences of non-importation.—But what was chiefly inſiſted on was, that it could not be expected Great Britain would not retaliate, and that they might thereby run the riſk of loſing the linen trade, the value of which was a million and a half, for the uncertain proſpect of encreaſing the woolen, which did not exceed 50,000l. The queſtion being at length put on Mr. Gardener's motion, it was rejected by a majority of 110 to 36.

The rejection of Mr. Gardener's propoſitions cauſed a violent fermentation amongſt the people. On the Monday following an outrageous mob broke into the houſe of commons at the time of its ſitting, reproached the members with having ſold themſelves to Great Britain, and called on them at leaſt to diſtribute amongſt the ſtarving manufacturers ſome ſhare of the hire of their iniquity. The guards being ſent for, put an end to the riot without any bloodſhed, and two of the ringleaders were apprehended and committed to Newgate.

As there was great reaſon to believe that the people were greatly incited to theſe violent exceſſes by the ſeditious and inflammatory libels which were daily circulated in the public papers, proſecutions were commenced againſt ſeveral of the printers; and on the 7th of April a bill was brought in by Mr. Forſter, "for ſecuring the liberty of the "preſs, by preventing the publica"tion of libels." By this bill it was enacted, "That the real prin"ter and proprietor of every news"paper ſhould make an affidavit of "his name and place of reſidence, "and that the ſame ſhould be "lodged in the ſtamp-office, to be "produced as ſufficient evidence in "caſes of proſecution for libels:— "That they ſhould further enter "each into a recognizance of 500l. "to anſwer all civil ſuits that ſhould "be inſtituted againſt them in ſuch "characters:—That they ſhould "take no money for putting in or "having in any ſlanderous articles, "under a ſevere penalty: and laſt"ly, that the hawker of any un"ſtamped inflammatory or libel"lous paper ſhould be compelled "to prove from whom he received "it, and ſhould be ſubjected to im"priſonment *ipſo facto* by warrant "of any juſtice of the peace."

This bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in both houſes of parliament, and ſeveral petitions were preſented againſt it. At length a ſort of compromiſe took place. The moſt obnoxious clauſes, thoſe relative to the recognizance, and the impriſonment of hawkers, were withdrawn, and the bill, thus modified, paſſed with a pretty general concurrence.

Notwithſtanding the vigorous conduct of the Iriſh government, the city of Dublin continued, during the whole courſe of the ſummer 1785, to be a ſcene of tumult and diſorder. No ſooner was parliament riſen, than the expedient of non-importation agreements was again reſorted to with greater zeal than ever.—Theſe engagements ſpread themſelves into every quarter of the kingdom.—They received the ſanction of ſeveral grand juries, and the merchants of the trading ports found themſelves compelled to ſubſcribe to them. The enforcing of theſe prohibitory compacts naturally devolved upon the loweſt claſs of the people, and they proceeded in the execution of this truſt according to the moſt approved modes of popular diſcipline.—To keep theſe exceſſes within ſome bounds, the military were poſted in ſuch parts of the city as were the moſt ſubject to tumult, centinels were placed to prevent or to give notice of the firſt appearance of riot, and the garriſon was kept in conſtant readineſs for action.

This untemporiſing diſpoſition in government, drew on the lord lieutenant, whoſe manners were in other reſpects peculiarly adapted to acquire the favour of that nation, an unuſual ſhare of popular odium, the effects of which he had frequently the mortification of experiencing.—In one inſtance the public theatre was choſen to be the ſcene of manifeſting this ill-humour. He was received on his arrival in the houſe by the performance of a piece of muſic called *the Volunteers March*. A general uproar enſued; the entertainments of the evening were ſtopped; and it was ſaid that he narrowly eſcaped undergoing one of thoſe operations which are uſually inflicted by the mob on perſons who have the misfortune to fall under their diſpleaſure.

Previous to the meeting of the Iriſh parliament, in January 1785, the Britiſh cabinet, in concert with commiſſioners appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjuſting the commercial intercourſe between the two kingdoms.

On the 7th of February, Mr. Orde, the ſecretary to the lord lieutenant, announced this ſyſtem to the houſe of commons, and on the 11th, a ſet of reſolutions*, which he had before laid on their table, were moved and

---

* *Reſolutions paſſed by the Iriſh houſe of commons.*

Reſolved I. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the intereſt of the Britiſh empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be extended as much as poſſible, and for that purpoſe that the intercourſe and commerce be finally ſettled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

Reſolved II. That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth of Great Britain and Ireland, ſhould be imported into each kingdom from the other, under the ſame regulations, and at the ſame duties, if ſubject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation, to either country reſpectively, ſhall be drawn back on exportation to the other.

Reſolved III. That for the ſame purpoſe, that it is proper that no prohibition ſhould exiſt in either country againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article, if ſubject to duty in either country, ſhould be preciſely the ſame in one country as in the other, except where an addition may be neceſſary in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on any ſuch article of its own conſumption.

Reſolved IV. That in all caſes where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they ſhould be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the higheſt, to the amount payable in the other, and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable from the kingdom into which they ſhall be imported, as free from duty as the ſimilar commodities or home manufactures of the ſame kingdom.

Reſolved V. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is alſo proper that in all caſes where either kingdom ſhall charge articles of its own conſumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the ſame manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, to the ſame amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and ſhall be entitled to ſuch drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture; ſuch further duty to continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it ſhall and agreed to by the houſe without much diſcuſſion, and without any material alterations. The concurrence of the houſe of peers being ſoon after obtained, theſe reſolutions were immediately tranſmitted to England, as the propoſed baſis, on the part of that country, for an equitable and final adjuſtment.

Almoſt immediately after their arrival, the buſineſs was opened before a committee of the houſe of commons by Mr. Pitt, who concluded a ſpeech of conſiderable length with moving the following general reſolution: "That it was highly important to the general intereſts of the "empire, that the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain "and Ireland ſhould be finally adjuſted, and that Ireland ſhould be "permitted to a permanent and "irrevocable participation of the "commercial advantages of this "country, when her parliament "ſhould permanently and irrevoca-

---

ſhall be impoſed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom ſhall be ſubjected there to an equal burthen, not drawn back or compenſated on exportation.

Reſolved VI. That in order to give permanency to the ſettlements now intended to be eſtabliſhed, it is neceſſary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to balance duties on internal conſumption, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution.

Reſolved VII. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary further that no prohibitions, or new additional duties, ſhould be hereafter impoſed on either kingdoms, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except ſuch as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuit; and alſo, except where there now exiſts any prohibition, which is not reciprocal, or any duty, which is not equal, in both kingdoms; in every which caſe the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raiſed ſo as to make them equal.

Reſolved VIII. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary that no bounties whatſoever ſhould be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits, and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compenſations for duties paid; and that no bounties ſhould be granted in this kingdom, on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh plantations, or any manufacture made of ſuch article, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compenſation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

Reſolved IX. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that the importation of articles from foreign ſtates ſhould be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on ſuch terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other.

Reſolved X. That for the better protection of trade, whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) ſhall produce annually, over and above the ſum of £. ſhould be appropriated towards the ſupport of the *naval force* of the empire, in *ſuch manner as the parliament of this kingdom* ſhall direct.

"bly ſecure an aid out of the ſur-
"plus of the hereditary revenue of
"that kingdom, towards defraying
"the expence of protecting the ge-
"neral commerce of the empire in
"time of peace."

Mr. Pitt, after taking a review of what had already been granted to Ireland by the Britiſh parliament, obſerved, That the conceſſions now propoſed to be made to that kingdom, in order to put the two countries on a fair and equal footing, he ſhould reduce to two heads:

Firſt, The importation of the produce of our colonies in the Weſt Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain.

Second, A mutual exchange between the two countries of their reſpective productions and manufactures, upon equal terms.

With regard to the firſt, he allowed it had the appearance of militating againſt the *navigation laws*, for which England had ever had the greateſt partiality. But as ſhe had already allowed Ireland to trade immediately and directly with the colonies, he could not ſee how the importing of the produce of thoſe colonies circuitouſly through Ireland into Great Britain could injure the colonial trade of this country, which was a direct one, and therefore to be made at a leſs expence and riſque, than that which was circuitous.

In return for theſe conceſſions on the part of Great Britain, he propoſed that Ireland ſhould agree to the payment of a certain ſtipulated ſum yearly out of the ſurplus of her hereditary revenue, towards defraying the general expences of the empire.

Such was the general outline of the propoſed ſyſtem on its firſt appearance. In the outſet, both thoſe within and thoſe without doors ſeemed to comprehend but little, and to be ſtill leſs concerned about an object of ſuch extent and importance. A fortnight elapſed before the ſubject again made its appearance; during which interim a report, prepared by a committee of the board of trade and plantations, was laid by the miniſter upon the table of the houſe of commons, to aſſiſt its deliberations. This report was ſtated to be founded upon the declarations and opinions of ſome of the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had been examined by the above-mentioned committee; and its particular object was to prove the expediency of that part of the ſyſtem which related to reducing the duties payable upon the importation of Iriſh produce and manufactures into Great Britain, to *what* the ſame ſort of articles were charged with in this country*.

In the mean time the merchants and manufacturers who had been examined before the committee, joined by great numbers of others from every part of the nation, met together for the purpoſe of taking the Iriſh propoſitions into their conſideration.—During the courſe of their proceedings it appeared, that the opinions of the former were in direct contradiction to the inferences which had been drawn from their examination in the report laid before parliament. Whether this was occaſioned by any change which, upon a fuller conſideration, had taken place in the minds of the merchants and manufacturers themſelves, or whether the committee of the board of trade and plantations had ſtrained and perverted their declarations, it is not eaſy to determine. However, the conſequence was, that it threw a conſiderable degree of diſcredit upon the report itſelf, and ſeemed to point out the neceſſity there was for the houſe of commons to examine the different commercial and manufacturing bodies concerned, at their own bar. This mode of proceeding gave the firſt check to the ſyſtem in its progreſs through the houſe, whilſt without doors it became more unpopular, in proportion as it became more thoroughly inveſtigated.

---

* See reſolutions 3 and 4, page 13 ante.

March and April 1785.

During the months of March and April, and until the middle of May, the houſe was occupied in receiving the petitions, and hearing the evidence of manufacturers and merchants of every deſcription.

This laborious and minute mode of inveſtigation being gone through, the propoſitions were again brought forward by Mr. Pitt, on the 12th of May, but with a variety of amendments, variations, and additions.—To the original ſet of propoſitions, ten new ones were added, ſome of them only ſupplemental to, and explanatory of the former, but ſeveral containing much new and important matter; we ſhall therefore lay them as they now ſtood, at large before our readers, in the note below*.

May 12th, 1785.

The chief objects of the additional propoſitions were to provide, 1ſt, That whatever navigation laws the Britiſh parliament ſhould hereafter find it neceſſary to enact for the preſervation of her marine, the ſame

---

* I. That it is highly important to the intereſts of both countries, that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. That a full participation of commercial advantages ſhould be permanently ſecured to Ireland, whenever a proviſion, equally permanent and ſecure, ſhall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing proſperity, the neceſſary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire.

III. That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, "except thoſe of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of any of the "countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan," ſhould be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the ſame regulations, and at the ſame duties (if ſubject to duties) to which they "would "be" liable when imported directly from the "country or place from whence "the ſame may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland reſpectively, as "the caſe may be;" and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country reſpectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all ſorts of ſtrong waters not imported from the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. "But, nevertheleſs, that "the duties ſhall continue to be protected and guarded, as at preſent, by with-"holding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, "in the kingdom to which the export may be made, ſhall be returned and com-"pared with the entry outwards."

IV. That

ſame ſhould be paſſed by the legiſlature of Ireland. 2dly, Againſt the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other Weſt India merchandizes than ſuch as were the produce of our own colonies;—and 3dly, That Ireland ſhould debar itſelf from trading to any

IV. That it is highly important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is eſſential, towards carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all laws which have been made, or ſhall be made in Great Britain, for ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh colonies and plantations, and for regulating and reſtraining the trade of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, "ſuch laws "impoſing the ſame reſtraints, and conferring the ſame benefits on the ſubjects of "both kingdoms, ſhould" be in force in Ireland, "by laws to be paſſed by the "parliament of that kingdom for the ſame time, and" in the ſame manner as in Great Britain.

V. That it is farther eſſential to this ſettlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Britiſh or foreign colonies in America, or the Weſt Indies; and the Britiſh or foreign ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, imported into Ireland, ſhould, on importation, be ſubject to the ſame duties "and regulations" as the like goods are, or from time to time ſhall be ſubject to, upon importation into Great Britain; "or if prohibited from being "imported into Great Britain, ſhall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland."

VI. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which ſhall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, ſhould be put, by laws to be paſſed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the ſame regulations with reſpect to bonds, cockets, and other inſtruments, to which the like goods are now ſubject in paſſing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. That for the like purpoſe, it is alſo expedient that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands, "or any "other of the Britiſh colonies or plantations," ſhall be ſhipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they ſhould be accompanied with ſuch original certificates of the revenue officers of the ſaid colonies as ſhall be required by the law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate ſhall not be ſhipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorſed as to quantity, ſhould be ſent with the firſt parcel; and to identify the remainder, if ſhipped at any future period, new certificates ſhould be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a regiſter of the original documents, ſpecifying the quantities before ſhipped from thence, by what veſſels, and to what ports.

VIII. That it is eſſential for carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, or in America, "or to the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa," ſhould from time to time be made liable to ſuch duties and drawbacks, and put under ſuch regulations as may be neceſſary, in order that the ſame may not be exported with leſs incumbrance of duties or impoſition than the like goods ſhall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain.

"IX. That it is eſſential to the general commercial intereſts of the empire, any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, ſo long as it ſhould be thought neceſſary to continue the charter of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company.

In the courſe of the debates upon the propoſitions as they ſtood with theſe

" that ſo long as the parliament of this kingdom ſhall think it adviſeable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope ſhall be carried on ſolely by an excluſive company; having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope ſhould be importable into Ireland from any foreign country, or from any ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies belonging to any ſuch foreign country; and that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries ſhould be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and it ſhall be lawful to export ſuch goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan from Great Britain to Ireland, with the ſame duties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom; but that an account ſhall be kept of the duties retained, and the net drawback on the ſaid goods imported to Ireland; and that the amount thereof ſhall be remitted by the receiver-general of his majeſty's cuſtoms in Great Britain to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his majeſty's revenue there, ſubject to the diſpoſal of the parliament of that kingdom; and that whenever the commerce to the ſaid countries ſhall ceaſe to be carried on by an excluſive company in the goods of the produce of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, the goods ſhould be importable into Ireland from countries from which they may be importable to Great Britain, and no other; and that no veſſel ſhould be cleared out from Ireland for any part of the countries from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, but ſuch as ſhall be freighted in Ireland by the ſaid excluſive company, and ſhall have failed from the port of London; and that the ſhips going from Great Britain to any of the ſaid countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope ſhould not be reſtrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom."

X. That no prohibition ſhould exiſt, in either country, againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except ſuch as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits; " and except ſuch qualified prohibitions, at preſent contained in any act of the Britiſh or Iriſh parliament, as do not abſolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the ſize, the packages, or other particular circumſtances, or preſcribe the built or country, and dimenſions of the ſhips importing the ſame; and alſo, except on ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utenſils of war, importable only by virtue of his majeſty's licence;" and that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article (if ſubject to duty in either country) ſhould be preciſely the ſame in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be neceſſary in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on any ſuch article of its own conſumption, " or in conſequence of internal bounties in the country where ſuch article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except ſuch duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits."

XI. That in all caſes where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is theſe amendments and additions, that which met with the moſt vigorous oppoſition (independent of ſuch general reaſoning as went againſt the ſyſtem altogether) was the *fourth*, in which Great Britain, it was aſſerted, aſſumed both a preſent and future power to bind Ireland by ſuch acts

---

is expedient that they ſhould be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the higheſt, to "an amount not exceeding" the amount payable in the other; "ſo that "the ſame ſhall not be leſs than ten and a half per cent. where any article was "charged with a duty, on importation into Ireland, of ten and a half per cent. "or upwards, previous to the 17th day of May, 1782;" and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable, from the kingdom into which they ſhall be imported, as free from duty as the ſimilar commodities or home manufactures of the ſame kingdom.

XII. That it is alſo proper, that in all caſes where the articles of the conſumption of either kingdom ſhall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the ſaid manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture "as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon;" ſuch farther duty to continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it ſhall be impoſed; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the like duty on raw materials in the other, ſuch manufacture may, on its importation "into the other kingdom," be charged with ſuch a countervailing duty as may be ſufficient to ſubject the ſame, ſo imported, to "burdens "adequate to thoſe which" the manufacture compoſed of the like raw material is ſubject to, in conſequence of duties on the importation of ſuch material in the kingdom into which ſuch manufacture is ſo imported; and the ſaid manufacture, ſo imported, ſhall be entitled to ſuch drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

XIII. That, in order to give permanency to the ſettlement now intended to be eſtabliſhed, it is neceſſary that no new or additional duties ſhould be hereafter impoſed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to balance the duties on internal conſumption, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution, "or in conſequence of bounties remaining on ſuch articles when ex- "ported from the other kingdom."

XIV. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary, farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, ſhall be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from "the "one kingdom" to the other, except ſuch as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits.

XV. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary that no bounties whatſoever ſhould be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits, "and ex- "cept alſo the bounties at preſent given by Great Britain on" beer, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn; and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compenſations for duties paid; and that no bounty ſhould be "payable" on the exportation of any article to any Britiſh colonies or plantations, "or to the Britiſh ſettlements on "the coaſt of Africa," or on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh plantations, "or from the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, or "Britiſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies;" or any manufacture made of ſuch artiacts as ſhe ſhould paſs relative to the trade and commerce of both kingdoms. This was ſtated to be directly in the teeth of what had been ſolemnly ſtipulated betwixt the two kingdoms, namely, that Ireland was in future only to be bound by her own ſtatutes—That it was a reſumption of the right of legiſlating for Ireland, which this country had renounced—That it was bartering the liberties of Ireland for the advantages held out to that kingdom by the ſyſtem now propoſed, and there-

---

cle, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compenſation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain; and where " any internal bounty ſhall be given in either kingdom, on any " goods manufactured therein, and ſhall remain on ſuch goods when exported, a " countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the " ſaid goods into the other kingdom."

XVI. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that the importation of articles from foreign " countries" ſhould be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on ſuch terms as may " effectually favour" the importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; " except " in the caſe of materials of manufactures, which are, or hereafter may be al- " lowed to be imported from foreign countries, duty-free; and that in all caſes " where any articles are or may be ſubject to higher duties on importation into " this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the ſtates of North Ame- " rica, than the like goods are or may be ſubject to when imported, as the growth, " produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, or as the pro- " duce of the fiſheries carried on by Britiſh ſubjects, ſuch articles ſhall be ſubject " to the ſame duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to " any of the ſtates of North America, as the ſame are or may be ſubject to on im- " portation from the ſaid countries into this kingdom."

" XVII. That it is expedient that meaſures ſhould be taken to prevent diſputes " touching the exerciſe of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fiſh on " the coaſt of any part of the Britiſh dominions."

XVIII. That it is expedient that " ſuch privileges of printing and vending " books as are or may be legally poſſeſſed within Great Britain, under the grant of " the crown or otherwiſe, and" the copy-rights of the authors and bookſellers of Great Britain, ſhould continue to be protected in the manner they are at preſent, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is juſt that meaſures ſhould be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and bookſellers of that kingdom.

XIX. " That it is expedient that regulations ſhould be adopted with reſpect to " patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, ſo that " the rights, privileges, and reſtrictions thereon granted and contained, ſhall be of " equal duration and force throughout Great Britain and Ireland."

XX. That the appropriation of whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being ſecured by permanent proviſions) ſhall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand pounds in each year, towards the ſupport of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in ſuch manner as the parliament of Ireland ſhall direct, by an act to be paſſed for that purpoſe, will be a ſatisfactory proviſion, proportioned to the growing proſperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the neceſſary expences of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire.

by purchaſing Iriſh ſlavery at the expence of Engliſh commerce.

With reſpect to the laſt propoſition, which ſtipulated, that whenever there ſhould be a ſurplus of the revenue of Ireland, over and above the ſum of 656,000 l. ſuch ſurplus ſhould be applied to the ſupport of the Britiſh navy, it was urged, that if this was held forth as a compenſation for advantages voluntarily reſigned by Great Britain, nothing could be more fallacious, the preſent net revenue of that kingdom being little more than 333,000l. and therefore little more than half the ſtipulated ſum, over and above which the ſurplus only was to be applied in aid of the public revenue of this country.

The arguments which were offered generally, and againſt the whole of the propoſed ſyſtem, went chiefly upon the ſuppoſed injury which the *manufactures* and *commerce* of Great Britain would ſuſtain from it: the former, from the comparative ſmall price of labour in Ireland, which alone, it was contended, would ſoon enable that kingdom to underſell us both at home and abroad; the latter, from the facility with which it was well known the revenue laws in Ireland were evaded.

The impoſſibility of preventing the clandeſtine importation of a variety of the moſt important articles, was ſtrongly inſiſted on; and it was added, that the competition which would ariſe betwixt the two kingdoms, which ſhould ſell cheapeſt, would of courſe encreaſe the evil. Finally, it was argued, that ſuch was the nature of the propoſitions, that in whatever proportion one country might benefit from them, in the very ſame the other would become a loſer; and that as to Ireland, whether the advantages gained on her part were great or ſmall, they were to be purchaſed at the price of her liberty.

In favour of the ſyſtem it was argued, that it was a meaſure of abſolute neceſſity, in order to put an end to the diſcontents which prevailed to ſo alarming a degree in the ſiſter kingdom.—That if the preſent propoſitions were not paſſed into a law, all that had already been done in favour of Ireland would prove nugatory, as it was clearly inadequate to the expectations of that country.

That with reſpect to the *fourth* propoſition, it was a condition which the ſafety of our own navigation laws made it neceſſary to annex to the boon granted to Ireland.—That it was unfair to infer from hence that the Britiſh legiſlature had any views of trenching on the independence of Ireland, ſince it left to that kingdom the option of taking or refuſing the advantages held out to her, ſubject to ſuch a condition. That the condition itſelf was ſuch as had frequently been adopted in the negotiations of independent ſtates—as in the late treaty betwixt this kingdom and France, when the latter bound herſelf to publiſh certain edicts, as ſoon as other edicts ſtipulated on our part were publiſhed by this country*.

---

* In anſwer to this argument, Mr. Fox replied, that in the caſe ſtated, one nation bound itſelf to do ſomething defined and ſpecific, when the other adopted ſome other defined and ſpecific meaſure. To make the caſes ſimilar, an inſtance ſhould be

With reſpect to the diſadvantages which it had been ſuppoſed our manufacturers would have to encounter from the comparative ſmall price of labour in Ireland, it was ſaid ſuch a ſuppoſition aroſe from a miſconception of facts—That the wages of artizans and manufacturers, although not of common labourers, were higher there than in this country, and therefore there was little likelihood of their being able to underſell us on that ground.—Nor could our commerce be in any danger from the reaſons which had been alledged, ſince the proviſions and reſtrictions contained in the propoſitions were ſufficient as well to prevent any clandeſtine importation of foreign goods into Ireland, as to inſure the duties payable on all ſuch as might be legally imported.

May 30th.

The propoſitions, after having been agitated upwards of three months, and after having received a variety of amendments and alterations, finally paſſed the houſe of commons by a large majority, and on the 30th of May were carried up to the houſe of lords. They here again encountered a conſiderable degree of oppoſition, and received ſeveral amendments, although not of a material nature.

July 28th.

The propoſitions having thus paſſed both houſes, a bill founded on them was brought into the houſe of commons by Mr. Pitt, which was read the firſt time before the end of the ſeſſion, and was followed by an addreſs to his majeſty, voted by both houſes, wherein they acquainted him with what they had done, and that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge and to decide thereupon.

That kingdom had attended the progreſs of the propoſitions through the Britiſh parliament with much anxiety and impatience. On their arrival they met with the moſt diſcouraging reception; they were petitioned againſt by ſeveral of the public bodies, and many of the members of the Iriſh houſe of commons ſtrongly marked their diſapprobation of the additions and alterations which the original ſyſtem had undergone.

Aug. 12th.

On the 12th of Auguſt, the ſecretary to the lord lieutenant moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill correſpondent to that moved by the Engliſh miniſter.—The debates on this occaſion, and more eſpecially on the ſide of oppoſition, were long and animated. Whatever had the leaſt appearance of infringing on the legiſlative independency of Ireland, was marked and ſtigmatized in terms of the utmoſt indignation and contempt. The perpetual diſpoſition of her hereditary revenue by the laſt propoſition—the ſurrender of her commercial legiſlation by the fourth—the reſtraint impoſed on her from trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan by the ninth—were put in every point of view in which reaſoning and eloquence could render them impreſſive and convincing. On this ſide of the queſtion, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood were the moſt conſpicuous ſpeakers. The

---

be produced, which Mr. Fox affirmed could not be found in the hiſtory of mankind, where one independent ſtate bound itſelf ſolemnly to do any thing undefined, unſpecific, and uncertain, at the arbitrary demand of another.

firſt of theſe gentlemen, after ſtating the preſent ſituation of Ireland, with reſpect to the advantages ſhe had already acquired, compared it with the condition it would be left in by the ſyſtem now propoſed. "See," ſaid he, "what you obtained without compenſation—a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extenſion of the conſtitutional powers of your council, the reſtoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legiſlature!

"See now what you obtain by compenſation—a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan—a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the parliament of Great Britain ſhall permit—a covenant not to take Britiſh plantation produce, but as Great Britain ſhall preſcribe—a covenant not to take certain produce of the United States of North America, but as Great Britain ſhall permit—a covenant to make ſuch acts of navigation as Great Britain ſhall preſcribe—a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of thoſe manufactures!"

In favour of the bill it was urged by Mr. Fitzgibbon*, Mr. Hutchinſon †, and Mr. Forſter §, that the fourth propoſition, which had excited ſo much jealouſy and alarm, could not on any fair conſtruction be ſaid to take from Ireland her right of commercial legiſlation, any more than the acts paſſed in 1779 and 1782 had done before; wherein Ireland had ſtipulated to trade with the Britiſh colonies and ſettlements in ſuch manner as Great Britain herſelf traded, to impoſe the like duties, and to adopt the ſame reſtrictions and regulations. That in the bill before them, it was propoſed to trade with Great Britain on the ſame principle; the liberty of either complying with the conditions, or renouncing the agreement *in toto*, whenever the conditions ſhould become obnoxious and diſſatisfactory, would be left by the preſent bill full as much in the power of the Iriſh parliament, as it was by either of the foregoing acts.—The difference only was, that by the former acts Ireland had ſubſcribed to the commercial laws which had been adopted by Great Britain for 290 years back; by the preſent, to ſuch as that country ſhould bind itſelf to in future; but that it would be ſtill in the power of the Iriſh parliament to renounce theſe laws, and the whole agreement together, whenever ſhe thought proper.—On the other hand, the commercial advantages offered to Ireland by the bill were ſtated to be very important; the linen trade was thereby ſecured to her for ever—the colony trade through Ireland to Great Britain was given her—the Britiſh markets were thrown open to Iriſh manufactures—and again, as theſe manufactures were allowed to be re-exported from Great Britain, with a drawback of all duties, the Iriſh would, in effect, export on the foundation of Britiſh capital, at the ſame time that they were left to employ their own capital in the extenſion of their home manufactures.

---

* The Attorney General. † Provoſt of Trinity college, Dublin.
§ Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The houſe at length divided upon the queſtion; when there appeared for leave to bring in the bill, 127, againſt it, 108.

So ſmall a majority in favour of ſo important a meaſure, was looked upon as a defeat; and accordingly, although Mr. Orde afterwards moved to have the bill read a firſt time, and to be printed, yet he declared he ſhould not proceed any further in the buſineſs during the preſent ſeſſion, nor at all, unleſs the kingdom in general ſhould grow to a better liking of a meaſure, which he was confident, upon a further and more temperate re-conſideration of its principles, would obtain their approbation.

Thus terminated the intended commercial arrangement betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, after having exerciſed the attention of both kingdoms for upwards of ſeven months.

We ſhall take this opportunity, before we diſmiſs our review of Iriſh affairs, to mention the intended ſettlement of the Geneveſe emigrants in Ireland.

The diſputes and diſſenſions which had ſo long ſubſiſted betwixt the *ariſtocratic* and *democratic* powers in the republic of Geneva being finally terminated in favour of the former, through the interference of the kings of France and Sardinia, and the cantons of Zuric and Berne, a number of the citizens of the popular party reſolved to quit a country, in the government of which their weight and authority was totally at an end.

On this occaſion they turned their eyes upon Ireland, and commiſſioners were accordingly ſent by them to Dublin, to conſult and treat with government there relative to their reception into that kingdom. The commiſſioners, on their arrival, received the greateſt perſonal attention from the people in general, but more eſpecially from the different corps of volunteers in the province of Leinſter, into ſeveral of which, as a mark of reſpect paid to the cauſe they came to ſolicit, they were choſen as members.

Their requeſt, with reſpect to the admiſſion of their countrymen into Ireland, was complied with, and a particular tract of land in the county of Waterford was afterwards ſet apart for the new ſettlers.

Notwithſtanding theſe preparations, the whole ſcheme in the end proved abortive. The terms inſiſted upon by the Geneveſe, previous to their becoming ſubjects of a new ſtate were, 1ſt. That they ſhould be repreſented in parliament. 2dly. That they ſhould be formed into a diſtinct corporation. And, 3dly. That they ſhould be governed by their own laws. The firſt of theſe conditions might have been a matter of opinion, and ſubject to diſcuſſion; but the two laſt were held to be incompatible with the laws and the conſtitution of Ireland, and as ſuch were totally rejected.

This diſagreement between the parties on leading points ſtopped all further procedure in the buſineſs. Some of the Geneveſe, however, tranſported themſelves into Ireland; but they ſoon found by experience, that nothing was gained by changing their ſituation, and moſt of them, after a ſhort ſtay, quitted the kingdom.

The reciprocal advantages which might have accrued to Ireland and the Geneveſe emigrants from the propoſed ſettlement, even had it taken place to the fulleſt extent, could never, it is preſumed, have equalled, or been in any degree proportionable to the ſanguine expectations ſome men had been led to form on this ſubject. It ſhould be conſidered, firſt, that the Geneveſe are for the moſt part mechanics, and that therefore they muſt have been but ill ſuited, from their former habits of life, to the toils of agriculture; next, that they were to be ſettled in a part of Ireland where their ſupport muſt have ariſen from their daily labours on the ſoil, and from their having but few wants of their own to gratify, more than from their ingenuity in forming and conſtructing a variety of ornamental articles, which the luxury and riches of populous and trading towns can only create a market for.

CHAP. II.

Retroſpective view of continental matters, which, through the multiplicity and importance of other foreign or domeſtic affairs, were, of neceſſity, paſſed over in our late volumes. France. Death of the Count de Maurepas, and ſome account of that celebrated miniſter. Convention with Sweden, by which the French are admitted to the rights of denizenſhip, of eſtabliſhing warehouſes and factories, and of carrying on a free trade in Gottenburgh; in return for which, France cedes the Weſt India iſland of St. Bartholomew to Sweden. Obſervations on that ceſſion. Spirit of civil liberty, of enquiry, of reform and improvement, with a diſpoſition to the cultivation of uſeful arts, characteriſtics of the preſent times. Cauſes.—Great improvements in Spain with reſpect to arts, manufactures, and agriculture; meaſures purſued for the diſſemination of uſeful knowledge, for improving the morals, and enlightening the minds of the people. Inquiſition diſarmed of its dangerous powers; numerous patriotic ſocieties formed, and public ſchools inſtituted, under the patronage of the firſt nobility; canals and roads forming; ſubſcriptions for conveying water to large diſtricts deſolate through its want. King ſucceſsfully reſumes the project of peopling and cultivating the Sierra Morena; aboliſhes bull feaſts; reſtricts the number of horſes and mules to be uſed in the carriages of the nobility; procures an accurate ſurvey and charts of the coaſts of the kingdom, as well as of the Straits of Magellan. Attention to naval force and to commerce. New Eaſt India company formed. Improvements in the adminiſtration of colonial government. Intermarriages with the royal line of Portugal lay the foundation for an alliance between the latter and France. Patriarchal age, eminent qualities, and death of the celebrated Cardinal de Solis, Archbiſhop of Seville. Important reforms in the police of Portugal. Queen forms the excellent reſolution of never granting a pardon in any caſe of aſſaſſination or deliberate murder; which has already produced the happieſt effects. Excellent regulation of taking up the idle and diſſolute throughout the kingdom, and of applying them, at the expence, or under the care of government, to proper labour. Improvements in agriculture attempted; climate and ſoil unfavourable to corn. Political obſervations on the intermarriages with Spain, and on the new alliances with the

the houſe of Bourbon. Italy. Noble act of Pious the VIth, in his generous endeavours to drain the Pontine marſhes. Naples. Diſpoſition of the king to naval affairs, and to the forming of a marine force. Grand Duke of Tuſcany. Regulation in Florence for the diſpoſal of the dead in a common cemetery, cauſes great diſcontent.

THE fruitfulneſs of the queen of France, which had for ſeveral years been a matter of much doubt and great anxiety to the king and the people, though at length eſtabliſhed by the birth of a princeſs in 1778, yet the failure of a ſon ſtill continued to excite impatience and apprehenſion, until all uneaſineſs upon the ſubject was at length determined by the birth of a dauphin on the 22d of October 1781, to the inexpreſſible joy of a nation, who, through a long ſeries of ages, have been more peculiarly attached to their monarchs than perhaps any other on the face of the earth. It was a new and unexpected ſpectacle to mankind upon this occaſion, and one among the many grievous mortifications which Great Britain was about that period doomed to endure, that the birth of a dauphin of France ſhould have occaſioned the greateſt public rejoicings that had ever been known in the Engliſh American colonies.

The queen, in the year 1785, produced another pledge of ſecurity to the reigning line in France, by the birth of a ſecond ſon, in whoſe favour the old Norman and Engliſh title of duke of Normandy was, for the firſt time, revived in a French prince.

The celebrated count de Maurepas died at the caſtle of Verſailles in the month of November 1781, and in the 81ſt year of his age; holding, at that very advanced period of life, in a ſeaſon of great national exertion, and of a very perilous and hard-fought foreign war, which extended its action to every quarter of the world, the great and arduous office of prime miniſter of France. This great man was not more admired for his abilities as a miniſter, and talents as a ſtateſman, than he was revered and beloved for his humanity, benevolence, and other excellent qualities of the heart.

When, under the auſpices of cardinal Fleury, and in his own happier days, his great and numerous offices ſeemed to render him at leaſt the third, if not the ſecond in adminiſtration, he was one of the few miniſters who introduced ſcience and philoſophy into the conduct of public affairs; but was at the ſame time ſo regulated in their indulgence, as entirely to reject their uſeleſs or frivolous parts, however ſplendid or pleaſing; as if he diſdained to apply the public money to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſolid ones of public utility. Though conſiderably cramped in many of his public deſigns and exertions under the pacific and œconomical ſyſtem of the cardinal, yet he not only in a great meaſure recovered the French marine from that proſtrate ſtate to which it had long ſeemed irretrievably condemned, but he laid the foundations for all that greatneſs to which it has ſince arrived, or which it is ſtill capable of attaining. To him France is particularly indebted for that ſuperiority, which ſhe is ſaid (and it is to be feared too evidently) to poſſeſs in ſhip-building; eſpecially in the conſtruction of ſhips of war: for he it was who firſt reſcued naval architecture from mere mechanical hands, from the habitual and unexamined prejudices of vulgar error; and placing it in the rank which it deſerved to hold, it ſoon roſe, under his influence and protection, to be conſidered as a diſtinct and profound ſcience; and was accordingly ſtudied and reduced to practice upon thoſe principles by men of the firſt parts and learning. Such eminent and permanent national ſervices, which in time diffuſe themſelves into common benefits to mankind, are frequently little thought of at the moment, and the ingenious author or inventor is ſoon forgotten; while he who applies his genius or invention, with a vain-glorious ſplendour, to the deſtruction of his fellow-creatures, although not even the partial benefits of his ſucceſs may ſurvive the year in which it takes place, ſhall have his name handed down with applauſe and admiration to futurity. Is there then a perverſeneſs inherent in mankind which diſpoſes them, as it were, to worſhip the evil principle, to deſpiſe their real benefactors, and to adore thoſe who, by becoming the conſpicuous inſtruments of tranſitory reſentments, do in fact make war upon the permanent intereſts of the race itſelf? May it not then be the office of hiſtory, going hand in hand with philoſophy, to draw away the eyes of mankind from the glaring objects which dazzle and confound them, and to teach them to reſt on more ſober and beneficial lights; to calculate and correct the error of popular opinion, and, by rating actions according to their intrinſic value, as it were, to graduate anew the ſcale of admiration?

Although cardinal Fleury poſſeſſed at the time the oſtenſible praiſe, it was to Maurepas only that ſcience is indebted for that grand deſign and arduous undertaking of aſcertaining the real figure of the earth, by ſending the French academicians and aſtronomers to meaſure degrees of the meridian under the equator, and in the northern polar circle. The unexpected difficulties which they experienced, and the extraordinary hardſhips and difficulties they encountered, are too well known to be repeated.

When the cabals of the court had, in the year 1748, baniſhed Maurepas far from its vortex (an evil of all others the moſt intolerable to a Frenchman) he exhibited an inſtance, almoſt ſingular in that country, of bearing his fall from a ſituation of greatneſs, in which he had been nurtured from his earlieſt youth, with the dignity of a man, and the temper of a philoſopher. He adorned his long exile, as he had done his poſſeſſion of power, by continued acts of beneficence, and the practice of every private virtue.

When at length, in the 74th year of his age, the long-forgotten ſtateſman was moſt honourably recalled to court, in order to become the mentor and guide of his young ſovereign in the yet untrodden paths of government, neither this ſudden and unexpected exaltation, nor his long abſence from the world, produced any change in the temper and character of Maurepas. In the changes which neceſſarily took place at court, and in the adminiſtration, none of the diſmiſſed miniſters were (according to the eſtabliſhed *etiquette*)

quette) ſent into exile, nor did they ſuffer any other degradation or inconvenience, than what proceeded merely from the loſs of their places; no mean jealouſy appeared, no act of ſeverity or reſentment took place, no ancient animoſity was revived, nor preſent hatred gratified, to ſully the luſtre of his triumph on returning to power. A ſimilar magnanimity ſeemed to be the principle of the enſuing adminiſtration. He had the courage to burſt at once through thoſe narrow political fetters, which, originating partly in pride, and partly in bigotry, were now ſo riveted by time, as to be conſidered and received as fundamental maxims of government. The pride of the nobility confined the great offices of ſtate to their own families; and the profeſſion of the law, whoſe credit in France is great, and perhaps exceſſive, had in a manner appropriated to itſelf the financial department; while both leaned hard upon the commercial intereſt, national and religious prejudices cooperated in the excluſion of foreigners, and of all thoſe of a different perſuaſion in religious matters, however eminent their abilities, from rendering any ſervice to the ſtate. Maurepas induced his young ſovereign, in a ſingle inſtance, to ſet at naught theſe maxims, and to violate all theſe prejudices, by calling in to be his aſſiſtant, as director-general of the finances, M. Necker, a merchant, a foreigner, and a proteſtant. —Such was Maurepas!

In the year 1784, a new convention was entered into between France and Sweden, tending to ſtreighten ſtill more cloſely the bands of union which have ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations, and which have been maintained with ſo much advantage, and at ſo ſmall an expence, by the former. In virtue of this new convention, the French are admitted to the rights and privileges of natives in the city and port of Gottenburgh, (which, from the goodneſs of the harbour, its ſituation without the Sound, and other advantages, may be juſtly conſidered as the emporium for the foreign trade of Sweden) being permitted to build and eſtabliſh warehouſes for the ſtoring of all manner of goods imported either from France or America, in the bottoms of either nation, without their being ſubject to any duties or impoſitions whatever; with the farther liberty to the merchants or proprietors to export all ſuch goods at pleaſure, either in French or Swediſh bottoms, and upon the ſame free terms. In return for the advantages expected from theſe favourable ſtipulations, France has ceded to Sweden, in perpetuity, the full propriety and ſovereignty of the iſland of St. Bartholomew in the Weſt Indies.—The king of Sweden, in order to convert this iſland to the beſt account, of which it is capable, has ſince declared it a free port.

Nothing leſs than the preſent enthuſiaſm in favour of commerce, which is ſo ſtrong in every part of Europe, could render ſo trifling and ſo remote a poſſeſſion in any degree acceptable. The iſland in queſtion is eſtimated only at about five leagues in circumference; the quantity of its cultivable ſoil bears a very ſmall proportion even to that extent; in water it is ſo deficient, as to have none but what falls from the clouds, and is preſerved through the year in ciſterns; and though it has a good harbour, the adjoining coaſts are ſo dangerous, and the approaches to it ſo difficult, as to forbid its ever becoming of commercial importance. With ſuch defects, the intrinſic value of the iſland of St. Bartholomew cannot be very highly rated.

On the other hand, it ſeems to be an odd ſort of policy, for any of the three powers who are poſſeſſed of the principal Weſt India iſlands to draw in new ſtates to interfere in that commerce of which they are ſo extremely jealous; and it ſeems ſtill more unaccountable to make donations of ſmall unproductive iſlands or rocks, which are debarred by nature from anſwering any better purpoſe under a diſtant government, deſtitute of any neighbouring poſſeſſion, than that of becoming a nurſery of ſmugglers, as they would in earlier days of pirates.

It is undoubtedly become conſonant with the views of France, upon other accounts than thoſe of trade, or even the ſupply of naval ſtores, to hold Sweden at all times by the hand. The common intereſts in the affairs of Germany, which had formed the original bands of union between the two nations, have long ſince been done away by a new ſtate of affairs, and new arrangements of power and alliance; but the jealouſy and apprehenſion which both, though with different degrees of force, entertain of the overgrown and ſtill rapidly increaſing power of Ruſſia, neceſſarily throws them into each others arms. Under this impreſſion, France thinks it behoves her to maintain an intereſt in the north with a power, which in caſe of neceſſity might ſtill be rendered capable of great exertions, and which, from the immediate neceſſity and danger of its own ſituation, muſt ever prove a watchful centinel with reſpect to the movements and deſigns of the power in queſtion. But admitting to its utmoſt extent the propriety of this line of political conduct, it will not appear entirely to juſtify the ceſſion of this iſland; France knew by experience the means of gratifying Sweden, with little difficulty, in another manner.

Whatever the leading faults or vices of the preſent times may be, it is their great and peculiar characteriſtic, and it may be hoped will become their future glory, that a ſtrong ſpirit of civil liberty, and of enquiry into the functions, obligations, and duties of government, are breaking forth in various places where they were before ſuppoſed ſcarcely to hold even the ſeeds of exiſtence. Another no leſs laudable characteriſtic is, that ſpirit of reform and improvement, under the ſeveral heads of legiſlation, of the adminiſtration of juſtice, the mitigation of penal laws, the affording ſome greater attention to the eaſe and ſecurity of the lower order of the people, with the cultivation of thoſe arts moſt generally uſeful to mankind, and particularly the public encouragement given to agriculture as an art, which is becoming prevalent in every part of Europe.

This important revolution in the diſpoſitions of ſo great a part of mankind, may in a great meaſure be attributed to the peculiar kind of philoſophy cultivated in the preſent age, by men, without doubt conſiderable, and who have given the taſte, and, as we may ſay, directed the faſhion in literature; though their views have certainly not been favourable to the higheſt and moſt permanent intereſts of our nature. As the principles they had adopted, or the path they choſe to fame and eminence, made it neceſſary for them to attack what have been generally conſidered as the great ſanctions of morality and duty, they were obliged to counteract the imputation which their tenets might be liable to, by not only profeſſing but inculcating the moſt general and enlarged philanthropy, and by letting looſe all the powers of ſatire and invective upon all infringements of natural rights, but more particularly upon thoſe which ſeemed or were ſuppoſed to derive their origin from religious eſtabliſhments. Thus it has been often enliſted on the ſide of juſtice, and led to a more minute and accurate inveſtigation into the principles and boundaries of authority.

If in many reſpects the force of received opinions has in the preſent times been too much impaired, and perhaps too wide and indiſcriminate a ſcope given to ſpeculation on the domains of antiquity and practice, it is however, a juſt cauſe of triumph, that prejudice and bigotry were the earlieſt victims. Happy will it be, if the blows which were aimed at the foundations and buttreſſes ſhall only ſhake off the uſeleſs incumbrances of the edifice. And this we are to hope will be the caſe. We may confidently aſſert, that the utmoſt freedom of enquiry and diſcuſſion, however ſubject to partial inconvenience and abuſes, muſt in the end contribute to the benefit of ſociety; for whatever ſiniſter ambition may warp the deſigns of thoſe who endeavour by their writings to direct the opinion of the world, as they addreſs mankind through the channel of their reaſon, and work with the powers of the underſtanding, they are obliged to apply themſelves to the cultivation and improvement of the ſubject, and of the inſtruments of their labours. So that at laſt the particular views of individuals, philoſophers, and ſects, being various and fluctuating, will be found to be comparatively but little advanced; while ſometimes one, and ſometimes another, of thoſe general principles on which the happineſs of mankind depend (for theſe are uniform and permanent) will receive ſtrength and vigour from the alternate prevalence of diſciplines and opinions.

Even in thoſe countries where deſpotiſm, bigotry, and evil government, had moſt benumbed the faculties, and depreſſed or perverted the genius of the people, they ſeem now to rouſe, and to be ſhaking off the lethargy in which they had ſo long lain. Of theſe, none have declined more, whether in a moral or political view, from the rank which they once held among the nations of the world, than the neighbouring kingdoms of Spain and Portugal have done within the two laſt centuries; which, derived as they are from the ſame origin, ſeemed to have ſunk under the ſame common malady.

Indeed a new day ſeems to be opening in Spain; and it is to be hoped (for it is allowed to hope and wiſh it, as none but ungenerous minds could look with pleaſure at degraded humanity, even in a rival or enemy, and every thing that really tends to honour and elevate the ſpecies, muſt ſooner or later redound to the benefit of all nations) that the brilliant genius of that people, which has been ſo long muffled and reſtrained, will ſoon have proper room for its exertion, and opportunity for its diſplay. The Inquiſition, which had ſo long been the terror and curſe of the nation, though not yet entirely aboliſhed, is, however, reduced to a ſituation like that of an old ſubdued lion, whoſe aſpect may ſtill inſpire terror, but whoſe fangs being drawn and claws pared, is no longer capable of miſchief. The powers of that tribunal are now confined to thoſe glaring and public acts of impiety, prophaneneſs, or immorality, which are puniſhable in all well regulated ſtates; and in the execution of this ſmall remaining part of their authority, all their proceedings are to be publicly conducted, and their evidence to be openly taken; publicity of proceedings being the moſt efficacious corrective of vicious, and preſervative of wholeſome inſtitutions. This reform, even if carried no farther, muſt ſoon put an end to the odious and infamous race of familiars and ſecret informers.

It is peculiarly fortunate to Spain, that the court, the nobility, and higher claſſes of the nation, ſhould all be ſeized at the ſame time with the ſame common ſpirit of promoting a general reform through the country, of eraſing ancient prejudices, and of uſing all means to enlighten the minds of the people. Learning, and an enquiry into the hiſtory and antiquities of the country, are liberally encouraged, and ſumptuous editions of the moſt valuable claſſics publiſhed, under the auſpices of the court; patriotic ſocieties, under the ſanction of the firſt nobility, are forming in every part of the kingdom, for the eſtabliſhment of arts, ſciences, and manufactures; for improvements in the cultivation of the earth, and in every part of rural œconomy; for opening the minds, and mending the morals of the people. For this purpoſe numerous public ſchools have already been inſtituted, and are daily increaſing, while the ſtudies of youth are to be directed to uſeful and neceſſary objects. Nor is encouragement wanting to the fine arts, although the uſeful, with great propriety in the preſent ſtate of things, meet with a more marked attention. The ſame patriotic ſpirit, which ſeemed to require nothing more than to be awakened in order to its due exertion, is already extending itſelf to public works and deſigns of the greateſt permanency and national utility. Plans have been formed, ſubſcriptions filled, and the works are actually in execution, for the conveyance of water to large diſtricts which had hitherto been deſolate through its want, and for opening the way to commerce and induſtry, by eſtabliſhing good roads and navigable canals, for facilitating the intercourſe between the different provinces of that extenſive country; the want of which could not have been any where more felt.

We have heretofore ſeen the meaſures adopted by Spain for peopling and cultivating the wide and deſolate waſtes of the mountainous region of the Sierra Morena, by ſtocking them with German colonies; which was done at a great expence, to the amount of about 6000. A court intrigue, by which the duke d'Aranda, the patriotic and benevolent father of this project, was thrown out of the adminiſtration, was among the principal cauſes, if not the ſole one, of its failure. About nine-tenths of the coloniſts either periſhed in the place, or in their attempts to return home encountered ſuch hardſhips, that many were reduced to the neceſſity of becoming beggars or vagabonds, or, what may be conſidered as a calamity little leſs conſiderable, being obliged to inliſt in foreign ſervice in the countries through which they paſſed.

The king has, however, revived the ſcheme with great vigour, and no leſs apparent effect; ſo that there ſeems now to be a fair proſpect of its ſucceeding to advantage. Beſides taking the remains of the old ſettlers, amounting now to about 600, under his immediate protection, and giving new animation and vigour to their induſtry, he has made an importation of 500 Roman catholic Swiſs families. Whether it proceeds from improvements, derived from experience, in the regulation, whether from habits of greater induſtry in the Swiſs, whether the climate is better ſuited to their conſtitutions than to the natives of northern Germany, or whether from the operation of all theſe, and perhaps other cauſes, this colony proceeds much more proſperouſly than the former. This ſucceſs has ſo much encouraged the king, that he is making farther and greater importations, and upon a ſtill more improved plan, of Germans, French, and Swiſs, to whom great advantages are held out; their farms being granted in perpetuity upon ſome very eaſy terms, proper ſtock provided for them at preſent, and a competent quantity of land tilled and ſown at his expence for each family the firſt year. The expence has been found very great, and has exceeded what even could have been imagined; but it is an expence truly royal, and worthy of a king.

Among other domeſtic regulations, the king has aboliſhed, or at leaſt greatly circumſcribed and reſtricted, the celebration of the bull feaſts, which had for ſo many centuries been the peculiar and favourite diverſion of Spain; a diverſion which foreigners had generally conſidered or repreſented as a proof of the preſent barbariſm, and an indication of the natural cruelty of the people: poſitions which ſhould be well weighed before they are in any degree admitted; and which, if at all juſt, are ſubject to much limitation. The Engliſh have been no leſs reproached for their bull-baiting, boxing matches, quarter-ſtaff and cudgel playing, with their general diſpoſition to athletic exerciſes, and eagerneſs to behold fierce combats, whether between their own ſpecies or other animals.

Perhaps it is not always conſidered, in paſſing theſe cenſures, that man is born to a ſtate of contention and warfare; that he is doomed to ſtruggle with difficulties, and is at all times liable to be compelled to oppoſe and to ſurmount dangers, or to periſh in the encounter; and that theſe are circumſtances from which no condition of fortune, or ſtate of ſociety, can at all times ſecure him. It behoves him therefore not to indulge in the idea that he is always to ſlumber upon beds of roſes; but to ſtrengthen his mind, and harden his body, for the reception of thoſe hard conflicts, from which no humility of character, nor innocency of life, may poſſibly afford him an exemption. As man has profited, in many inſtances of art and domeſtic œconomy, from the example of inferior animals, he need not think it beneath him to improve in the virtues of courage and fortitude from the example of the more generous and noble kinds, as that exhibited by the heroic part of his own ſpecies can rarely come within his immediate knowledge: otherwiſe, by the indulgence of too refined a delicacy, and the affectation of a ſentimental diſpoſition, which is neither ſuited to our nature or condition, men may again ſink into the deplorable ſituation of the Sybarites, and neither be able to endure the ſight of blood, nor to hear of danger, until they found themſelves overwhelmed in both. The rough maſculine exerciſes, and hard perſonal conflicts of the common people, are preparatives to war; they inure men to reſiſtance, to place a confidence in their own powers and addreſs in action, to endure toils, blows, and danger, and to feel all the pride and triumph of victory. Need it be remembered, that the conflicts of fierce animals were ſpectacles admired by the moſt celebrated, as well as the moſt elegant nations of antiquity: and we may add, that it is a gratification, no ways artificial and improper for a reaſonable being, to behold any creature exerting the generous energies of his nature.

The king of Spain has, however, prohibited the celebration of bull feaſts, excepting only in thoſe caſes where the profits ariſing from them have been already aſſigned to ſome charitable, benevolent, or patriotic purpoſe, and that no other fund has yet been appropriated to ſupply the deficiency. He has likewiſe prohibited, under heavy penalties, the uſe of more than two horſes or mules in gentlemen's carriages, within the limits of any of the towns of the kingdom. This injunction was attended with a circular letter to the foreign miniſters, encloſing a copy of the edict, and acquainting them reſpectively, that his catholic majeſty hoped they would ſet an example of compliance to the public, by their own conformity to this new regulation. The motive aſſigned in the preamble to the edict for theſe prohibitions is, that the former practice occaſioned a great deſtruction of cattle, and the latter a great waſte of their time and labour, when they might be ſo much more advantageouſly employed for the purpoſes of agriculture. The aſſigned motive does not ſeem at all to hold with reſpect to the ſuppreſſion of the bull feaſts, as the animals uſed in theſe ſpectacles were actual wild bulls, taken with great difficulty, and in an abſolute ſtate of nature, in the remoteſt foreſts; and theſe are too fierce and untameable to admit almoſt the poſſibility of their being broken down to country ſervice.

The liberal diſpoſition to improvement, at preſent prevalent in the court of Madrid, is not, however, confined to rural or domeſtic matters; it ſeems to reach to every thing, and to every part of their extenſive dominions. The king, reflecting upon the number of ſhips and lives, both foreign and domeſtic, which were every year loſt upon the coaſts of the kingdom, through the want of an accurate knowledge of them, and the imperfection of the old charts, which inſtead of being the guides to ſafety, frequently led the unwary navigator into error and ruin, generouſly and humanely determined to remedy this evil. For the execution of this important purpoſe, Don Vincent Tofinode, a man of ſcience, and who preſides in the marine academies, has ever ſince the concluſion of the peace with England, accompanied by able aſſiſtants, been aſſiduouſly and ſucceſsfully employed in ſurveying and delineating the coaſts of the kingdom. This is ſaid to have been done with unexampled care and accuracy, taking in the whole coaſt from Cape Saint Vincent to the Streights of Gibraltar, and from thence to the Cape de Creux, on the coaſt of Cotalonia, and including the oppoſite Barbary ſhores. There has not yet been time to publiſh the charts, but it is expected that they will be found a great nautical improvement, and prove a treaſure to mariners.

In the ſame ſpirit, the king determined that the various accounts of the Streights of Magellan, which have been given by the navigators of different nations, ſhould be examined and corrected. For this purpoſe a frigate was diſpatched from Cadiz, under the conduct of Don Antonio Cordova of Laſo, who was ſo fortunate as in a few months fully to execute his commiſſion. This officer brought home an accurate chart of the ſtreights, in which all the capes, bays, promontories, and other remarkable objects on the oppoſite coaſts, are diſtinctly laid down, with their longitudes, latitudes, and reſpective diſtances, aſcertained by aſtronomical obſervation. With all the delays incident to this material ſervice, and to the unequalled turbulence of that boiſterous climate, they arrived in little more than five weeks from their entering the ſtreights at Port St. Joſeph, the moſt ſouthern of the continent. From thence Don Antonio went in his barge to explore the channel of St. Barbe, which lies three leagues from that port, on the coaſt of the Terra del Fuego, where he found the paſſage which had been long conjectured, but never before aſcertained, that leads into the South Seas. After examining the weſtern parts of the ſtreight to the Capes Lunes and Providence, which they found to be eleven leagues diſtant from thoſe called the Pillars and Victoria, he returned to Port St. Joſeph. From thence the frigate returned home through the ſtreights, having loſt but two men in the courſe of three months which they ſpent in that region of eternal winter, tempeſts, and deſolation, which had ſo long been the terror of mariners. It is probable that this ſhip was indebted for her unuſual healthineſs to the admirable and ſucceſsful meaſures adopted and publiſhed by captain Cook for the preſervation of his ſeamen.

The exertions of Spain for the improvement and increaſe of her naval power, have not only been unremittingly continued, but carried on with freſh vigour, and in a more extenſive degree, ſince the concluſion of the war. This ſyſtem will probably continue, ſo long as the French influence predominates at the court of Madrid, and the family compact retains its full vigour. This, however, ought not to cauſe any great alarm to thoſe who duly weigh the temporary effect and ſhort duration of any influence, and the fragil nature of family and all other political compacts. Money may enable princes to build or purchaſe great fleets, but that alone will be found very unequal to the rendering them effective, or really formidable. Bold and able ſeamen, with gallant and experienced officers, are treaſures not to be purchaſed. Moſt of the ſtates of Europe poſſeſs a conſiderable number of large and well-looking ſhips of war, and theſe exhibit a formidable appearance of artillery: yet, what figure have they ever made, or would they now make, in action?

This being, however, the æra of reform and improvement in Spain, ſhe is paying an unuſual degree of attention to her foreign commerce and to her colonies, (much ſurer and more permanent ſources of naval ſtrength) as well as to the other parts of her political œconomy. Among the inſtances of this attention, an Eaſt India company, under the name of the Royal Philippine, was eſtabliſhed in the beginning of the year 1785. The capital of this company was fixed at 30 millions of livres, being ſomething about £. 1,300,000 ſterling; of which the old Caraccas company, now united with the new, furniſhed nine millions, the king five, the bank of Madrid, and the inhabitants of the Philippine iſlands, three each; the remaining ten millions were allotted into ſhares of a thouſand livres each, and ſubſcribed for by the public at large. The company is charged with the equipment of the merchant ſhips deſtined for Spaniſh America, which they are to ſupply with European merchandize, and to receive the products of thoſe countries in return. A diſcretionary number of ſhips are to proceed yearly from Acapulco to the Philippines, with coined ſilver, corn, fruits, and ſuch other products or commodities of Europe or America as were found to ſuit the market; and with theſe they were to purchaſe the goods of India and China, for the ſupply both of the mother country and her colonies. The company are to have a council of adminiſtration at Acapulco, another at Manilla, and a ſupreme one at Madrid, which is to receive the correſpondence and to controul the conduct of the other two. The king has likewiſe opened the ports of the Philippine iſlands to all nations.

This laſt meaſure ſeems to give ſome countenance to a report which has been currently ſpread, that the Spaniſh adminiſtration have for ſome time paſt had it in ſerious contemplation to break through that narrow ſyſtem of policy, which has been ſo long and ſo unremittingly purſued, of reſtricting the commerce of Spaniſh America entirely to the mother country; and that now adopting more liberal ideas, and taking a more clear and ſcientifical view of the nature both of trade and of colonies, they were actually digeſting plans for opening a trade with foreign nations on the weſtern coaſt of South America, by the conſtituting of three free ports in the latter; and that this deſign had been ſo far advanced, that the ports of Baldivia in Chili, of Bonaventura in New Granada, and of Cinalea in New Mexico, were thoſe propoſed for the purpoſe, and would probably be fixed upon. The time which has elapſed ſince the circulation of this report, does not ſerve entirely to overthrow its credibility, nor even afford any abſolute demonſtration that the project is now abandoned, if its former exiſtence be admitted; as a meaſure of ſo much novelty and importance, involved in ſuch a multitude of complicated conſequences, of collateral connections and circumſtances, could not but require much nicety of enquiry, as well as much previous and mature conſideration.

Though the Spaniards have at all times endeavoured to cover, with a veil of impenetrable obſcurity and ſecrecy, the ſtate, circumſtances, and tranſactions of their colonies in

Southern America, endeavouring, as much as it was in human power, to ſeclude them from all intercourſe and correſpondence with the reſt of mankind, yet neither the penalties of laws, the induſtry and vigilance of power, nor the immenſity of ſeas and deſarts, can at all times prevent "the ſecrets of the priſon houſe" from eſcaping. Moſt of the public prints throughout Europe have for ſome years abounded with accounts of dangerous rebellions, and even expected revolutions, in Peru, Chili, and other parts of South America. It has even been pretended, that a deſcendant of the Incas was at the head of a numerous Indian army, and making ſucceſsful efforts to recover the throne, and to re-eſtabliſh the empire of his anceſtors.

Although the extravagance of theſe accounts was ſufficient to deſtroy their credibility, even in thoſe things that were poſſibly true, yet it may be gathered upon the whole, from the concurrence of circumſtances which did not admit of doubt, that the Spaniſh dominion in South America has for ſome years been conſiderably diſturbed by commotions of ſome ſort or other. It would ſeem, however, in ſpeculation (the dim lights afforded us not admitting of any clear view) that theſe diſturbances could not have proceeded entirely, if at all, from the Indians: for, excepting the brave and unconquered nations of Chili (who are not, however, capable of carrying on a diſtant or regular war) we hold the Indians to be involved in too great a multitude of moral, phyſical, and political incapacities, to admit of their acting with that vigour and union, which could alone afford the moſt diſtant proſpect of recovering their liberties; and that they are too much debilitated, and have been too long broken down to the yoke, to be capable of becoming even the principals in any conſiderable commotion.

It is well known, that the old Spaniſh ſettlers and natives of that vaſt continent, have from time immemorial been exceedingly diſcontented with many circumſtances in the government and internal adminiſtration of thoſe countries. That, in particular, the conſtant diſpoſal of all places of truſt and emolument to Europeans, has long been regarded by them with the greateſt jealouſy and reſentment, and conſidered as a badge of the moſt intolerable ſlavery. That the inſupportable arrogance of theſe new comers, the haughty diſdain they diſplay, and the contemptuous inſolence with which, upon every occaſion, they treat the natives, would alone be ſufficient to render them odious in the extreme: but when with theſe are reckoned their numberleſs other ill qualities and vices; the avarice and oppreſſion with which they rapidly collect immenſe fortunes; and their haſty conveyance of them out of the country, as if its plunder had been the only object of their miſſion; it is not to be wondered at that ſuch a ſyſtem of oppreſſion, rapacity, and irritation, ſhould beget a mortal averſion to the native Spaniards, and no ſmall diſlike to the government by which ſuch enormities were admitted.

Theſe general cauſes, concurring perhaps with other local and particular ones, have undoubtedly laid the foundations of ſome conſiderable diſorders and commotions in Spaniſh America, although the means of information are too imperfect to admit

mit any exact knowledge of their nature and extent. The reſiſtance of the Britiſh colonies, and the extraordinary revolution which it occaſioned, were events, which no powers of government could prevent from coming to the knowledge of the Spaniſh coloniſts; and nobody will hold any doubt of the effects which ſo ſucceſsful and recent an example, and coming ſo directly to the point with reſpect to themſelves, was liable to produce among a diſcontented people. It is, however, to be obſerved, eſpecially as the fact is not generally known, that ſome years before this example was ſet, the diſcontents in thoſe countries ran ſo high, that the moſt tempting offers were made to the court of London for procuring her ſupport and protection. The integrity, juſtice, and good neighbourhood which ſhe diſplayed in rejecting that propoſal, has ſince been ſhamefully returned by Spain: although ſome cynic at the court of Madrid might poſſibly deny the motive, and inſtead of aſcribing it to honour or juſtice, hold out, that England was ſo much occupied in the ſcheme of changing the government of her own colonies, that ſhe had not leiſure to engage in other projects, and of all things was leaſt diſpoſed to encourage ideas of reſiſtance in thoſe of any nation.

Theſe diſcontents or diſturbances have, however, produced no ſmall apparent effect upon the Spaniſh government with reſpect to the adminiſtration of their colonies; and it is ſaid that the meaſures purſued upon this occaſion have been no leſs judicious than vigorous. While large reinforcements of the beſt and moſt veteran troops of Spain have been ſent out under choſen commanders to that continent, while old fortifications have been repaired and armed, and new ones conſtructed, the greateſt care is ſaid to have been taken, not only in the appointment of men of the firſt ability to the reſpective governments, but that they ſhould likewiſe be men of a lenient and conciliating diſpoſition, as well as of the moſt diſintereſted character. This new ſyſtem of colonial government muſt undoubtedly produce the happieſt effects, if continued; but, notwithſtanding its excellency in other reſpects, is ſaid to be ſo expenſive, particularly by the augmentation of the forces upon that eſtabliſhment, as to trench deeply upon the royal revenues ariſing from them; a circumſtance too likely to abridge its duration.

We have heretofore had occaſion to take notice of the connexion and friendſhip which was growing up between Spain and the Porte. M. de Boligny was accordingly ſent miniſter from the court of Madrid to Conſtantinople, towards the cloſe of the year 1784, where he was received and treated with peculiar marks of diſtinction. Among other grand or curious preſents which he delivered from the catholic king at his firſt audience, was a field tent of ſingular greatneſs and magnificence, which derived luſtre from its former ſervice, as well as veneration from its antiquity. It had been conſtructed for and uſed by Ferdinand the Catholic, in the pride of conqueſt and victory, at the camp of Occanna; it was lined with crimſon velvet, richly trimmed with gold taſſels and lace, and containing ſuch numerous and ſpacious apartments as had been ſufficient to entertain a large court: the whole ſurrounded with a ſpacious gallery.

It

It ſeemed ſingular enough, that this old memorial of the extermination of infidels, ſhould be now a preſent from Spain to an infidel power.

The double marriages which took place in the Eaſter ſeaſon of 1785, between the royal families of Spain and Portugal, not only ſerved to heal the jealouſies and differences which had ſo long prevailed between theſe courts, and to unite the two kingdoms in the cloſeſt bonds of amity, but laid the foundation for that treaty of alliance, which, under the mediation of Spain, has ſince taken place between France and Portugal; and which conſtitutes a complete union between the latter and the Bourbon family. Theſe marriages were between the infant Don Gabriel of Spain, and the infanta Donna Mariana Victoria, princeſs of Portugal, on the one ſide, and the infant Don Juan of Portugal, with the infanta Donna Charlotta, eldeſt daughter of the prince of Aſturias, on the other. The infantas met at Villa Viciosa, where they were mutually received and delivered; being probably the laſt as well as the firſt opportunity of their meeting.

The patriarchal age, upwards of one hundred and ten years, to which the celebrated archbiſhop of Seville, the cardinal de Solis, arrived, and in the full poſſeſſion of all his faculties, quickneſs of hearing only excepted, would in ſome degree have rendered his diſſolution an object of hiſtorical attention, even if his admirable qualities, the goodneſs of his heart, and the excellency of his life, had not otherwiſe entitled him to that diſtinction. Though he had ſpent that long life in the continual exerciſe of every moral and chriſtian virtue, yet an unbounded charity, and an univerſal benevolence to mankind, were the ſtrongly marked lines of his character. He ſeemed to be the natural as well as the ſpiritual father of the numerous flock committed to his charge; and their grateful veneration and affection for him ſeemed to render them worthy of the care which he beſtowed. In anſwer to the enquiries of his particular friends as to the means which he had uſed for preſerving health, and prolonging life to ſo extraordinary a period, he obſerved, that by being old when he was young, he found himſelf now young when he was old; that he had led a ſober and ſtudious, but not a lazy or ſedentary life; that his diet was delicate, though ſparing; that his liquors were the beſt wines of Xeres and La Mancha, of which he never exceeded a pint at any one meal, excepting in cold weather, when he allowed himſelf a third more; that he rode or walked abroad every day, except in rainy weather, when he took exerciſe, for a couple of hours, within doors. So far, ſaid he, I took care for the body; "and as "to the mind, I endeavoured to "preſerve it in due temper by a ſcru"pulous obedience to the divine "commands, and keeping (as the "apoſtle directs) a conſcience void "of offence towards God and man. "By theſe eaſy and innocent means "I have arrived at the age of a "patriarch, with leſs injury to my "health and conſtitution than many "experience at forty. I am now, "like the ripe corn, ready for the "ſickle of death, and, by the mercy "of my Redeemer, have ſtrong "hopes of being tranſlated into "his granary." "Glorious old "age!" exclaimed the king of Spain; "Would to Heaven he had "appointed a ſucceſſor; for the "people of Seville have been ſo "long uſed to excellence, that they "will never be ſatisfied with the "beſt prelate I can ſend them."

This excellent prelate and man, was of an ancient and noble houſe in the province of Andaluſia; and was the laſt ſurviving ſon of Don Antonio de Solis, hiſtoriographer to Philip the IVth, and author of that eloquent and long-admired work, the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico.

The reform in Portugal has not yet, in importance or magnitude, approached in any degree of proportion to that in Spain. Any attempt, however, at reform or improvement, in a country which has been ſo long ſinking under a weak, indolent, capricious, and ſometimes cruel ſyſtem of government, and amongſt a people immerſed in pernicious, deſtructive, and inveterate habits, ſhould not be eſtimated merely by its preſent benefits, but conſidered likewiſe with a view to its farther operation, and hailed as the omen of greater and happier effects; the firſt ſtep being generally the greateſt difficulty in ſuch caſes.

The government of that country ſeems, ſo far as we can judge, to have been very laudably adminiſtered ſince the acceſſion of the preſent queen; and while it has maintained reſpect abroad, has had the good fortune to attain the eſteem and affection of the people at home. The meaſure of improvement which we have particularly to take notice of, relates to the police, to the due adminiſtration of criminal juſtice, and to a ſtrict infliction of the law in all caſes of an atrocious nature, particularly with reſpect to great offenders. In no other country in Europe were ſo great a number of idle vagabonds ſuffered to loiter about the ſtreets, and to infeſt the towns, as in Portugal; and theſe wretches having no apparent means of obtaining a livelihood, excepting the caſual and inſufficient reſources of charity, were of neceſſity the peſts of ſociety, and ſpent their lives in watching opportunities for the commiſſion of every ſpecies of villainy. In few civilized countries, likewiſe, had the abominable crime of aſſaſſination been refined ſo much into a ſyſtem, and carried to ſo glaring and daring a pitch of enormity; and this not ſo much from any defect in the laws, as from the impunity which the great and their dependents derived, through the eaſe, if not certainty, with which pardons were procured by rank and influence. This could not but ſlacken the nerves of juſtice with reſpect to the other claſſes of the people; as it would have appeared too barefaced and ſhameleſs a mockery of it, to purſue ſmall delinquents to the utmoſt extremity, for thoſe crimes which were paſſed over without account in their ſuperiors.

The queen ſeized the opportunity afforded by an aſſaſſination, which was attended with circumſtances of the moſt atrocious nature, and where intereſt and power ſeemed to have the moſt certain proſpect of procuring their uſual impunity, not only reſolutely to reſiſt and poſitively to reject all ſolicitations for a pardon, but at the ſame time to make a public declaration, that ſhe never would, in any inſtance, whatever the rank or quality of the offender might be, grant a pardon to any perſon guilty of a premeditated murder. Never did any act of wiſdom or juſtice produce a more ſpeedy or more happy effect. Aſſaſſination is now no longer heard of; and it may well be hoped that the very paſſions which gave birth to it will in a great meaſure wear away, ſince they are cut off from their ultimate gratification.

This opening to reform and good government was ſucceeded by the excellent meaſure of taking up and providing for the idle and vicious, who had no viſible means of living, wherever they were found in every part of the kingdom. Theſe vagabonds were either remitted to their reſpective countries, under ſuch regulations and means of coercion, as would compel them to become uſeful by a cloſe application to the labours of huſbandry, or were taken immediately into the hands of government, and being provided with due proviſions and neceſſaries at its charge, were applied under its inſpection to ſuch works as were ſuited to their reſpective ability.

Some conſiderable attempts have likewiſe been made for the improvement of agriculture, and the introduction of a better ſyſtem of cultivation among the farmers in Portugal. The immenſe ſums of money ſent every year into Spain for corn, and the conſtant drain upon the ſpecie of the country by other nations for the ſame article, ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of endeavouring at leaſt to leſſen the evil, by increaſing the home production of grain. It is, however, generally vain to war againſt the decrees of nature. Portugal, like other countries, has its peculiar products, but neither the ſoil or climate ſeem capable of admitting any great and eſſential improvements in agriculture. The former is generally too thin and light for the production of grain in any degree that would repay the labour and expence of the huſbandman, while the great heats and long droughts would frequently check the progreſs of vegetation in the bud, were the ſoil even deeper and better. Some neglected vallies have indeed been diſcovered, which had hitherto eſcaped culture, and which being coated with a thicker if not better mould, and accordingly reſiſting the heat more, and retaining their moiſture longer than common, have anſwered kindly to the plough, and produced ſuch crops as were ſufficient to excite hope and admiration in a country generally ſterile of grain. But it is too much to be apprehended, that the quantity of ſuch valuable ſoil to be diſcovered in the kingdom, will not be ſufficient to produce any very material change in the general product: the addition of a few hundred acres of new fertile ground is a ſmall matter indeed with reſpect to the ſupply of a nation. Theſe attempts, however, at improvements in agriculture, gave occaſion to a report, which was generally ſpread and credited, that it had been either in contemplation or act to make a great reduction of the vineyards in Portugal, and to convert the ſoil into arable land. This meaſure might perhaps have been deſirable if it had been practicable; but the misfortune is, that the land covered with vines in that rocky and mountainous country, is ſeldom fit for the growing of corn, and would not probably have turned out ſo profitably under any other mode of culture as it does under the preſent, which ſeems to be that ſuited to its nature. Indeed, if the unwearied induſtry, which once made the mountains of Granada ſmile in unexampled verdure and beauty under the cultivation of the unfortunate Moors, could be transferred to Portugal, ſome hopes might be entertained, notwithſtanding the inferiority of the country in ſoil and climate, of being thereby able to ſupply the defects of nature. As things really are, ſhe muſt continue to exchange her native products for thoſe which ſhe wants from other nations; and if theſe are not equivalent to a full ſupply, fortune has abundantly ſupplied her with other means, by thoſe inexhauſtible ſources of gold and diamonds with which ſhe has ſo liberally endowed her in the new world.

The late intimacy and friendſhip grown up with Spain, and the new alliances concluded with that kingdom and France, are likely for ſome time to inſure eaſe and ſecurity to the government of Portugal. The political wiſdom of drawing the ties ſtill ſtraiter with the former, by the double marriages which have taken place, may, however, be well called in queſtion; for it may be laid down as a political axiom of the greateſt weight and importance, that nothing can be more dangerous to the ſafety and independence of a weaker ſtate, than the entering into any ties of affinity with a near neighbour, who is much its ſuperior in power. The weaker ſtate, for the preſent ſunſhine of a tranſitory ſummer, frequently entails upon itſelf all the rigours of a long, ſevere, and perhaps eternal winter. Portugal has already, by undergoing a degree of ruin from which ſhe can never entirely recover, moſt deplorably experienced the truth of this poſition. Spain herſelf can atteſt its truth. Neither oaths nor treaties could ſave her from falling into the hands of the houſe of Bourbon; from being for a long courſe of years ſubjected to all the calamities of foreign and civil wars raging in her very bowels; and from her being at length ſacrificed to intereſts inimical to her own, and rendered the ſtanding dupe of foreign councils. How dearly has Courland paid for the honour of a May-day wedding with a daughter of Peter the Great? But every part of hiſtory abounds with ſuch inſtances, and there are few countries that cannot ſhew preſent examples of them. If the ſtronger ſtate has any old claims (as in the preſent caſe) which only lie dormant through the want of a proper opportunity for enforcing them, then the new connection of affinity is the more imprudent, and becomes the more dangerous in its conſequences. Every minority, every weak adminiſtration, every change of ſucceſſion, every public loſs, and every diſcontent of the people, will afford a colour or pretence for the fatal interference of the greater power. But the misfortune is, that ſovereigns, acting merely like private perſons in the diſpoſal of their children, look no farther than to their immediate family intereſts and ſatisfaction, while they entirely overlook the ſecurity and proſperity of the people whom they govern, and to whom they owe every thing. In no country could an error of this nature be more dangerous than in Portugal; as the animoſity between that people and the Spaniards is ſo extreme and incurable, that no union of government can take place between them, in which the dependent nation muſt not be reduced to extreme miſery, and to the moſt abject ſtate of degradation.

It ſeems that the prepoſterous marriages between uncles and nieces, nephews and aunts, which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed the royal line of Portugal, and which cuſtom had rendered too familiar, began at length to threaten the extinction of the houſe of Braganza, through the failure of iſſue to which theſe marriages were ſo naturally liable; and this alarming conſideration, along with the deſire of cancelling all paſt jealouſies, and cementing friendſhip and good neighbourhood with Spain, were the motives which led to the meaſure in queſtion. For the marriage between the prince of Brazil and his aunt, not having hitherto proved propitious, and the proſpect of iſſue from it being now probably hopeleſs, it became neceſſary that his brother Don Juan ſhould in time procure a wife that ſeemed capable of ſupplying that defect.

Italy has ſuffered the hard fortune of late years, of being more diſtinguiſhed by volcanoes, earthquakes, and the calamities incident to thoſe awful and deſtructive phenomena of nature, than by thoſe great actions, or thoſe ſplendid exertions of talents and ſcience, which have in ſuch early ages, and at ſuch remote periods, either exhibited her as the ſcourge and terror, or as the inſtructreſs, civilizer, and admiration of mankind. She is not, however, even at the preſent day, deſtitute of ſcience, philoſophy, or of learned men, who dedicating their time and labours to the moſt uſeful ſtudies and beneficial purſuits, afford honourable teſtimonies that her ancient genius is by no means extinguiſhed; and that whatever, in the viciſſitudes of faſhion, diſpoſition, and things, ſhe may have loſt in the practical arts, has been amply ſupplied in other reſpects not leſs uſeful.

It was little to be expected that the preſent degradation of the papacy, and that unexampled loſs of power and reſource which the court of Rome has within leſs than an age ſuſtained, ſhould have been dignified by a public labour of ſuch magnitude and utility, as would have done honour to ancient Rome in the days of her pride and glory. The preſent pontiff, Pius the VIth, has, however, determined to render his name and age memorable, by gallantly undertaking, and bravely perſevering in the Herculean taſk of draining the Pontine marſhes; an undertaking the more meritorious, and indeed glorious, as ſeveral of his predeceſſors, as well as of the weſtern emperors, had already failed in the attempt; which had accordingly been long conſidered as hopeleſs.

The pope has been engaged for ſome years, with unwearied perſeverance, and at an immenſe expence, in the proſecution of this deſign; and the ſucceſs with which it has already been attended, ſeems to warrant an aſſurance that it will not be abandoned. It is, however, to be wiſhed, that the man who had courage and generoſity, ſo late in life, to venture upon ſo great an undertaking, and nobly to apply his wealth to the preſent and future benefit of mankind, may have the pleaſure of ſeeing its accompliſhment, and of reaping, without diminution, that glory which he ſo amply merits. The Appian Way, which had for ſo many ages been loſt, and buried under a deep moraſs, has at length been recovered, cleared, ed, repaired, and will ſoon be rendered paſſable, houſes being already built for the convenience of travellers, and facility of commerce, and a time fixed for the poſt to paſs that way. But theſe are only a ſmall part of the benefits to be derived from this admirable improvement. Beſides recovering a large tract of fertile land to the uſe of the public, which has ſo long been only the noiſome ſource of ſtench and peſtilential exhalations, and greatly adorning and beautifying the face of the country, it will in time have the happy effect of contributing greatly to purify the air, and of tending to prevent thoſe dangerous and fatal diſorders, which, as regularly as the ſeaſon, every ſummer infeſt for many miles the environs of Rome. It will likewiſe tend more remotely to a ſimilar draining and improvement of the Campania in general, and of rendering it again the ſeat of population and culture, if not of beauty, which it was in the hands of the ancient Romans. Upon the whole it will, if completed, be a work truly royal, and worthy the emulation of kings!

Some differences which ſubſiſted between the courts of Naples and Madrid, originating entirely in private and family matters and jealouſies, and ſeeming now to be entirely done away, do not require any particular notice. The young king felt and diſplayed the right he had to an emancipation from direction, and to think and act as an independent ſovereign, ſooner than was probably wiſhed or expected; nor does he perhaps pay all that regard to foreign views and intereſts, which thoſe grown old in ſyſtem, and habituated to a certain political creed, from which no deviation was to be admitted, might think abſolutely neceſſary. That increaſe of courage, force, and depredation, which has of late ſo eminently and dangerouſly diſtinguiſhed the piratical ſtates of Barbary, and ſo greatly and juſtly alarmed all the chriſtian nations bordering on the Mediterranean, has occaſioned the king of Naples to pay an attention to the forming of a marine force, which had not been before known in this newly-revived monarchy, although ſo peculiarly demanded by its ſituation.

The Neapolitans can now boaſt more than one ſhip of the line, of their own conſtruction, beſides ſeveral good frigates, and a conſiderable force in gallies, and the other veſſels peculiar to that ſea; and can farther boaſt of having behaved with diſtinguiſhed courage, and acquiring no ſmall honour in the laſt attacks made by Spain upon Algiers. The king ſeems himſelf to have a peculiar diſpoſition to naval affairs, which may be gathered not only from the marked diſtinction with which he has conſtantly treated thoſe Britiſh commanders of royal ſhips or ſquadrons that have arrived in the bay of Naples, but from the curious attention with which he examined the conſtruction and manner of working of their veſſels, and the evident pleaſure with which he has regarded their various evolutions.

We have heretofore had occaſion more than once to pay due praiſe to the grand duke of Tuſcany, for the many excellent regulations which he had introduced into the government of that dutchy, with reſpect to the adminiſtration both of eccleſiaſtical and ſecular affairs; and have particularly applauded the reforms which he had made in the diſpenſation of civil and criminal juſtice, and the mitigation of penal puniſhments. This diſpoſition continues with unabating, and, perhaps, increaſing force; and there is no diſpoſition which requires a more cautious guard or conſtant check upon it, than that which leads to reform, for it eaſily and imperceptibly grows into a paſſion for innovation; becomes capricious or cruel, as circumſtance or oppoſition, the infirmity of nature, or obſtinacy of age, may chance to give it a bias; will at length ſacrifice the inherent rights, or deareſt feelings of mankind, to the petty gratification of rounding a ſyſtem, or the hope of framing ſome clockwork eſtabliſhment of things, which their nature forbids to exiſt; and thus may end in the moſt abſolute and deplorable tyranny of mind and body.

The failure of ſo many of his brother, the emperor's, multifarious projects, and the ill-will and ridicule of which a much greater number were ſo abundantly productive, and particularly the oppoſition made by that part of his ſubjects, which had been the longeſt inured to hereditary deſpotiſm, to the edict for conſuming the dead bodies of their friends in lime, and which, notwithſtanding his vaſt power, and a perſeverance, which is ſuppoſed to be cloſely allied to obſtinacy, he found it neceſſary to recal, might have afforded ſufficient warning to the grand-duke, not to be too haſty in violating the common feelings, and general opinions, or even prejudices of mankind.

Yet, without regard to theſe conſiderations or examples, the inhabitants of the ancient and beautiful city of Florence are compelled eternally to reſign the dead bodies of their deareſt friends, within a ſhort limited term after their deceaſe, without any diſtinction of age, ſex, beauty, rank, or quality, into the rude and vulgar hands of that loweſt claſs of mankind, who could alone be found to ſubmit to ſo odious an employment. All the circumſtances relative to this diſpoſal of the dead, are odious and horrid in the extreme. A machine, upon the conſtruction of a waggon, and large enough to contain all the dead of the city, calls about midnight; the body muſt be delivered ſtark naked, and is thrown headlong into this common receptacle, amidſt the carcaſes of all ſorts, and in all ſtates of diſtemper, which it already holds; ſo that the grave is not neceſſary in this inſtance to level all diſtinction: the friends and relations can neither ſee, hear, or know any thing farther of the loved huſband, wife, child, or parent. The horrid waggon is driven in the dark to a walled cemetery, at a few miles diſtance, where the bodies are thrown promiſcuouſly into one common grave: the thief, the murderer, and thoſe whoſe bodies are already putrid with the moſt loathſome diſtempers, being thus indiſcriminately blended with learning, virtue, courage, the unſpotted matron of high rank, and the modeſt delicate virgin, whoſe opening beauties ſeem yet ſcarcely faded.

Such an outrage upon all the feelings and habits of humanity, upon thoſe mournful duties and attentions to the remains of the deceaſed, which time and piety had rendered ſacred in almoſt all ages and countries, to the laws of decorum and decency, and to the delicacy of the ſofter ſex, has ſeldom been attempted. The dreadful enormities to which the bodies may in ſome caſes be ſubjected, under the ruffianly hands to which they are committed, will be felt by thoſe who know the profligacy of mankind.

It needs ſcarcely to be mentioned, that this regulation, if it deſerves ſo gentle a name, has excited the utmoſt diſguſt and horror in the inhabitants of Florence and its environs; particularly thoſe of the ſuperior orders. It is ſaid that the nobility have abandoned their beautiful villas, whether in ſight of the cemetery, or in the neighbourhood of the road through which the horrible night-waggon takes its ſtated courſe. Paſquinades, epigrams, and bitter private complaints and reflections, afford the only vent which the people have yet found for their indignation and grief. In this ſtate of vexation, the meaſure in queſtion has been ſeverely attributed to the arbitrary levelling diſpoſition of the houſe of Auſtria, who wiſhing to eſtabliſh European government upon what is commonly but erroneouſly ſuppoſed the Aſiatic model and principle, would wiſh to deſtroy all the uſual diſtinctions among men, and to reduce them to the ſimple condition of ſovereigns and ſlaves. It is indeed to be regretted, that the grand duke, who in other reſpects has done much to the ſatisfaction and for the good of his ſubjects, and thereby gained their affection in a very conſiderable degree, ſhould thus have hazarded his well-earned popularity, by haſtily adopting a project ſo evidently repugnant to general opinion, and which carried with it the appearance of invading the common rights, and wantonly ſporting with the tendereſt feelings of mankind.

CHAP. III.

Retroſpective view continued. Venice. War with Tunis. Germany. Diſappointment in the Emperor's commercial views. Failure of the Aſiatic company. Ancient crown and regalia of Hungary removed from Preſburgh to Vienna. Archduke Maximilian ſucceeds to the electorate of Cologn. Admirable improvements in the eccleſiaſtical electorates. Paſtoral letter from the elector of Triers. Death of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. Turkey. New prophet. Some account of the Sheich Manſour. Porte obliged to procure a peace for the Emperor's ſubjects with the Barbary ſtates. Perſian phyſician conſtructs a balloon at Conſtantinople, and aſcends ſucceſsfully into the air, with two others, in the preſence of the court and city. Nobly rewarded by the Grand Signior. Proffered ſervices of a celebrated aeronaut, about the ſame time, rejected by the Emperor and the king of Pruſſia. All attempts of the ſort forbidden in the Ruſſian empire. Denmark. Prince Royal diſplaying uncommon early abilities, is declared major. Unexpected revolution in the miniſtry, and wiſdom with which it was conducted. New council or adminiſtration formed under the auſpices of the prince. Queen Dowager preſented with the royal caſtle of Fredericksburgh, in Holſtein, to which ſhe retires. Prince ſupports with luſtre the early hopes formed of his talents and virtues. Becomes the encourager of literature, and patron of learned men. Liberal and ſucceſsful attempt *to recover the antiquities, and to procure materials for eſtabliſhing the hiſtory of the northern nations. Succeſſion of irregular ſeaſons, with violent ſhocks of the earth, extraordinary commotions in the heavens, and other natural evils, produce great calamities to mankind in various parts of the world. Peſtilence deſolates the coaſts of the Levant with unexampled malignity. Failure of harveſts in Europe. Many parts of Italy, Hungary, Germany, and France, deſolated through the inundations of their great rivers. Prince Leopold of Brunſwick unfortunately periſhes in the Oder. Famine and diſtreſſes of every kind prevail in the northern kingdoms. Ruſſia refuſes the ſtipulated ſupply of grain to Sweden from Livonia, which increaſes the calamity of that country. Complicated diſtreſſes of Norway. Unexampled deſtruction, and calamity of Iceland.*

THE republic of Venice ſeems for ſome time paſt to have been rather departing from that quieſcent and pacific ſyſtem, which has been ſo peculiarly her characteriſtic ſince the beginning of the preſent century. Beſides her late quarrel with the Dutch, which, conſidering the extreme obſtinacy, and a ſort of ſiſterly captiouſneſs and jealouſy which appeared in both the parties, would not have been eaſily qualified, if the ill humour of one had not been ſuddenly arreſted by immediate and imminent danger, ſhe has ever ſince been engaged in an expenſive and unprofitable maritime war with the regency of Tunis. We do not recollect that the occaſions for this war were greater, or the offences given of a deeper dye, than thoſe which uſually occur in tranſactions with the African ſtates. The Venetian fleet have, however, repeatedly inſulted the coaſts of that kingdom, have cannonaded and bombarded, with leſs or greater effect, ſeveral of the Tuniſian ports or maritime fortreſſes, and have particularly ſucceeded in deſtroying the defences of Sfax, and laying the town in aſhes.

Although from that commercial diſpoſition which ſo ſingularly diſtinguiſhes the ſtate of Tunis, a war of this nature is infinitely more prejudicial to it than it would to any other of the Barbary powers, yet the obſtinacy of the dey has hitherto appeared unconquerable. He had laid it down at the beginning, as a principle never to be departed from, that a full indemnification, on the ſide of Venice, for all the expences he had been put to in arming and defence, and every loſs which he or his ſubjects ſuſtained in the war, ſhould be the *ſine qua non*, the leading preliminary to a peace; and without which no terms of accommodation can ever be received or liſtened to. To this reſolution he has adhered with the utmoſt inflexibility; and the republic is in the ſtrange ſituation, that every ſucceſs ſhe gains only ſerves to render the concluſion of peace the more impracticable. Their admiral Emo, has, however, gained conſiderable credit and applauſe by his conduct and exertions, and their marine ſome reputation and experience in this war. Perhaps the old lion of St. Mark is only whetting his claws and trying his ſtrength in ſmall adventure, in order to prepare himſelf for ſome harder and greater encounter, which he foreſees the probable occaſion for in that quarter of Europe. It is indeed probable, conſidering the œconomical diſpoſition of the republic, that the war with Tunis is only a pretext for keeping up a conſiderable naval armament.

While the commercial ſtate of Venice is addreſſing itſelf to arms, the emperor has already experienced that diſappointment in his commercial ſchemes, to which thoſe are liable who attempt to over-rule or counteract the deſigns of nature, in that diſtribution which ſhe has thought fit to make of advantage or incommodity to the various ſituations of mankind. This diſappointment was the more ſenſibly felt, as it affected that favourite and captivating part of his projects, which was to render the remote tails or outſkirts of his widely extended continental dominions, the ſources of a great and productive commerce with the eaſtern world. The Aſiatic company of Oſtend and Trieſte, which had been ſo much the favourite object of his nurture, care and hope, and which probably afforded a leading motive for his quarrel with Holland, and attempt of opening the Scheldt, became bankrupt for the heavy ſum of twenty millions of French livres, early in the ſummer of 1785. This heavy blow, which ſeverely affected the whole riſing commerce of the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the monied men in other parts of his dominions, as well as foreigners, was ſaid to have been accelerated by the ſpirit of ſome Dutch merchants, whoſe indignation being excited at the unjuſt claims which they conceived that prince was making upon their country, procured, as a meaſure of retaliation, bills for a great amount to be drawn upon the Aſiatic company from Paris; and theſe being unexpectedly preſented, and, in the uſual mercantile manner, proteſted for non-payment, this excited ſo great and ſudden an alarm among the other creditors, that the Count de Preli, the principal or oſtenſible director, was obliged to abſcond, and the whole commercial fabric fell at once to the ground. It was not, however, now neceſſary to eſtabliſh the axiom, that commerce, at leaſt in her nonage, muſt walk ſlowly and regularly, with peace in one hand, and with juſtice in the other, if ſhe expects to grow or to flouriſh; and that unbridled power, immenſe ſtanding armies, views of conqueſt, and rapacious violations of good faith and neighbourhood, are utterly incompatible with her proſperity, whoſe arts are all of the conciliatory kind.

Nor does it ſeem that the emperor has been much more fortunate in his other commercial projects than in his Eaſt India adventure. Even the new trade of the Danube and Black Sea, from which ſuch wonders had been expected, and which had been ſo hardly wreſted from the Porte in the hour of diſtreſs and danger, is ſaid to have hitherto afforded little more than diſappointment and loſs; nor is the commerce of the Adriatic repreſented as being much more productive. In the mean time, the internal commerce of his dominions, which is naturally very great and productive, and capable of prodigious improvement, is diſturbed and overlaid by that infinite ſeries of edicts and regulations, which frequently militating with each other, as well as with all the principles of trade, are deſtructive of that quiet, ſtability, and power of free agency, which are eſſential to its exiſtence; and which, if they do not prove ruinous to thoſe already concerned, will at leaſt deter others from hazarding their property upon ſuch quickſand foundations. Among theſe are to be reckoned thoſe heavy duties, amounting in effect to prohibitions, which were laid upon various Engliſh manufactures, particularly thoſe of iron and ſteel, which, from their extravagance, and the failure of conſidering or underſtanding their certain or probable conſequences, carried their own overthrow along with them, and have accordingly been ſince either aboliſhed or modified. This has, however, been conſidered rather as a political meaſure, than a mere act of commercial regulation, and attributed to the reſentment excited by the king of Great Britain's acceſſion, as elector of Hanover, to the Germanic league, which was an object of ſo much jealouſy and vexation to the court of Vienna.

Of the numerous innovations which are ſaid to have occaſioned ſo much diſguſt and diſſatisfaction among the Hungarians, few could ſeem better calculated for that purpoſe, eſpecially to a proud, fierce and ſuperſtitious people, violently attached to their old manners and habits, and ſtill vain of a liberty and glory which have been long defunct, than the meaſure adopted by the emperor in the year 1784, of removing their ancient crown and regalia from Preſburgh to Vienna. The crown was fortified with all thoſe ſanctions, which in paſt ages could render it the ſuppoſed palladium of a country. It had been a preſent ſo long ago as the year 1000, from Pope Sylveſter the IId to St. Stephen, then king of Hungary; ſo that all the reverence of ſanctity was added to that communicated by time. The crown was of pure and ſolid gold, and, to ſtamp the greater value on it, it was made after the faſhion of that worn by the Greek emperors; it was adorned with an emerald of great ſize, and ſeveral hundreds of rubies, ſapphires and pearls; beſides being ornamented with images of the apoſtles and patriarchs in maſſy gold. The pope added to the crown a donation of a large ſilver croſs, which was afterwards inſerted in the arms of Hungary, and afforded an opportunity to its kings to aſſume the title of *Apoſtolic*; a title latterly revived and aſſumed by the late Maria Thereſa; who was crowned queen of Hungary with this regalia at Preſburgh, in the days of her greateſt tribulation. Theſe, with the ſceptre and globe of the kingdom, which boaſted, beſides their antiquity, being made of pure Arabian gold, a magnificent two-edged ſword, and a curious mantle for coronations, richly wrought in gold with figures, images, and inſcriptions, by Giſele, the celebrated conſort of St. Stephen, were all carried away to Vienna.

It ſeemed rather a wanton ſporting with the feelings of ſuch a people, to deprive them of theſe veſtiges of loſt royalty, and harmleſs objects of national pride. If it was any relief or gratification to a people, bending under the irkſome weight of a foreign yoke, to ſee that their maſters were once in their lives under a neceſſity of viſiting them, and of receiving the inſignia of royalty and government at their hands, why ſhould they not be indulged in ſo innocent a gratification? Nor is the neceſſity of ſuch obſervances, however trivial they may appear, entirely unimportant to a people, as they are ſymbols of their connection with the governing power, and ſerve occaſionally to remind it of its duties. Feeble ties indeed! but what ties are ſtrong to controul the extravagancies of power? All we can do is to ſupply with number the deficiency of ſtrength, and to hope that thoſe leſſer ones may operate on the imagination, where the greater ſanctions fail to lay hold upon the levity, or to ſubdue the viciouſneſs of our nature. The ſpirits of the Hungarians have been too much broken, and the meaſures of late years purſued to make them degenerate from their antient character, have been too ſucceſsful, for this or any other meaſure to produce any much greater effect than that of private murmur. Indeed, what ſpirits could remain unbroken, under the controul of a ſtanding army of 300,000 men?

The Arch Duke Maximilian's acceſſion to the electorate of Cologne, and to its great appendage the ſovereign biſhopric of Munſter, (which forms ſo potent a principality in itſelf) upon the death of the late elector, in 1784, was no novelty in the affairs of Germany, as being a matter already ſettled by his previous election to the coadjutorſhip; an election which we may remember had been warmly, and with much ſtrength of reaſoning and political judgment, oppoſed by the king of Pruſſia; though the ſuperiority of the Auſtrian intereſt rendered his arguments and interpoſition ineffectual. This prince has hitherto taken no apparent part in the general politics of Germany; and by the attention he pays to the government of his electorate, and the good of his ſubjects, has already acquired their affection, as well as the eſteem of his neighbours, in a very conſiderable degree; and which a wiſe and munificent diſpoſal of his great and princely revenues (to which his inclination is ſaid to lead him) will effectually ſecure.

The extraordinary change which has taken place in the circumſtances of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates, within leſs than an age, whether conſidered with regard to improvements in civil or eccleſiaſtical government, to the wearing-off of prejudices, the extenſion of religious toleration, to the introduction of a judicious ſyſtem of education, the eſtabliſhment of public ſchools, and the encouragement given to learning, and the cultivation of the arts and ſciences among the ſuperior claſſes of the people, is in every reſpect truly ſurpriſing; and will be conſidered as the more admirable, under the reflection that theſe great improvements are not the effect of any religious or political revolution, of any change in the order or nature of government, nor of any foreign or domeſtic violence upon the diſpoſition either of princes or people.

A paſtoral letter, which was iſſued in the year 1784, by the elector and archbiſhop of Triers to his clergy, will ſerve conſiderably to illuſtrate this obſervation, and is the more remarkable, as that prince (who is of the houſe of Saxony) is conſidered as being peculiarly attached to the tenets of that church of which he is ſo conſiderable a member; and that the outward marks of his zeal in that reſpect have gone much beyond any that have been diſplayed by his brethren of Mentz and Cologne.

This curious paſtoral letter will, however, ſpeak for him and for itſelf. After ſtating to his clergy the objects which they ſhould have in view, and the conduct which they ſhould obſerve in the diſcharge of thoſe ſacred functions to which they are aſſigned; he dwells particularly upon the inſtructions which they ſhould give to the people on religious ſubjects; and ſtrictly charges the rectors to confine themſelves in their ſermons to morality, and to the practical duties of a virtuous life, which all may underſtand and profit by, inſtead of entering into abſtruſe queſtions and theological diſquiſitions, which, beyond the capacity of moſt of their auditors, ſerve only to excite troubleſome or dangerous doubts, and to diffuſe an idle ſpirit of diſputation, which frequently tends to the treating of the moſt delicate or ſacred ſubjects with irreverence. He then ſtrictly preſcribes that all luxury ſhould be baniſhed from the churches: obſerving (rather in the ſentiments of a preſbyter of a reformed church, than the language of a Roman Catholic prince and prelate) "That neatneſs and decency are all that are befitting the Houſe of the Lord:" that, on days of ceremony, worldly magnificence ſhould be avoided, the effect of which was to excite more of curioſity than of devotion; and forbids that the muſic of the theatres ſhould ever be brought into the churches. He enjoins the paſtors to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to undeceive and to wean the people from their preſent abſurd notions and prejudices, concerning wizards, phantoms, ſpells, and raiſing the devil, all of which are the offspring of the groſſeſt folly and ignorance; that they ſhall diſcharge to their flocks the reſpective functions of fathers, judges, and ſpiritual phyſicians; that they ſhould viſit them frequently; and that they ſhould never, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, ſend ſubſtitutes to ſupply their own place among the poor, who are thoſe that ſtand moſt in need of conſolation and aſſiſtance.

It ſhould not be forgotten here, that the Elector of Mentz has commenced a reform of the eccleſiaſtical orders in his dominion; that he has already obtained the conſent of the pope for the ſuppreſſion of three monaſteries, and has applied their revenues to the ſupport of the univerſity, and to the uſe of ſome of the new ſchools, which, upon the plan of an improved ſyſtem of education, have been inſtituted and moſt liberally endowed by himſelf. It may likewiſe be a matter of ſome curioſity to take notice, that the Bible, in the language of the country, is frequently to be met with in the hands of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that electorate; and that the clergy have for ſeveral years permitted it to be read, under ſome very moderate reſtrictions with reſpect to the age and qualifications of the parties applying.

We now return to affairs merely political. The ſudden death of the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, which happened on the laſt of October 1785, was not capable of producing any immediate effect on the public ſtate of Germany; his eldeſt ſon, William, count of Hanau, who was then turned of forty years of age, ſucceeding of courſe in his poſſeſſions. The late landgrave had, during his father's life-time, and ſo long ago as the year 1754, departed ſo far from the religious principles of his anceſtors, as to enter into the Roman Catholic communion; which, however, producing no change in the ſtate of the government, nor in the condition or perſuaſion of his ſubjects, was to be conſidered merely as a private tranſaction. It is well known that he had lived for many years upon very ill terms with the princeſs Mary, his conſort, who was a daughter of England; and he is ſaid to have been much diſpoſed to French intereſts and politics, although the love of money induced him to hire his troops to England in the American war. The political ſentiments of the preſent landgrave are ſaid to be directly the reverſe of thoſe held by his father; and as he is cloſely allied in blood, ſo he is ſaid to be no leſs attached by diſpoſition to the intereſts of the reigning family of Great Britain. The vaſt ſums of money which that country and family have drawn from England through the courſe of the late war, together with the very large pecuniary legacies which have been ſince willed to the latter by the princeſs Amelia, ſeem to afford them the means, along with the military turn of the people, the arbitrary nature of the government, and their large hereditary poſſeſſions, of becoming very potent in Germany; and it may well be preſumed, will have no ſmall effect in ſupporting their claim to the ninth electorate; a buſineſs which lies ſo long dormant, through the claſhing of the great political intereſts that divide the empire.

The ſpringing up of a new prophet in the Upper Aſia (an inſtance of ambition under a different character) might, at certain periods, have been conſidered as the indication of ſome extraordinary revolution in the Eaſtern world. But the general diſpoſition of things in the preſent day is far from being favourable to the growth, in any great degree, of ſuch impoſtures; and even in thoſe regions which ſeemed at all times to have been peculiarly adapted by nature or circumſtance to the production of fanatical enthuſiaſm, checks and difficulties now occur, which prevent the former dangerous and wonderful effects from taking place.

The Sheich Manſour pretended that he was pre-doomed by the eternal and immutable decrees of Heaven to fill up the meaſure of divine revelation to mankind; that as he was the laſt prophet that ever was to appear, ſo he was to cloſe up and to affix the ſeal to the ordinances of Providence; that he was not ſent to ſubvert the inſtitutes and doctrine of Mahomet, whoſe miſſion was equally divine with his own, but to reſtore them to their original purity, with ſuch additions and alterations as the preſent ſtate of things rendered neceſſary; that the foreknown corruptions of mankind, and of the text and doctrines of Mahomet, had occaſioned his being predeſtined from the beginning to this great and important office. As the reform of mankind was to be now general and complete, and that the obſtinacy of many infidels was too incorrigible to be wrought upon by perſuaſion, or even by miracle, ſo, in imitation of his great prototype, he aſſumed the uſe of the ſword, as well as of the ſpirit, for the accompliſhment of that great work.

It was at firſt given out that it was his object entirely to overthrow the doctrine of Mahomet, and to erect a new edifice upon its ruins; and that, repreſenting the miſſion of that prophet as completed, and his power and authority in the government of this world as expired, he had forbidden the pilgrimages to Mecca, and all acts of devotion to him, as unlawful. But theſe accounts do not accord with ſubſequent well-ſupported circumſtances; and it ſeems probable that he only pretended that his new miſſion was intended to reform the doctrines, and to ſupply the deficiencies of the former, with ſuch additions as the preſent ſtate of mankind required, and the new lights communicated to him preſcribed; but at the ſame time aſſuming greater powers, as the laſt prophet, than had been communicated to the former, or to any other; for it is to be remembered that the ſcriptures, eſpecially the old, form much of the groundwork for all Mahometan reformers and prophets. It is alſo probable that the impoſtor's doctrines and pretenſions varied according to circumſtances, the effect which he found they produced, and the condition or temper of his hearers; that the language which he held with the Turkiſh theologians was probably very different from that uſed to his barbarous followers; and that, even among them, great myſteries were reſerved for the choſen few.

The wide and deſolate regions bordering on the Caſpian ſea were for various cauſes, particularly their remoteneſs, the diverſity and weakneſs of their governments, with the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the people, the beſt choſen ſcene for the new prophet's exhibition that perhaps the world in the preſent day could have afforded. He had accordingly made a conſiderable progreſs in his undertaking before he was heard of at Conſtantinople, and then he was repreſented as being already at the head of a multitude of armed enthuſiaſts, and that he intended nothing leſs than the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed religion. In the preſent convulſed and diſordered ſtate of the empire this intelligence could not but cauſe much alarm to the Porte; they were not ignorant of the effect which a pretended revelation from heaven might produce in countries ſo prone to religious deluſion; and they knew that the reſtleſs temper of theſe barbarous nations rendered them at all times ready to follow any leader, without even the pretence of religion, who held out proſpects of war and ſpoil to them. The innumerable ſects into which the Mahometan religion is ſplit, and the extraordinary opinions held by many of them, ſeemed likewiſe to open the way for any bold innovator, who pretended to new lights, and an extraordinary ſanctity, to accompliſh a dangerous revolution.

Orders were accordingly diſpatched to the Turkiſh commanders in Armenia and the adjoining countries, to be ſtudiouſly upon their guard againſt the deſigns of the impoſtor; and at the ſame time that they narrowly watched his motions and conduct, and endeavoured to penetrate into his real character and deſigns, to abſtain from any wanton outrage againſt him or his followers. Turkiſh divines and theologians were likewiſe commiſſioned to confer with him, to enquire into his religious opinions, and particularly into the objects of his pretended miſſion. The remoteneſs of the ſcene, with the difficulties of communication, and of obtaining intelligence in theſe waſte and wide countries, whoſe limits are ſcarcely known by their immediate rulers, occaſioned long anxious expectation at Conſtantinople for the reſult of theſe enquiries. It however at length appeared, that the prophet had given full ſatisfaction to the deputed divines on the ſubject of religion, and the orthodoxy of his principles; but what was of infinitely more importance than his religious tenets, it was at the ſame time diſcovered, that all the military fury of his zeal was directed againſt the Chriſtians; they being the infidels, whoſe converſion being hopeleſs, rendered their extermination neceſſary.

This intelligence was ſoon farther confirmed, by the new ſaint's commencing, at the head of his followers, a fierce war againſt the Georgians; and they being allied with the Ruſſians, and his enmity being directed equally againſt all Chriſtians, this original object of alarm ſoon became an uſeful inſtrument of the Turkiſh government. For he ſounded the alarm among the Leſſghis, and all the other nations of Caucaſean Tartars (who have in all ages been among the fierceſt, braveſt, and moſt independent of mankind) of the danger to which their religion and liberties were expoſed, through the power and near approach of the Ruſſians; and thus contributed to the forming of a general combination againſt them, at a time when the Porte, from the critical ſituation of her affairs, however dangerous and fatal ſhe knew their progreſs in that quarter would be to her intereſts and ſafety, could not venture to make any direct oppoſition to their deſigns.

Among the other extraordinary conceſſions which the emperor extorted from the Porte, not as the price of his friendſhip (for that was not even pretended) but merely of his preſent quieſcence, none could be more ſingular in the conception, or extravagantly unreaſonable and unjuſt in the demand, than that of his requiring payment at Conſtantinople for the loſſes which his ſubjects had ſuſtained from the piracies of the Barbary ſtates, together with the reſtoration of the captives; and a peremptory requiſition that they ſhould in future be entirely freed from their depredations. It was in vain ſhewn that the grand ſignior held no ſuch authority at preſent over thoſe ſtates as could in any degree enable him to reſtrain their piracies, or even warrant his making ſuch a demand upon them; that he was not in a condition to compel them to any meaſures which were contrary to their own intereſts or likings; but that, if it had been otherwiſe, it would be as contrary to juſtice as to reaſon, that, having no complaint againſt them himſelf, he ſhould enter into ſuch a war on the account of another; that the idea of his being anſwerable for their piracies, and making good the loſſes ſuſtained by them, was ſo extravagant in its nature, that it could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed it was ſeriouſly adopted.

The arrogance of power on the one ſide, and a fearful ſenſe of it on the other, could not but produce humiliating effects. The Barbary ſtates have, of late years, ſhaken off almoſt every appearance of dependance on the Porte, (nor was that at any time ſo perfect as to reſtrain their piracies) and the Algerines not long ſince refuſed, with the greateſt inſolence, to pay a ſmall cuſtomary tribute upon the acceſſion of a new dey. Yet the grand ſignior found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſuing to his old vaſſals to afford that ſecurity to the emperor's new commerce at Trieſte and

Fiume, (who had not a ſingle ſhip or frigate of war for its protection) which the old trading powers of the Mediterranean, poſſeſſed of conſiderable naval force, cannot procure for themſelves. It cannot be doubted that ſome reſpect for paſt dignity, a regard to the general intereſts and ſecurity of the Mahometan religion, with a conſideration of the ſhaken and critical ſtate of the Ottoman empire, were the motives that operated with the piratical ſtates of Barbary in granting a peace to the emperor's ſubjects.

We have before taken notice of the progreſs which arts and general knowledge are making in Conſtantinople, and that the grand ſignior had himſelf ordered the erection of printing-preſſes. He has ſince gone farther, and has ordered editions of the Ottoman Hiſtory, and of ſeveral uſeful and valuable works, to be printed at his own expence.

It was not, however, to be expected, that the new experiments and phyſical diſcoveries with reſpect to air, and the means of human conveyance through it, ſhould have yet reached that capital, which had ſo long been wrapped in the ſeemingly impenetrable gloom of indolence and ignorance, and where a ſtupid pride ſhut out the means of information, and ſeemed even to ſeal up the ſources of curioſity. It was as little to be expected, that whenever ſuch knowledge was communicated, or its effect diſplayed, the artiſt or adventurer ſhould not have been a native of the Weſtern world.

But, contrary to all ſpeculation on that ſubject, a Perſian phyſician had the honour to be the firſt aeronaut, who not only attempted but ſucceſsfully accompliſhed the purpoſe of aſcending into the regions of the clouds at Conſtantinople. Though this Eaſtern philoſopher, undoubtedly, derived his knowledge from the numberleſs experiments made in France and England, yet, conſidering the frequent failures which occurred in both, and the great expence which conſtantly attends theſe projects, the facility with which he conſtructed and filled with *gas*, or air, a balloon of great ſize, without ſubſcription or ſupport of any kind, is not a little ſurprizing. His ingenuity and courage were, however, amply rewarded in the event. In the preſence of the grand ſignior and his principal officers, he, accompanied with two gentlemen of the court, aſcended into the air from the grand terrace, which had been elegantly decorated for the purpoſe. They had previouſly paid their reſpects perſonally to the ſultan, who preſented each of them with a rich pelice, which they triumphantly wore in the aſcent. Nothing could be more flattering to the aeronauts, or more magnificent, than the ſight which they had to contemplate; all the inhabitants of that imperial city gazing and loſt in admiration, and the forbidden beautiful gardens of the ſeraglio open to view, and filled with the ſultanas and ladies in their richeſt habits. They paſſed over into Aſia, and came proſperouſly to ground at about 30 leagues diſtance from the capital, after ſurveying one of the moſt beautiful and moſt delightful countries in the univerſe. After a knowledge of the terrors which the ſight of balloons have impreſſed on the minds of the people in the philoſophical countries of England and France, we may form ſome idea of the effect which this produced on the Aſiatic ſide of the Helleſpont, at ſuch a diſtance from the capital. But the Mahometans were ſtruck with peculiar and inexpreſſible dread and horror, under the ſuppoſition that their prophet was coming to take vengeance for their manifold offences. In this terror they proſtrated themſelves every where upon the earth; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the aeronauts could ſo far undeceive a few of the moſt ſenſible and courageous, as to procure aſſiſtance for ſecuring the balloon. The aeronauts were treated with the greateſt marks of diſtinction and honour upon their return to court, and moſt nobly rewarded, particularly the Perſian phyſician, by the grand ſignior; who likewiſe ordered the balloon to be hung up in the church of St. Sophia as a perpetual memorial of ſo wonderful an event.

At the ſame time that this adventure excited ſo much pleaſure, and was ſo amply rewarded at Conſtantinople, ſuch is the difference of taſte and opinion, that the proffered exertions of one of the moſt eminent aerial voyagers were rejected by the emperor of Germany and the Pruſſian monarch; and all attempts of the kind were abſolutely forbidden by the empreſs of Ruſſia in any part of her dominions. The refuſal of theſe great princes was founded on the inutility of the diſcovery, and the fatal conſequences to which theſe voyages were liable, and with which they had already been attended. The great expence which they occaſioned, and the loſs of time and idleneſs which they excited among the people, were undoubtedly, though not ſpecified, among the operating cauſes of rejection with theſe prudent princes.

In the beginning of the year 1784, an unexpected miniſterial revolution took place in Denmark. It was not, however, attended with any other conſequences, than that of a reform or change in the councils and government of that kingdom. The queen dowager, who is a princeſs of the houſe of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, and who in common with her family is poſſeſſed of no ſmall ſhare of ſpirit and ability, is almoſt neceſſarily fond of power, and ſtrongly addicted to ſtate intrigue. Her being a ſecond wife, perhaps, enabled her to acquire the greater degree of influence in the late reign, and other circumſtances afforded her an opportunity not only of retaining but increaſing it in the preſent. This fondneſs for power, and the jealouſy atttendant on it, were generally ſuppoſed to have operated principally in producing that fatal revolution, in which the late unfortunate queen Carolina Matilda was the chief victim, but in which two of the ruling miniſters and favourites periſhed, under circumſtances of ſuch inhuman cruelty, as ſtruck all Europe with horror. The nation has ſince been ſunk in a degrading ſtate of apathy, and ſeemed almoſt entirely to have loſt its rank in the eſtimation and conſideration of the other powers of Europe.

That bloody cataſtrophe ſerved to eſtabliſh the power of the queen dowager beyond all controul, and beyond the probability of its being ſhaken. She had filled the great offices of ſtate with her adherents and favourites; and the infant ſon of the unhappy Matilda being little thought of, and the probabilities againſt his life at that tender age being conſiderable, her ſon prince

Frederic

Frederic (the king's half brother) who was already arrived at manhood, was looked up to as the preſumptive ſucceſſor to the throne: ſo that all things ſeemed to concur in ſecuring her influence and authority for life; as they ſeemed firmly fixed for the preſent, and they could not be expected to ſuffer any diminution under the future government of an only ſon, brought up under her own tuition and maxims.

But time, which, though the great deſtroyer, is likewiſe the great renovator of all ſublunary things, was preparing to throw a ſudden cloud over all theſe bright and flattering proſpects. The late infant prince royal was approaching faſt to maturity, and beſides thoſe pleaſing embelliſhments incident to the vigour of youth and a good conſtitution, afforded indications of other qualities which, though highly grateful to the people at large, were particularly flattering to the hopes of the friends and partizans of his mother; and that deſcription including all thoſe who had either ſuffered themſelves through the conſequences of the late revolution, or who reſented the injuries of their friends who had, together with all ſuch who were diſſatisfied, upon whatever account, with the preſent conduct of public affairs, the party could not but be numerous.

Jan. 1784. Upon the opening of his 17th year, the prince appeared with ſuch uncommonly early accompliſhments, and diſplayed ſuch forward and manly talents and abilities, that he became the hope and darling object of the nation. We are not ſufficiently maſters of the ſubject, to be able to give any detail of the previous meaſures which he purſued for the overthrow of the junto, who, under the name of the cabinet, or council of ſtate, were the oſtenſible directors of the affairs of the kingdom; the event, however, ſhews, that he derived every benefit from his own popularity, and from the odium under which the ruling powers laboured on account of the fate of his mother, for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe; and it is evident that his meaſures were judicious, and his councils (from whatever quarter derived) prudent and wiſe. That darkneſs which ever prevails in deſpotic courts renders us equally incapable of determining whether the king took a previous, or any active ſhare in the buſineſs; or whether he only gave a ſanction and confirmation to what was already done.

April 14th. However theſe things were, the firſt great point publicly attained by the prince was his being declared *major*, and his taking his place at the head of the council-board accordingly. This was the immediate prelude to the diſſolution of the junto, who ſeemed to have no intimation of their approaching fate, until they were informed by the prince, that the king his father had no farther occaſion for their ſervices. At the ſame time all the public departments received notice, that they were not to acknowledge or obey any orders from the late cabinet; and an ordinance was immediately publiſhed, that no orders from the council of ſtate were in future to be received or conſidered as valid, which had not been previouſly reported to the king, ſigned by him, and counterſigned by the prince royal. This was followed by the late miniſters, the counts Roſencrantz and Bernſtorff, being recalled from their long exile, and placed at the head of a new adminiſtration, in which only one of the late cabinet was retained. At their firſt meeting a new plan of adminiſtration, ſaid to be compoſed by the prince, and to have already received the royal ſanction, was read by him in the preſence of his father; and, being approved of by all, and then ſigned by the king, became an authentic inſtrument of government. The prince was immediately appointed preſident of the new council, which was compoſed of his uncle prince Frederic, and five or ſix of the newly-appointed great officers of ſtate.

No revolution of the ſort, under ſuch a government, affecting a party ſo long and ſo firmly rooted in power, and ſupported by ſuch great intereſts, was ever accompliſhed with greater facility; nor has the temper, moderation, and wiſdom, which preſided in the whole conduct of the buſineſs, been often equalled. No other marks of reprobation or reſentment were experienced by the members of the late cabinet, than the mere deprivation of their power, and loſs of their places: the ſmalleſt harſhneſs, or remembrance of paſt injury, did not appear in any part of the proceedings. This conduct will appear the more exemplary and wiſe, to thoſe who recollect the unequalled cruelties which ſtained the preceding revolution, and who conſider the bitterneſs of ſpirit which their remembrance could not ſtill but inevitably excite.

The ſame moderation and wiſdom prevailed in every thing. The queen dowager, as ſome conſolation for that diſappointment which her ambition ſuffered, and for that loſs of maſked power, which holds out ſuch irreſiſtible charms to her ſex and time of life, was gratified by the princely donation from the king, of the ſuperb caſtle of Fredericſburgh, in the duchy of Holſtein, with the extenſive demeſnes, eſtates, and royalties appertaining to it; and, to render this free gift the more pleaſing and complete, it was granted in perpetuity, with full authority to the queen to transfer, ſell, or diſpoſe of it by bequeſt, in whatever manner ſhe might think proper. Similar large poſſeſſions, with the ſame unlimited rights, were conferred upon prince Frederic, whoſe conduct through all the paſt tranſactions had been ſo blameleſs, that even his being the inſtrument or object of another's ambition could not throw the ſmalleſt degree of imputation upon his character. The queen dowager retired to her caſtle in Holſtein, and the moſt perfect tranquillity prevailed and continued throughout the kingdom.

The prince royal of Denmark has had the happy fortune, inſtead of diminiſhing the early hopes that were formed of him, or loſing any part of the eſtimation in which he was held, to confirm and increaſe both in a very ~~high~~ degree. Beſides his unuſual attention and application to public buſineſs, he ſhews a moſt laudable diſpoſition to letters, and is become the patron of learned men, and of literature. Inſtead of waſting his time in the amuſements and ſports incident to his time of life and condition, he is already erecting an indelible monument to his fame, by becoming the reſtorer of the learning, hiſtory, and antiquities of his country. The early hiſtory of the Northern nations has been buried in the deepeſt darkneſs, which has likewiſe ſerved to involve that of a great part of Europe in much obſcurity. Yet ſuch a ſhare of learning as was equal to the preſervation, in ſome form or degree, of the traditions and monuments of antiquity, prevailed in ſeveral parts of the North, which now retain no veſtiges of their ever poſſeſſing any ſuch light; and late diſcoveries ſhew, that it was extended even to remote parts of Ruſſia. But Iceland, which was firſt the great and laſt depoſitory of the old Runic learning, fables, and mythology, became ſuddenly the great luminary of the North, with reſpect to the new Chriſtian literature. Iceland ſoon ſunk, under the preſſure of calamity and the gloom of ignorance, into nearly a forgetfulneſs of its paſt ſtate; while the labours of its bards and ſages, with the ſtill more early remains of antiquity, were buried in obſcurity.

The prince has moſt liberally applied a conſiderable ſhare of his perſonal income or revenue to the recovery and developement of this antient lore. For this purpoſe he has employed learned men and judicious antiquaries to examine the public archives and private depoſitories in Denmark and Norway, including the royal libraries and muſeums, for every thing that could tend to throw light upon the objects which they had in view. The long-forgotten repoſitories of Iceland were ſcrutinized in the ſame manner; and the remains of antiquity, in proſe and verſe, have been retrieved from duſt and aſhes, once more to behold the light. The reſult of this ſearch has been highly favourable and flattering to its authors. The moſt valuable diſcoveries are ſaid to have been made; and it is farther ſaid, that great ability, judgment, and induſtry, are uſed in ſelecting, collating, and preparing for the preſs, thoſe parts which appear deſerving of publication. From ſome detached parts or fragments of them which have already appeared, it may be expected that they will throw no ſmall light upon the early hiſtory of theſe kingdoms, at leaſt upon that of the northern parts of Great Britain, of Ireland, and of the numerous iſlands appertaining to Scotland. It is not impoſſible, nor even improbable, conſidering the long depredations of the Danes in theſe countries, but that ſome valuable records or monuments, of which no memorial is exiſting at home, may be diſcovered in theſe reſearches.

It may not be thought improper to turn our eyes for a moment from the contemplation of political revolutions to thoſe great events of nature which ſeem to have marked the preſent time. They are equally intereſting to all nations, as they affect the concerns we hold in common, and ſtrike the imagination with the greateſt force, becauſe in thoſe calamities which we inflict upon each other the power as well as the feebleneſs of man is diſplayed, and his ſufferings ſeem alleviated by the gratification of his vanity: but in thoſe which proceed from natural cauſes, we are entirely impotent and paſſive; we bow down, and recognize the imbecility of our condition.

A ſucceſſion of ſevere, irregular, and what are deemed unnatural ſeaſons, attended with many violent ſhocks of the earth, and extraordinary commotions in the heavens, have, for ſome years, grievouſly afflicted mankind in various parts of the world, and in every quarter of the globe. The deſolation occaſioned by earthquakes was not confined to Calabria or to Europe. Few great portions of the earth, from Formoſa in the Eaſt, to Santa Fé and Mexico in the Weſt, have eſcaped being injured or alarmed by theſe awful concuſſions of nature. In the ſame manner, tempeſts, hurricanes, tornadoes, attended with their uſual concomitant, violent irruptions, and fatal inundations of the ſea, have more or leſs ſwept the ſeas, and deſolated the coaſts, nearly in all countries and climates: thoſe of the Eaſt, and of the Weſt Indies, at all times liable to their influence, have now experienced their fury in a degree before unknown.

That other great ſcourge and deſtroyer of mankind, the peſtilence, has deſolated, with unequalled malignity, thoſe countries which, from whatever cauſe, ſeem to lie more peculiarly within the ſphere of its action. From the Atlantic borders of Morocco to the extremities of Egypt, and from Paleſtine to the mouth of the Euxine, the African and Aſiatic coaſts of the Mediterranean, with thoſe of Thrace on the European ſide, the cruelty of its ravages has been more ſevere, and the deſtruction of mankind greater, than at any period within the reach of memory, or perhaps within the records of hiſtory.

Europe has likewiſe had its ſhare of thoſe evils, which no wiſdom can foreſee, no art or force prevent. Through a ſucceſſion of ſuch untoward ſeaſons as we have mentioned; from the ſummer's partaking of the nature of winter; from the winters being without example in their ſeverity; from deſtructive tempeſts, violent and untimely rains and ſnows, long droughts, and exceſſive heats; and, to ſum up all, from an exceſs and irregularity in the uſual operations of nature, the labours and hopes of the huſbandman have been frequently fruſtrated, and a very great failure of the fruits and products of the earth has very generally taken place.

To increaſe theſe calamities, ſome of the fineſt parts of Germany, Hungary, Italy, and France, where the fertility of the ſoil, or the height of cultivation, ſeemed in ſome ſort to bid defiance to the aſperity of the ſeaſons, have been deſolated by the repeated and untimely inundations of their great rivers; which, having frequently taken place in the ſummer and autumn, were the more fatally deſtructive in their effect. It was upon one of theſe afflicting occaſions, that the illuſtrious prince Leopold of Brunſwick, became a victim to his humane and heroic endeavour (on the 27th of April 1785) to ſave the lives of a diſtracted mother's children, who were encloſed by the ſtill-increaſing waters of the Oder, and on the point of periſhing before her eyes. The prince, partly perhaps as a rebuke to the cowardlineſs of the peaſants, but more through the generoſity of his nature, put off in a ſmall boat to their aſſiſtance, which being driven by the violence of the current againſt the ſtump of an overthrown tree, it was unhappily ſtaved and overſet.—Poland and Lithuania, bowed down as they already were under the weight of their moral and political evils, were likewiſe doomed to bear their proportion of theſe phyſical calamities; nor did Pruſſia (now only their neighbour) eſcape any better.

It was eſtimated that Germany alone loſt a million of ſheep by the inundations, and by the conſequent want of food, and diſtempers which they produced; the loſs in cattle was proportional. The moſt fertile countries in Europe, and thoſe which had been wont to relieve the neceſſities of others, being thus reduced to penury by the failure or deſtruction of their harveſts, it is no wonder that the frozen and ſterile regions of the North ſhould now experience the greateſt diſtreſs. Their winters for three or four years had been ſevere beyond all known example. The extremity of the cold was inſupportable to man and beaſt. The moſt fertile provinces of Ruſſia, and even Livonia itſelf (the plenteous granary of the North) failed of producing their accuſtomed harveſts. This afforded either cauſe or pretence to the court of Peterſburgh, (for it is ſuppoſed that political ſuſpicion or jealouſy operated at leaſt equally) to withhold the ſtipulated ſupplies of corn from Livonia to Sweden, which ſhe was by treaty bound to permit the exportation of. By this means Sweden was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, and her northern provinces particularly ſuffered every degree of calamity.

The Daniſh iſlands would have been abundantly ſupplied by their German provinces, if other wants, much more extenſive than their own, had not demanded immediate ſupplies. The great kingdom of Norway had for ſome years laboured under almoſt every degree of natural evil which the irregularity or violence of ſeaſons could inflict. Nearly all the reſources of ſuſtenance and means of ſupporting life were cut off, at the very time that the extremity of the cold rendered a more than uſual ſupply neceſſary to its preſervation: even the prolific northern ſeas refuſed their tribute of fiſh, a ſupply which had ever before appeared inexhauſtible. Government did every thing in its power to aſſiſt a nation which forms its principal ſtrength; but the country was too extenſive, and the demands too vaſt, for any foreign ſupply. The conſequences were dreadful: many thouſands periſhed through abſolute famine; and a much greater number through the fatal diſorders which it produces.

But the heavy portion of calamity allotted to the unhappy country of Iceland, beſides being ſingular in its nature, ſeemed in the amount to exceed that of any other. That ſequeſtered iſland, once the ſeat of the northern muſes, had been before deſolated by a dreadful peſtilence, which in the 14th century ſwept all the regions of the north, but had been particularly fatal here. It never recovered in any reſpect the effects of that ſhock, nor in any degree its former ſtate of population. Its paſtoral inhabitants, being in a great meaſure ſecured by poverty and diſtance from rapine and oppreſſion, and ignorant of the artificial wants which alternately ſweeten and embitter human life in more genial climates, were contented and happy under all the rigours of their inclement ſkies, and found in their flocks, herds, and fiſheries, a compenſation for the ſterility of their country with reſpect to corn.

But they had been at all times expoſed to a dreadful internal enemy, whoſe rage was as irreſiſtible, as its operations were uncertain and unlimited. Mount Hecla, and the other volcanoes which ſo much diſtinguiſh that iſland, although, perhaps, they promote the purpoſes of vegetation, by communicating a genial warmth to its frozen boſom, have at all times been the terror, and at particular periods the ſcourge and deſtroyers, of the inhabitants.

The calamity, however, in the preſent inſtance, was of a nature hitherto without example. Inſtead of the open deſolation common to the aweful eruptions of volcanoes, the country itſelf, together with its products, were now conſumed by a creeping ſubterraneous fire. This deſtroyer of nature in its ſource, made its firſt appearance in the month of June 1784, in the weſtern part of the diſtrict of Skaptfield, and on a mountain called Skapton Gluver. The devouring fire, which conſumed, or reduced to cinders, every thing in its way, continued burning until the month of May in the following year, having in that time extended its devaſtation about twenty leagues in length, and from four to five in breadth. The great river Skaptage, which was from ſeven to eight fathoms in depth, and ſome leagues in breadth, was entirely dried up, its bed and channel preſenting a dreadful yawning chaſm. About a fourth part of the conſumed ſoil conſiſted of a lava of great antiquity, and of moſſy bogs or marſhes; the remains of the burnt earth reſembled vaſt heaps of calcined ſtones, and were of the colour of vitriol.

A ſimilar fire broke out about the ſame time on the eaſtern ſide of the ſame range of mountains, and purſued its courſe in the oppoſite direction. This made its firſt appearance in a place which ſeemed the leaſt capable of any of exhibiting ſuch a phænomenon; it broke out in the very channel of another great river called the Hererviſiodt, which was nearly of the ſame depth with the Skaptage, but, in that part, not above a league in breadth. The contention between the two elements, however violent, did not continue long, the waters being ſoon loſt in the ſuperior magnitude and force of the outrageous flames. This fire was far more dreadful than that on the weſtern ſide, the flames ſoon after their firſt appearance forming an area of about ten leagues in extent. At firſt they darted perpendicularly upwards, and ſeemed to proceed from the lower regions of the earth, but afterwards they rolled along the ſurface, in waves reſembling thoſe of the ſea; and when they reached the frozen mountains, whoſe bowels were impregnated with immenſe quantities of ſulphur and nitre, theſe powerful materials endued them with ſuch activity, that nothing could eſcape any more than withſtand their fury. Cattle, men, houſes, villages, every thing living and dead was conſumed in a moment. We are not furniſhed with any preciſe account, either of the extent of this ravage, or of the time of its continuance; it being only given in general terms, that ſeventeen diſtricts had been entirely ruined; but whether this proceeded from the immediate action, or whether it includes the conſequent effects of the conflagration, is left unſpecified.

The former was, however, happily limited in its progreſs; but its pernicious effects were widely diffuſed, and afflicted in different degrees the greater part, if not the whole, of that very extenſive iſland.

For that country abounding with ſulphur beyond any other perhaps in the known world, and the earth being likewiſe impregnated with various other minerals in a prodigious degree, the exhalations cauſed by theſe vehement conflagrations was in the higheſt degree noxious to every thing poſſeſſing animal or vegetable life. Nor was this all;—but the aſhes and cinders, being conveyed to prodigious diſtances by the winds, and being little leſs noxious than the vapours, deſtroyed or contaminated the herbage wherever they fell. And the country producing but little corn, but affording a profuſion of herbage, the people in the inland parts depended almoſt entirely upon the produce of their numerous flocks and herds for ſuſtenance. But this reſource was now almoſt entirely cut off, for ſuch of the cattle as eſcaped being poiſoned or ſtarved during the ſummer, either periſhed through the want of hay in the enſuing long winter, or died of the contagious diſtempers cauſed by noxious aliment and effluvia. On the other hand, fiſh, whether freſh or dry, formed a principal part of the food of the people near the coaſts, beſides a large ſupply for the inland parts, and ſufficient to barter for corn and other foreign neceſſaries. But as misfortunes ſeldom come ſingle, the fiſheries failed of their bounty in a degree never before known; and the length and ſeverity of the enſuing winter was unexampled even under their polar ſkies.

It was eſtimated that five-ſixths of the cattle, and three-fourths of the ſheep, in the whole iſland periſhed; and, as many parts were out of the reach of the conflagrations, or of their apparent effects, it may from thence be judged how complete the deſtruction was within their immediate influence. The people adjacent to the trading towns on the coaſts were relieved in ſome degree from the preſſure of the general calamity, through the bounty which Denmark could ill afford to beſtow, under the great and general penury which prevailed at home, and the famine which at the ſame time was raging in Norway. But thoſe in the interior parts were cut off from all help, for their horſes having periſhed, they were deprived of the means of drawing ſupplies from the coaſts, if they had even poſſeſſed thoſe of purchaſing them. Thus their condition was deplorable in the extreme. Beſides the loſſes occaſioned by famine and diſtempers, great numbers have ſince abandoned thoſe houſes and farms which their anceſtors had poſſeſſed from time immemorial, through the impoſſibility of replacing their ſtocks of cattle. It would ſeem that this ſtroke would in a great meaſure prove concluſive with reſpect to the future deſtiny of this very unfortunate iſland; at leaſt ſo far as relates to its interior culture and habitation. It had in no degree recovered the deſtruction of the 14th century. Before that fatal period, it is ſaid to have been very populous, and was held in no ſmall eſtimation by the nations of the North on account of its learning. The people are likewiſe ſaid to have poſſeſſed at that time a portion of happineſs beyond what could have been expected from their climate and ſituation; but to which the innocency of their paſtoral lives ſeemed to afford no ſmall claim.

CHAP. IV.

Neither the danger of foreign war, nor the reſignation of the duke of Brunſwick, ſerve in any degree to allay the ferment in Holland, or to reſtore tranquillity to the Stadtholder's government. Great point gained by the adverſe party, in procuring a French General to command the armies of the Republic. Some account of the Marſhal de Maillebois. Short view of the origin and hiſtory of that celebrated republican party, which has ſubſiſted in Holland from the days of Prince Maurice to the preſent time. Motives on both ſides for the cloſe connection which generally ſubſiſted between that party and France. Late war with England, and its conſequences, afforded the means for that party to become again formidable. General charges againſt the Stadtholder with reſpect to the conduct of that war, and the anſwers made to them. Repeatedly challenges them to the proof. Their views anſwered by ſupporting and ſpreading the clamour and jealouſy. Specific enquiry into the conduct of the navy, after a long and tedious courſe of proceeding, produces nothing equal to the public expectation. Various cauſes which concurred at this time to raiſe the republican ſpirit to the higheſt pitch in that country. Injudicious meaſure of placing arms in the hands of the burghers, produces effects little expected or wiſhed by the leaders of the party, and cauſes great innovations in the government of many towns. Peculiar advantages poſſeſſed by the adverſe party over thoſe on the Orange ſide. Great legal, official, and natural powers, and reſources, poſſeſſed by the Prince Stadtholder. Violent meaſure of depoſing the Prince from the government of the Hague. Prince and family abandon the Hague. Ineffectual interpoſition of the late King of Pruſſia. Judicious meaſure of the Prince Stadtholder in retiring to Guelderland. Aſſemblage of the States of Holland and Weſt Friezeland at the Hague. Riot on opening the Stadtholder's gate. Violent diſſenſions and great preparations for defence or war, in the city of Utrecht. Large ſubſcriptions for ſupporting the armed burghers and volunteers. Republic convulſed in all its parts. Great debates in the aſſembly of the States of Holland and Weſt Friezeland, on the queſtion for reſtoring the Stadtholder to the government of the Hague. Queſtion loſt by a ſingle vote. Spirited letter, immediately upon his acceſſion, from the preſent King of Pruſſia in behalf of the Stadtholder, conveyed by his miniſter of ſtate, the Baron de Goerts. Little effect produced by the King's repreſentations. Memorial from the Court of Verſailles, not only diſclaiming all interference herſelf in the government of the republic, but declaring her intention to prevent their being diſturbed by that of others. Refractory burghers of Elbourg and Hattem reduced by the Stadtholder, under the orders of the States of Guelderland. Violent ferment on the taking of theſe towns. States of Holland ſuſpend the Stadtholder from all the functions appertaining to his office of Captain General within their province; and diſcharge the troops from their military oath to obey his orders.

THE ſpirit raiſed in Holland againſt the houſe of Orange by the French or republican party, which in this reſpect were the ſame, was too violent to be laid by conceſſion. The reſignation of the duke Lewis of Brunſwick, and his total dereliction of the country, inſtead of contributing, as was hoped, to allay the ferment, by removing the ſuppoſed object of uneaſineſs and jealouſy, produced effects directly contrary. This intended meaſure of conciliation, being conſidered merely as the effect of irreſolution and weakneſs, was regarded and treated accordingly. It ſerved to ſink the political character of the ſtadtholder ſtill lower in the eſtimation of the republican party; and as it rendered them more ſenſible of their power, to extend their views, and make them more ardent and confident in the proſecution of their deſigns; while that prince, being left expoſed, without any intervening medium, to the ſtorm, became perſonally ſubject to their obloquy and invective, and the immediate object of all their attacks.

The ſucceeding imminent danger from without to which the ſtate was expoſed by the conteſt with the emperor, it was well to be preſumed would in this inſtance (as foreign danger generally does in ſimilar caſes) have proved the means of healing internal diſſenſion, and of reſtoring the executive power to its due ſhare of weight and conſideration. In defiance of all ſpeculation and experience, this circumſtance, through ſome peculiar infelicity, produced effects the direct reverſe of thoſe which were to be expected. The immediate danger, indeed, produced ſome temporary ceſſation of the violence againſt the ſtadtholder; but its conſequences were exceedingly detrimental to his intereſts, and ſerved no leſs to exalt and to ſtrengthen his adverſaries both in power and in number. For the terrors of a moſt perilous invaſion ſucceeding cloſely upon the loſs of the duke of Brunſwick's military experience and ability, the immediate preſervation of the country ſeemed to depend upon the procuring of a commander well verſed in war, to ſupply his place. This circumſtance threw the game entirely into the hands of the adverſe faction, and procured them an opportunity which of all others they moſt wiſhed, and had leaſt expected, that of placing the military force of the republic in the hands of a French general.

The military abilities of the marſhal de Maillebois, who was appointed to this important command, were too well known to admit of any objection againſt him on that account; and that peculiar ſpirit of intrigue, and turbulence of diſpoſition, which had drawn ſo long a courſe of degradation and ſuffering upon him through a great part of his life, were probably not conſidered as detracting from his eligibility for this ſervice. His oſtenſible command, being ſubordinate to that of the ſtadtholder as captain general, and only ſupplying the place of the duke of Brunſwick, ſeemed to afford no room for uneaſineſs or jealouſy; but the party who brought him in, conſidered themſelves as having far advanced by this meaſure towards attaining the ſummit of their wiſhes. Whatever the fortune of the war might be, they were well aware that they had obtained a general, who from his natural character, national policy, and other concurrent circumſtances, would not fail to go all the lengths they could wiſh with them upon the return of peace; and they would deem it their own fault, if they did not fortify his power ſo ſtrongly in the army, as to render him by degrees independent of the captain general.

The concluſion of the conteſt with the emperor, and the circumſtances with which it was accompanied, were ſtill more favourable to the views of that party than its commencement or progreſs. The diſtinguiſhed part which the court of Verſailles had taken in procuring if not forcing that accommodation, was ſo ſignal an obligation and ſervice, the value being eſtimated by the greatneſs of the apprehenſion, as well as of the danger which it removed, that no limits could be preſcribed to the gratitude which it excited in all orders, parties, and degrees of the people. This of courſe threw into the hands of France (independent of the vaſt influence which ſhe derived from the late war) nearly an unbounded ſway, not only in the collective councils of the ſtate, but in its numberleſs component parts, where every province was an independent ſovereign, and every city a diſtinct republic.

Much, however, would have been ſtill wanting to confirm the ſtrength, and to complete the views of the republican party, if it had not been for that ſingular treaty of alliance between Holland and France, which accompanied, or ſeemed rather to grow out of the conteſt with the emperor. That alliance, which ſeemed rather founded upon the principle of conſolidating two nations into one, under the ſame common ſovereign, than upon ideas of parity, mutual convenience and ſecurity, between independent ſtates, endued France with ſuch powers, and afforded her ſuch rights or pretences for intermeddling in the internal as well as external affairs of the republic, that the moſt inconſiderable party muſt have become dominant under her countenance; while the ſtadtholder, without any direct invaſion of his rights, muſt have dwindled into a cypher, and the leſſer country, in the uſual courſe of things, muſt, without ſome extraordinary interruption, have gradually become, either actually or virtually, a province to the greater.

It may be neceſſary here to premiſe, ſomewhat more fully than we have heretofore done, what the cauſes were of that coincidence of views which ſubſiſted between France and the antiſtadtholderian faction in Holland.

For this purpoſe it will be ſufficient barely to obſerve, upon a ſubject generally known, that William the firſt of Orange, with the princes his brothers, had laid and cemented with their blood the foundations of that republic. The cruel and treacherous aſſaſſination of the former happened juſt at the time when the ſtates of the country were upon the point of eſtabliſhing in his perſon, and rendering hereditary in his family, ſuch a limited ſovereignty, as had been held by their ancient counts, and was afterwards transferred by marriage to the princes of the houſe of Burgundy. The nonage of his ſon, and ſucceſſor in the ſtadtholderſhip, the celebrated prince Maurice, prevented his being able to profit of the occaſion while it laſted; and it could never be recovered. It is well known that in the long and arduous wars which involved the greateſt part of his life, and in which he became the firſt captain of the age, he not only eſtabliſhed the independence of the republic, but carried its power and ſplendour to a height which aſtoniſhed all the world.

It was natural that Maurice and his ſucceſſors ſhould look back with regret to that ſovereignty, which had been ſo nearly obtained, and ſo unfortunately miſſed in the firſt inſtance; and that they ſhould endeavour to enlarge their official powers as ſtadtholders to the utmoſt extent. Nor was it leſs natural that the potent citizens, who had grown up, along with the fortune of the republic, to great power and immenſe wealth, ſhould not only oppoſe their deſigns, but that they ſhould endeavour by all means to circumſcribe a power, which they conſidered as becoming dangerous to public liberty, and inimical to the principles of the conſtitution. The bitterneſs of ſuch a conteſt ſoon effaced all memory of the ſervices which the ſtate had received from the Orange family, in the minds of thoſe who had been deeply engaged in the oppoſition, or who had ſuffered from the part which they had taken. Great generals ſeemed no longer neceſſary in a ſeaſon of peace and proſperity, nor did it follow, becauſe it had hitherto ſo proved, that every prince was to be a great general. The party accordingly extended their views to the total abolition of the office of ſtadtholder, and to a diſtribution of its various powers amongſt their own leaders.

Such was the origin and foundation of that celebrated republican party, which holds ſo ſplendid a ſhare in the hiſtory of Holland; which has produced men of the firſt eminence for patriotiſm and ability; and which, under various denominations, has ſubſiſted from the days of prince Maurice and Barnaveldt to the preſent time.

It has been the conſtant and the obvious policy of France, to maintain her influence in the councils of Holland, and, at the ſame time, to reſtrain or weaken as much as poſſible the power and political activity of the republic. The princes of the houſe of Orange were generally inimical to the views of France, and linked by blood and alliance with powers who acted upon principles diametrically oppoſite to her politics. This ſtate of things occaſioned a ſtanding enmity on her ſide againſt the houſe of Orange; and their views entirely coinciding in that reſpect, naturally produced an intimate connection between her and the republican party.

This policy was accordingly ſteadily purſued, and her intereſt with that powerful party diligently cultivated by France, excepting only in that ſingle inſtance, when the pride and vanity of Louis XIV, co-operating with his immenſe power, led him to diſdain all motives of prudence, and all bonds of political amity, and impelled him to the wanton attack which he made upon the united provinces in the year 1672. The party of which we treat, under the auſpices of the celebrated De Witt, was then in the zenith of its power, having ſucceeded in totally aboliſhing the ſtadtholderate, and having for ſeveral years conducted the affairs of the republic with uncommon abilities, ſplendour, and ſucceſs: but that unexpected and violent irruption occaſioned its total degradation and ruin. The ſtadtholderate was reſtored; and that great ſtateſman and patriot *De Witt*, (whoſe only fault was his placing too much confidence in the faith of France) together with his brother, ſcarcely leſs eminent, became miſerable ſacrifices to the fury of a cruel rabble.

The ſtadtholderate became extinct by the death of William the Third of England, the ſtates not thinking proper to renew it in favour of that part of his family who had ſucceeded to the title of Orange, as well as to the principal part of his inheritance. Another French war, and another invaſion, produced a ſecond revolution in the government of the republic. In the year 1748, the office was renewed in its full plenitude of power, in favour of the late Prince of Orange, father of the preſent, with the great additional ſecurity of being rendered hereditary, not only in the male, but the female lines of his family.

It would ſeem that as this ſettlement went to cut off entirely the views of the adverſe party, ſo it could no longer have any ground of exiſtence, or at leaſt, that if it was at all held up, it could have no other objects, than thoſe of watching with a ſuſpicious and jealous eye the conduct of future ſtadtholders, of being in conſtant readineſs to reſiſt any extenſion of their power, or to counteract any meaſures which might appear capable in their conſequences of becoming dangerous to public liberty.

Such was probably for many years the ſtate of this party. But though depreſſed, or at leaſt withheld from any means of political exertion, they were ſtill potent and numerous, and only waited for ſome favourable opportunity which ſhould operate as a ſignal for union and exertion. In the mean time, France had long ſeen and lamented the miſerable policy of Louis XIV. and even in their moſt depreſſed and hopeleſs ſtate, had omitted no pains to renew her connections and recover her intereſt with the leaders of the party. A long minority, and a ſucceeding adminiſtration of affairs, which, if not abſolutely weak, was not much diſtinguiſhed by vigour, nor much bleſt with popularity, could not but prove favourable, either to the nurſing of a new, or the renovating of an old party; and this accordingly began to lift up its head, and to become conſpicuous and troubleſome.

It would, however, have been ſtill but little conſidered, if the late unfortunate war with England, and its ruinous conſequences, having ſhaken the republic to its foundations, and occaſioned a departure from many of its antient maxims and principles, had not likewiſe made way for the growth of this party, and called all its powers into action. The ſtadtholder's known averſeneſs to any political connection with France, and above all to the entering into any treaty with, or affording any ſupport to the American colonies, which were then in a ſtate of open rebellion againſt the mother country, together with his near relation in blood to the Britiſh ſovereign, and ſuppoſed ſtrong predilection for his intereſts, ſerved all together, even from the beginning, to afford ample room for ſuſpicion, that he could not engage very heartily in a cauſe which went ſo directly againſt opinions in which he had been nurtured.

Such ſuſpicions would have eaſily

died away, and been ſoon forgotten, had the war been attended with ſucceſs. But when it produced nothing but the moſt diſgraceful and ruinous conſequences, and the republic ſeemed irrecoverably ſunk in point of eſtimation and character, it was no difficult tranſition in the temper incident to ſo grievous a ſituation, to convert ſuſpicion into cenſure, and jealouſy into charge and accuſation. The faction adverſe to the ſtadtholder, led by Van Berkel, the penſionary of Holland, had been themſelves the abettors of that war which, whether it was brought on by the unreaſonable expectations of the one, or the infidelity of the other, was equally inconſiſtent with the true policy of both nations. By a ſort of ſingular fortune, the heavieſt ſtrokes of the war fell principally upon the republicans. The rich merchants of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and other great towns of Holland, who might be conſidered as the ſinews of that party, having ſuſtained the deepeſt loſſes by the capture of St. Euſtatia, with the other ſevere blows, as well on the ſeas as in both the Indies, which the republic had received during that ill-fought and unfortunate conflict.

It is common with thoſe who are ſeverely ſmarting under adverſity, by caſting the blame of particular evils upon others, to endeavour to divert their minds from an examination and a poſſible condemnation of the general line of their own conduct. It was likewiſe no ſmall conſolation, that theſe circumſtances of public and private misfortune, might be converted into an engine of offence againſt their political adverſary; with the farther, but inviting hope, that by proper management they might afford the means of his degradation from office and power. Upon theſe principles, and perhaps upon opinion, however founded, the accidents of the war were attributed to the prince ſtadtholder, whoſe foreign connections, it was held out, had warped him to intereſts and principles diſtinct from, and even adverſe to, thoſe of the republic. Many others who had been ſufferers by the war, as well as the members of the adverſe party, glad to find ſome object on which to vent their diſcontents, adopted and promulgated the ſame opinion. It was beſides a kind of reſource to national vanity, and particularly to thoſe who felt moſt for the reputation and honour of their country, to attribute her diſgraces rather to perſonal miſconduct than to perhaps the real cauſes which, waving the impolicy of the late war, were to be found in the declenſion and weakneſs, into which a long courſe of indolence and negligence had relaxed the bleſſings of ſecurity and peace, in that ſelfiſh and diſtorted policy a nation eaſily contracts when its views are no longer carried beyond itſelf, when great intereſts ceaſe to be agitated, and great occaſions ceaſe to call forth great men. This ſtate of things, as it made a ſort of excuſe for ill ſucceſs, was no farther allowed by the republican party, than as they could impute it to the introduction of a monarchical principle into a ſmall commercial ſtate, which, being narrow in its extent, and poor in natural reſources, could, as they aſſerted, flouriſh only when the ſpirit of liberty gave the fulleſt operation to induſtry and genius. That great countries had been often known to proſper under a monarchical form of government, but that in ſmall ſtates, the dominion of one was always the forerunner of imbecility and weakneſs.

Men who act together upon any public principle, or join in any common opinion, are apt to coaleſce in other matters. Thoſe who credited theſe reports ſo injurious to the ſtadtholder became proſelytes to the party adverſe to his power. The obloquy, which was firſt diſſeminated with ſome degree of caution, as it became more general was more publicly ſpoken; and as the clamour increaſed, ſo did the converts.

As the charges brought againſt the ſtadtholder were moſtly general, they could only admit of general anſwers. It was ſaid that he had not exerted the force with which he was entruſted by the ſtate in that manner, or with that energy, which might have been done, and which would have been moſt effectual for counteracting the deſigns, and fruſtrating the efforts of the enemy; that the naval department had been ſhamefully neglected; its force, ſuch as it was, miſapplied or withheld; and that to theſe cauſes only was to be imputed the ruin of their foreign commerce, and the loſs of their colonies. On theſe points the prince in vain repeatedly challenged his adverſaries to the enquiry and proof; which as they evaded, gave reaſon to believe that they did not want to bring them to a deciſion, the event of which was uncertain, and which muſt overlay their deſigns if it proved in his favour; that they only wiſhed the ſcandal to lie, and the public clamour to increaſe or continue. He urged that the weak ſtate and bad condition of their navy had rendered it totally incapable of performing the expected ſervices; and that the blame on this ſubject did not reſt with him, but with the ſtates themſelves, to whom he had frequently remonſtrated on the inattention ſhewn with reſpect to that department, and as frequently warned them of the neceſſity, as they were purſuing meaſures tending to a war, to be in due preparation for withſtanding its conſequences.

One ſpecific object of enquiry was, indeed, brought early forward, and it was upon a ſubject which had made the deepeſt public impreſſion, and excited the greateſt clamour: this was upon the ſubject of the Dutch fleet's not proceeding to Breſt, according to compact, in the year 1782, when the memorable ſcheme had been formed, that the whole combined naval force of the houſe of Bourbon and of Holland ſhould have fallen at once upon the coaſts of Great Britain (at a time when her ſtrength was diſperſed in every quarter of the globe) and ſwept every thing before it. The failure had been loudly attributed to criminal neglect, if not to treachery, and a committee was ſpeedily appointed to enquire into the cauſes. The extreme tedioufneſs of the proceedings probably anſwered all the purpoſes that were originally intended, in keeping the public attention and expectation awake, the popular clamour alive, and giving a colour to all other charges and ſurmiſes.

Nothing could exceed the public diſappointment, when the reſult of this ſlow inquiſition was at length publiſhed. None of the great diſcoveries that had been ſo long expected were made; nor any thing whatever that tended to affect the ſtadtholder. Some errors and miſmanagements in the conduct of their marine, particularly with regard to the mode of victualling their ſhips, and which had ſubſiſted from time immemorial, were now for the firſt time detected; and ſome naval officers received blame for not obeying the orders of the ſtates, and fulfilling the engagements with their allies, without regard to condition or circumſtances.

Other concurring cauſes contributed at this time to render the ~~party in~~ queſtion peculiarly powerful and numerous. The revolution in America, which ſeems to have given life to the ſeeds of liberty, in countries where it was leaſt to be expected, could not fail to revive and increaſe the republican ſpirit, in a country diverſified in ſo many governments, and of ſuch peculiar forms, as Holland. The numerous ſect of the Mennonites, with the other numberleſs ſectaries that abound ſo much in that country, being generally levellers upon principle, were of courſe adverſe to any thing that bore the moſt diſtant reſemblance to regal power, in whatever manner it might be bound or modified. Theſe people, being the great money-dealers of the country, had, in the courſe of near a century of peace, acquired immenſe wealth, which tended to ſtrengthen the characteriſtic of that order of men, extreme ſelfiſhneſs, and an equal deficiency of public ſpirit. Their wealth, however, neceſſarily produced a very extenſive degree of power and influence, the nobility being particularly enthralled to them, either through perſonal debts or heavy mortgages on their eſtates.

The republican ſpirit being once revived among the ſectaries, inſpired them with all the enthuſiaſm of their founders and anceſtors. Enthuſiaſts are the moſt troubleſome as well as the moſt dangerous of all enemies, being unwearied in their attacks, implacable in their animoſity, and their operations the more difficult to be foreſeen and counteracted, as no rules of reaſon or experience reach to meaſure the conduct of thoſe who act without regard to any. Theſe people became accordingly the moſt bitter and implacable of the ſtadtholder's enemies: while each ſeemed individually to conſider him rather as a private enemy, from whom he had received ſome inexpiable injury, than as a member of the ſtate with whom he differed upon public principles.

The meaſure of placing arms in the hands of the burghers, and of encouraging them to incorporate in military communities, for which the conteſt with the emperor afforded a pretext, ſeems to have been adopted with very little conſideration by the leaders of the faction, was pregnant with much difficulty and trouble to themſelves, and tended in its extent to the overthrow of all their deſigns, and to the introduction of ſuch innovations, both in the general and particular forms of government in that country, as they had little foreſeen or intended.

For the better comprehenſion of this part of the ſubject, it may be neceſſary to obſerve ſome peculiarities in the political ſtate of the country, which are not always adverted to. The people at large, in the various ariſtocratical republics, whoſe union is conſidered as forming one great commonwealth, have in fact no more ſhare in the government of their reſpective communities, than the ſubjects of Venice, Ruſſia, or Turkey; and the ſovereignty, with reſpect to them, is as ſupreme as it is in thoſe countries. This conſtitution of government having ſubſiſted from time immemorial, undoubtedly from the firſt inſtitution of municipal communities in the country, was become ſo habitual to the people, that they did not ſeem to think of any other, nor to feel any inconvenience in their condition;—an extraordinary acquieſcence in a people eſteemed ſo jealous of their liberties, unleſs perhaps it be ſuppoſed, that the manners of the people prevailed over the forms of the conſtitution; and that the ſpirit of republican equality, leaving thoſe who were magiſtrates in power only vicious in appearance, avoided abuſe of authority on one ſide, and envy on the other. However that was, the ariſtocracies in the ſeveral diſtinct republics were ſo far ſelf-elective, as to be ſubject only to the controul of the ſtadtholder, who had a right of nomination or negative with reſpect to a ſmall limited number of their chooſing.

It is farther to be particularly obſerved, that no ideas of general liberty, or what may more properly be called of any extenſion of the adminiſtration of government to the people at large, appears to have been entertained, either by the preſent, or by any of the former parties in that country, who had the name of republican. Their tendency was to ſtrengthen the ariſtocracies, by removing thoſe checks which the ſtadtholder held upon their ſelf-election, and to place the general government in the hands of an oligarchy, compoſed of their own principal leaders, who would likewiſe be ſelf-elective and perpetual; and who, from their not being ſubject to the jealouſy attendant on the government of a ſingle perſon, would, in the nature of things, ſoon aſſume powers, and a deciſion of authority, which had never been poſſeſſed by the ſtadtholderate.

But when the raſh and deſperate meaſure of arming the multitude was adopted, it ſoon changed the face and nature of affairs, and produced effects as directly oppoſite to the wiſhes as to the intentions of thoſe by whom it was framed. The people finding arms in their hands, began at once to feel their own importance; they awakened, as it were, from a dead ſleep, and began to wonder why they held no ſhare in that government which they were called upon to defend or ſupport, and which it was evident could have no permanent ſecurity without them. The examples of Ireland and America were freſh before them; the very term of volunteers, which they aſſumed, contributed to ſtamp the character of the part they were to act. The democratical ſpirit being thus ſuddenly, and for the firſt time, brought to life, and feeling as it were the poſſeſſion of its faculties, diſplayed all the vigour, and perhaps even the wantonneſs of youth.

The armed burghers had been intended as a counterpoize to the army, which was known to be generally attached to the ſtadtholder; and it was fondly expected, that when they had performed the ſervice, they would have ſilently ſunk into their former inſignificance. But when, without waiting for that iſſue, they began to hold themſelves up as conſtituent members of the commonwealth, and demanded to be admitted to a ſhare in the legiſlation and government of their reſpective cities, by electing delegates who were to be received as their legal repreſentatives in the public aſſemblies, and thus form a popular counterpoize to the ariſtocratic power, nothing could exceed the ſurprize and conſternation which they excited.

The ariſtocracies were aghaſt and confounded at pretenſions, the poſſibility of which they had never even thought of; nor were the principal leaders of the faction leſs diſconcerted and alarmed; they ſaw they had improvidently raiſed a dangerous ſpirit, and brought a new power into action, without a due conſideration of the force and excentricity of its movements; and that theſe were evidently beyond their controul or regulation. The ſituation was indeed critical and dangerous; for if they refuſed to comply with the demands of the armed burghers, it was to be feared that they would change ſides directly, and go over to the Orange party, by which the ſtadtholder would have been rendered ſo triumphantly powerful, that all oppoſition muſt be at an end: on the other hand, if the ariſtocracies granted their claims, they muſt be for ever cut off from all the ſweets of authority, now grown habitual, and which, by the means of ſelf-election, they hoped to have rendered as nearly immortal as human inſtitutions are capable of being.

In this dilemma, various means were adopted in various places, and much chicanery practiſed, in order to ſtave off the evil hour, in the hope that ſome fortunate interruption might prevent the queſtion from being brought to an abſolute deciſion, or at leaſt, that the preſſure of the preſent ſtate of affairs might be eaſed before it was brought to an iſſue; in which caſe, the powers of the law and of the ſtate being combined againſt the new pretenſions, the popular party would of neceſſity be obliged to ſubmit. In ſome places, where the claims were too impetuouſly urged, and the ariſtocracy too ſtiff to give way, the latter applied to the ſtates of the province for protection, who accordingly ordered the military force of the ſtate to reduce the armed burghers, and to reſtore the ancient conſtitution. This extremity was, however, only proceeded to in a few places. In the city of Utrecht, where the armed burghers amounted to ſeveral thouſands, the popular ſpirit was carried to its higheſt extreme of violence; they not only ſet the ſtates of the province at defiance, but taking the government of the city entirely into their own hands, and converting it into a place of arms, prepared for defence and open war, both againſt the provincial and general force of the ſtate. In proceſs of time, and after various tumults and ſtruggles, the ariſtocracies were obliged in many places, particularly ſeveral towns of Holland, to give way to the prevailing neceſſity, and to ſubmit in ſome degree to the claims of the popular party.

This was the only extenſion of public liberty which theſe diſſenſions have hitherto produced; and this proceeded from circumſtance, occaſion, and final neceſſity, and not from any previous deſign or wiſh.

The ſtates of Holland and Weſt Friezeland were the great and conſtant impugners of the ſtadtholder's authority and prerogatives. They aſſumed a ſuperiority not admitted by the conſtitution of the union, and derived only from the circumſtances of the firſt-mentioned province poſſeſſing a greater ſhare of wealth, and a larger extent of territory, than any of the others; they paid but little regard or attention to the ſtates general in the meaſures which they purſued, and the continual warfare, as it may be called, which they waged againſt him; acting upon theſe occaſions rather as a ſupreme dictator, than as an equal and co-regent with the other provinces. The moſt bitter animoſity which appeared againſt that prince, ſeemed to be peculiarly lodged in the province of Holland; and the city of Amſterdam took the lead of all other places in the invariable diſplay of that enmity. The pride and wealth of that city, with its paramount influence in its own province, had at all times frequently induced both to aſſume an odious pre-eminence over their fellows; and though this had been generally ſubmitted to, yet when they have carried the ſpirit of domination to a certain degree of exceſs, it has occaſionally excited ſuch a reſentment in other provinces, as more than once ſeemed to threaten a diſſolution of the union. Their influence cannot, however, but continue great, from the cauſes we have mentioned.

It is eaſily ſeen, from the ſtate of affairs which we have premiſed, that the adverſe faction had many and great advantages over their adverſaries of the Orange party in this conteſt. They were cloſely united, by having had for ſeveral years one common object in view, to which all their meaſures were directed; while their antagoniſts, having no object to attain which might ſerve to unite their zeal, or excite their enterprize, were looſe, careleſs, and unconnected. The adverſe party had likewiſe the unſpeakable advantage of being ſupported by the monied men; they were beſides quickened by the ardour, and kept in conſtant exerciſe by the indefatigable zeal, and reſtleſs ſpirit, always obſervable in ſectaries. And though the meaſure of arming the volunteers, had been productive of much trouble and diſorder among themſelves, yet it afforded them at leaſt the benefits of a formidable appearance, and of a menacing aſpect.

It was neceſſary that the prince ſtadtholder ſhould not be weak or unguarded, to withſtand ſuch a combination of adverſe intereſts, parties, and circumſtances. He was indeed ſtrongly fortified on all ſides. He was armed with great legal rights, authorities, and powers, of which he could not be deprived at leſs expence than a total rupture and nearly ſubverſion of the ſyſtem and conſtitution of the republic; at the ſame time that, during the courſe of the conteſt, they would have abundantly afforded him the means of their own preſervation and defence. In virtue of his offices of captain-general and admiral-general of the union, the whole military force of the republic by ſea and land was in his poſſeſſion. This ſovereign authority was confirmed and rendered more effective, by his having the ſole diſpoſal of all military commiſſions, from thoſe of the colonels to the enſigns incluſively; by the troops being bound in an oath of fidelity to him perſonally, as well as to the ſtates; and by the whole army being obliged to obey his commands implicitly in all military caſes. In the ſpirit of the ſame authority, he had the power of changing, leſſening, or increaſing garriſons, of directing all the movements of the troops, of aſſembling the army, or any part of it, and of ordering it to march at will. He held a ſimilar authority in the naval department; and all theſe great powers were confirmed and rendered more effective, by the ſtrong general attachment both of the fleet and army to his perſon and intereſts.

But his authority and legal powers were by no means confined to the fleet and army. By his office of ſtadtholder, he was placed as preſident at the head of moſt if not all of the civil departments of the ſtate. He preſided, either in perſon or by deputy, as he choſe, in all the aſſemblies of the ſeveral reſpective provinces. He had a ſeat, though not a vote, in the aſſembly of the ſtates general; and it was not merely a matter of right, but a part of his official duty, to be preſent at their deliberations, and to give his opinion or advice upon all matters of their deliberation, in which he deemed either neceſſary; and this had not only a great influence upon their proceedings, but in times of harmony, and under a vigorous and ſucceſsful adminiſtration of public affairs, was generally deciſive of their conduct. His right of nomination or rejection with reſpect to the new members appointed to fill up the town ſenates and magiſtracies was now conteſted, and generally overruled, but could not fail to have given him by its paſt operation a great influence in thoſe diſtinct republics. In the quality of governor-general and ſupreme director of the Eaſt and Weſt India companies, the ſtadtholder likewiſe had an unbounded influence in thoſe great commercial bodies.

With theſe legal and official powers, he had a full moiety, at leaſt, of the people at large either abſolutely attached to his intereſts, or ſo far on his ſide, that from their averſeneſs to all violent innovations in the conſtitution and government, they were well diſpoſed to the ſupport of his authority. Even in the province of Holland, and in Amſterdam itſelf, the great ſeat and ſtrong hold of his enemies, no calculator could determine on which ſide the majority would appear, if the matters in diſpute were to be decided by a general poll. The ſame diverſity of party and opinion every where appeared. Nor was there a much greater concurrence in the ariſtocracies themſelves than among the people. Even in Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and the greater cities of Holland, which were thoſe moſt peculiarly adverſe to the ſtadtholder, the domineering party could only build upon majorities, nothing like unanimity being any where to be obtained. In the ſmaller towns, the parties in the government were generally more nearly upon an equality. With reſpect to the provincial ſtates, thoſe of Guelderland and Utrecht were entirely on his ſide; thoſe of the three other provinces fluctuating, and diſpoſed to be mediatorial; ſo that thoſe only of Holland and Weſt Friezeland were abſolutely inimical to him. Yet, even in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland, the grand queſtion relative to the government of the Hague, after being long and violently agitated, was only carried againſt him by a ſingle vote. The equeſtrian order, or nobles, which may in ſome degree be compared with what is called in England the *landed intereſt*, were, in the province of Holland, as every where elſe, generally on the prince's ſide. Their ſhare in the government of that province is, however, but very ſmall, as they hold only one voice in the aſſembly of the ſtates, which conſiſts of nineteen.

In ſuch an eſtimate of the prince ſtadtholder's powers and reſources, it ſhould not be entirely overlooked, that he held in his own inherent right, as derived from his anceſtors, very conſiderable eſtates and poſſeſſions, including cities, caſtles, palaces, lordſhips, and marquiſates, in various parts of the country, and that theſe, of old right, endued him with ſeveral important privileges and authorities, independent of his offices under the ſtate. Nor ſhould that great external reſource be forgotten, which he poſſeſſed in the friendſhip and protection of the Pruſſian monarch; a connection cemented by all the bands of policy, as well as by the ties of a near affinity: and which effectually ſhielded him from the apprehenſion of his adverſaries being ever ſuffered to proceed beyond certain limited meaſures of violence againſt him.

The faction, however, found themſelves ſo potent at home, and placed ſo unbounded a confidence in the ſupport of France, which they now conſidered as the great palladium of the ſtate, as well as of the party, that they paid leſs attention to the admonitions of the great Frederic, than a well-adviſed policy would at any time have admitted; and without even waiting for the abſolute concluſion of the negociations with the emperor at Paris, proceeded at once to ſhew that they were no longer diſpoſed to obſerve any meaſures of amity with the prince ſtadtholder, nor even to preſerve thoſe outward appearances which might indicate a diſpoſition to future conciliation. This was announced by diveſting him of the government and command of the garriſon of the Hague; a meaſure not more violent in the act, than it was degrading in the execution, through the unuſual circumſtances with which it was accompanied.

The immediate and oſtenſible motive aſſigned for this meaſure, was a riot which had taken place at the Hague. The garriſon were charged with not taking immediate and effectual meaſures for preventing or ſuppreſſing it. The riot in itſelf, compared with thoſe which every day occurred in other places, was a matter of little conſequence. A few armed volunteers from ſome neighbouring town came to parade at the Hague, equipped in their uniforms and peculiar badges, a proceeding which could not fail to irritate the inhabitants, who they knew were zealouſly attached to the perſon and intereſts of the prince of Orange. It was ſcarcely in the nature of things that a riot ſhould not be the conſequence; and the intruders were with ſome difficulty preſerved from becoming victims to their own temerity, and to the fury of the people: they, however, eſcaped without any material injury.

This affair was reſented with a violence diſproportioned to its magnitude, and taken up with a high hand by the adverſe faction. Independent

Sept. 8th, 1785.

dependent of their deſire to leſſen the prince's authority, they likewiſe wiſhed, and ſcarcely leſs, to ſubdue the ſpirit of the inhabitants of the Hague. The acting committee of the ſtates of Holland, determining not to let the meaſure cool, iſſued a haſty reſolution or decree, by which they deprived the prince of his government and command, forbidding the troops to receive the word from him, to obey his orders in any manner, or even to pay him any of the cuſtomary military honours. To render the degradation complete, and as it were to add the incurable ſting of a perſonal inſult, they at the ſame time ſtripped him of his own body-guards, and even of the hundred Swiſs, who were deſtined merely to civil purpoſes, and to the ſupport of ſtate parade and magnificence. The prince's remonſtrances and proteſtations, in which he termed this reſolution a violent breach of the conſtitution, an invaſion of his rights, an outrage offered to his authority, and an indignity to his perſon and character, could produce no other ſatisfaction, than the contemptuous intimation, that the guards were maintained for the purpoſe of ſupporting the grandeur of the ſtate, and not for the aggrandizement of the ſtadtholder.

It was impoſſible that the prince and princeſs, after ſuch a public indignity, could, with any degree of propriety, continue longer in a place, which was the ſeat of the court, of public buſineſs, and of government, as well as the reſidence of all the foreign miniſters: they accordingly abandoned the Hague immediately; the prince retiring to his own city of Breda, and the princeſs with the children, to Weſt Friezeland, where the people, notwithſtanding the implacable enmity of the ſtates of that province, were generally well affected to the Orange family. The prince and princeſs were obliged to perform theſe journies without any other guard or ſecurity to their perſons than their own domeſtics, although it was a ſeaſon of the moſt lawleſs violence and tumult, and that the virulence of the oppoſite party was riſen to ſuch a pitch, that on a late journey, tho' then attended by their guards, ſuch a riot was raiſed in a conſiderable town which they paſſed, that ſome of their attendants were killed; and their happening to quit the carriage, and go into a houſe before it commenced, was perhaps fortunate with reſpect to their own ſafety.

This meaſure was ſoon followed by an order for furniſhing the guards with new colours, in which the arms of the houſe of Orange were totally omitted, and thoſe of the province of Holland ſubſtituted in their place. Theſe were preſented in the name of the ſtates, and a ſpecial order given to the officers, that the arms of the province, and no other, ſhould be engraved on their gorgets.

The king of Pruſſia regarded this violent attack upon the authority, and perſonal inſult offered to the ſtadtholder, with great but regulated indignation; he ſtill preſerved the moſt temperate language in his remonſtrances; and while his expoſtulations placed in the fulleſt light the wrongs and undeſerved injuries ſuſtained by that prince, and ſufficiently indicated that he was too much intereſted in his cauſe to permit his becoming ultimately a victim to oppreſſion, yet for the preſent he appeared rather in the character of a friendly neighbour to both, and an amicable mediator, wiſhing to reconcile the differences and miſunderſtandings between the parties, than the direct advocate of either.

A hint was, however, about this time thrown out by his miniſters, which ſeemed capable of inſpiring ſome preſent caution in the governing powers of Holland, by ſhewing the open grounds for ſerious claim and diſcuſſion which he poſſeſſed in his own right, whenever he choſe to occupy them; and the eaſe with which they might be applied to give a ſanction to ſudden movements, and to afford a cover for alarming meaſures, if their conteſts with the prince ſhould be carried to ſuch an extremity as might render them neceſſary. It was intimated to the ſtates, that the king, in his own right, had matters of diſcuſſion of a long ſtanding to ſettle with them, and which nothing but a forbearance founded on friendſhip could have permitted to remain ſo long in a ſtate of ſuſpenſion. That as they had now found it neceſſary to enter into a regulation and ſettlement of their limits in Brabant and Flanders with the emperor, it would be no leſs proper and neceſſary, that they condeſcended to pay a ſimilar regard to him, by an adjuſtment of the diſputed limits in Eaſt Friezeland and Guelderland; in order thereby to prevent a renewal of thoſe differences which had heretofore taken place upon theſe ſubjects, and to pay that attention to his claims and demands, which their nature and juſtneſs required.

As this was merely an intimation, it probably produced no formal reply. Nor does it appear to have produced any ceſſation in the violence of the meaſures purſued againſt the prince. The ruling powers at the Hague, who repreſented the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Friezeland, in their anſwer to the king's manifeſto or memorial upon that ſubject, took care to loſe no part of that high dignity appertaining to the moſt ſupreme ſovereignty. In thanking him for the regards he expreſſed to, and the intereſt he took in the affairs of the republic, after taking care to remind him that thoſe two provinces form the principal part of that conſtituent body, they proceed further to obſerve, that it was owing entirely to their particular reſpect for him, and to the mutual regards and friendſhip ſubſiſting between them, that they could at all enter into any explanation of their conduct upon the preſent occaſion; but that from theſe motives, and to convince the king that no duplicity was intended on their part, but that their views, like their conduct, were open, manly, and conſiſtent (as it became ſovereigns in all tranſactions with any of their ſervants, however highly exalted by poſts or privileges they might be) they would inform him, that they could not in any manner recede from their reſolutions with reſpect to the government of the Hague: that in other reſpects, in all caſes of conteſt with foreign powers, they ſhould at all times be deſirous to accept the king's friendly intervention and mediation; but that in what related to internal government, to the ſecurity of the ſtate, to public tranquillity, and particularly to the appointment, ſuperintendance, or diſcharge of their own officers or ſervants, they could on no account derogate from their character of independent ſtates, by admitting of any interference; and that he was himſelf too good a judge, and too ſtrict a maintainer of the rights of ſovereignty, to expect or to approve of ſuch a derogation.

In other anſwers upon the ſame occaſion, and about the ſame time, they diſclaimed, in very looſe and general terms, all oppreſſive and illegal acts or deſigns, either againſt the ſtadtholder, or any other of their ſervants; with the evidently implied reſervation, of being themſelves the ſole judges of what conſtituted oppreſſion or illegality. They attributed the king's applications to miſinformation and miſrepreſentation, hoping (with an apparent ſneer) that the ſtadtholder could not poſſibly have been ſo forgetful of the relation in which he ſtood with the republic, as to be the means of conveying them; and adding, that it would be placing all the parties in a ſtrange relative ſituation indeed, if he were to make complaints of *them* to the king; a meaſure which in its conſequences, if admitted, would tend to leave them nothing more than an empty name and very ſhadow of ſovereignty. They ſpoke in the ſame general manner of civil commotions, of meaſures expedient for their own ſecurity, and of the neceſſity of putting an effectual ſtop to ſeveral abuſes and encroachments which tended to the detriment of the country.

Dec. 19, 1785. As a proof of the ſmall regard which they paid to the king of Pruſſia's remonſtrances, they iſſued an order, that the military honours uſually paid to the ſtadtholder, in all his different capacities of captain general, governor of the Hague, and commander of the garriſon, ſhould in future be paid only to the preſident of their committee, as the repreſentative of the ſtates, and to the grand penſionary of Holland. This was in ſome time followed by an order to diſcharge all the troops in general of the province from their oath of fidelity to the ſtadtholder, and to preſcribe a new oath, by which they were bound to the ſtates only. All theſe innovations were ſubmitted to by the troops in general, both officers and ſoldiers, with the greateſt reluctance, and in numerous inſtances with apparent indignation. As the differences increaſed, the ſtadtholder's power of diſpoſing of the regimental commiſſions was ſuſpended for an unlimited time, and this eſſential branch of his prerogative uſurped. The cauſe aſſigned, in anſwer to his remonſtrances, for this meaſure, was not ſo much a juſtification of a right to aſſume, as a reaſon for the uſe of power, "that the influence which "he derived from that authority "in the army was not, in the pre-"ſent ſituation of affairs, deemed "conſonant with the ſecurity of the "ſtate."

The domineering party no longer contained themſelves within any ſort of bounds; they laid the heavieſt hand of power over all thoſe who gave marks of attachment to the ſtadtholder's intereſt. The virulence and malice of the contention was ſo great, that tumults were almoſt continual; and while the rioters on one ſide were ſeverely puniſhed, even for petty exceſſes, thoſe on the other were protected in the groſſeſt violence and outrage. They proceeded without reſtraint, and without regard to general law, or particular conſtitutions, to weed the magiſtracies of all thoſe who were even ſuſpected of any attachment to the Orange intereſt, filling up their places with the moſt turbulent of their own party; and even ſubmitted to the democratic encroachments of the armed burghers, and thereby totally changed the nature of the old conſtitution, in order to carry that favourite point. They had taken the preſs entirely into their hands: while the moſt ſcurrilous invectives were every day publiſhed, not only with impunity, but apparent encouragement againſt the ſtadtholder, the moſt temperate writings in defence of his rights, or bare ſtatement of their nature, ſubjected the publiſhers and the writers to ſevere and certain puniſhment.

Not that the Orange party was even then entirely devoid of a diſpoſition to exceſs and outrage, nor perhaps in their hour are they more reſpectful of individual or conſtitutional rights. Certain it is, however unfortunately, that the firſt operation of civil diſſenſions is to ſuſpend thoſe very laws of which each party aſſumes to be the aſſertor. To judge truly of the merits of political queſtions, we muſt reſort to the original cauſe of quarrel, and not look too minutely to the occaſional infringements of right which intervene, and are in a manner inevitable in violent conteſts. The diſputed territory is trampled by thoſe who defend as well as thoſe who invade it. We muſt not therefore, as many are apt to do, form too haſty a concluſion to the diſadvantage of mankind, and ſuppoſe, from the exceſſes that ariſe on all ſides, nor even becauſe a departure from the principles ſet out upon is obſerved in many controverſies, that all pretences are falſe, and all motives unjuſt. Without preſuming to direct the judgment of our readers, we only point out the criterion, and we apprehend it is to be ſought in thoſe grand objects, and that general line of policy, which characterizes each contending party; and we are perſuaded that all Engliſh readers entertain a favourable diſpoſition towards that which cements the natural union between the maritime powers and free conſtitutions of England and the united ſtates, and which tends to ſecure in a chief magiſtrate an effective authority, but limited by law.

Although the republican party carried their conſtitutional innovations, and the violation of corporate and private rights with little comparative reſiſtance, the courſe of their affairs was not entirely ſmooth. Man is ſo indefinable a being, that he frequently engages, in contempt of all dangers and hazards, in the defence of trifles, at the ſame time that he gives up objects of the greateſt moment to his ſecurity and happineſs, and ſubmits to oppreſſions that embitter his exiſtence, with ſcarcely a murmur. In the preſent inſtance, the wearing and prohibiting of orange-coloured cockades and ribbons ſeemed for a time to be the great object of conteſt and animoſity between the rival factions. Even the military, both officers and private men, notwithſtanding their habits of implicit ſubmiſſion, became eager parties in this conteſt; and, in defiance of proclamations and puniſhments, were continually flying in the face of their employers and paymaſters, by wearing of this interdicted colour;

ſo that it ſeemed for a time doubtful, whether the very harſh exerciſe of very ſtrong powers of government could have ſuppreſſed the diſplay of this enſign of party zeal, without ſtriking directly at the exiſtence of the manufacture.

The prince ſtadtholder and his family, after ſojourning for ſome conſiderable time at Middleburgh in Zealand, when he found that the faction in Holland were proceeding to the utmoſt extremities againſt him, and that it became every day more apparent, that nothing leſs than an appeal to the laſt reſort of princes could preſerve thoſe remains of his authority which were ſtill left, had he even ſubmitted to the loſs already ſuſtained, removed at length to the province of Guelderland. This was the moſt judicious meaſure that he could poſſibly have taken; for, beſides that the ſtates of that province, as well as of its neighbour Utrecht, were entirely on his ſide, and the little country of Over-Yſſel, from its ſituation, entirely within his power whenever he found exertion abſolutely neceſſary, he was likewiſe within ſuch a diſtance of the turbulent city of Utrecht, as at leaſt to protect the ſtates of that province, whom they had already obliged to retire to Amersfort, from any obſtruction or diſturbance in their proceedings at that place. Theſe were, however, but ſecondary objects, when compared with the great advantages which that ſituation would afford, if matters were brought to a certain degree of extremity, through the nearneſs of the Pruſſian territories, which incloſed Gueldres on two ſides, with limits ſo mixed and open, that the intercourſe could not be interrupted.

Obvious as theſe advantages were, they ſeemed to eſcape the obſervation of the adverſe faction in Holland, until they began to be perceived in their conſequences. The prince ſtill retained the command of the forces of five provinces, which were about equal in ſtrength to thoſe of Holland; ſo that from his retreat to Guelderland he lay no longer at the mercy of his enemies. From the attachment of the troops to him, it was doubtful how far they might obey even the orders of their reſpective ſtates, in withdrawing from his command, if ſuch a ſcene of diſorder was once opened as might afford a colour for diſcretionary conduct, or hold out a ſanction to diſobedience.

We are now, however, to look to ſeveral matters that preceded and led to this laſt reſource which the prince adopted, of retiring with a military force to his ſtrong hold in Guelderland. Great expectations had been formed on both ſides, from the aſſemblage of the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Friezeland, which was to take place at the Hague in the middle of March. Although the ſtadtholder had no vote in that aſſembly, it would have been his duty to have attended, in order to give his advice, and to lay ſuch propoſals and matters relative to public affairs as he thought fitting, before them for regular diſcuſſion, had not the late affronts which he received put it out of his power to return to that place, until he was reſtored to his former dignities and authority. The ſtates themſelves ſeemed to entertain no ſmall apprehenſion of the tumults which might take place upon that occaſion, from the great and general attachment of the inhabitants to the prince, and the ſtrong ſenſations of grief and indignation, which the novelty and cauſe of his abſence, with the public diſplay of his degradation, were likely to produce.

To obviate theſe diſagreeable effects, after a day of public prayer and faſting had been ſuppoſed to diffuſe a ſerious diſpoſition among the people, they iſſued a proclamation a few days previous to the meeting, ſtrictly forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, all the uſual popular marks of rejoicing, upon any public days or occaſions whatever, particularly prohibiting the hoiſting of flags upon ſteeples or other places, and the ſelling or wearing of any badges of diſtinction, eſpecially of orange-coloured cockades and ribbands; which being a colour, they obſerve, not ſanctioned by authority, could only be worn from the ſpirit of party; the delinquents, whether ſellers or wearers, being ſubjected to the heavy arbitrary penalties of impriſonment, corporal puniſhment, and even death, to be diſcretionally inflicted: encouragement was held out to the moſt odious of men, informers; and in a degrading, arbitrary, and probably injudicious exertion of power, it was declared that thoſe who did not inform ſhould be found equally guilty for the miſpriſion, and puniſhed as principals.

March 15th, 1786. The ſtates at their firſt meeting diſappointed the public, when a prodigious crowd was already aſſembled, by an adjournment to the following day. On that morning, to fix an idea of the majeſty of their ſovereign aſſembly, as well as to awe the people, the garriſon were drawn out armed, and arrayed in their beſt uniforms, oppoſite the hall of the ſtates. A crowd of three or four thouſand people ſhewed ſuch ſtrong marks of diſſatisfaction, and diſpoſition to tumult, that the fixed bayonets, and firm conduct and countenance of the ſoldiers, were abſolutely neceſſary to keep them in order. But a new and very peculiar ſource of diſcord remained ſtill to be opened. A gate, which derived its name from the ſtadtholder's office, and the particular uſe it was aſſigned to, poſſeſſed the ſingular privilege (at leaſt in modern times) of never being opened, excepting when that firſt magiſtrate of the ſtate was to paſs through it upon public occaſions, ſuch as the preſent. The preſident of the aſſembly, to ſhew the fullneſs of power, and to prepare the people for ſubmiſſion and acquieſcence in all other novelties, ordered this interdicted gate to be opened, and a detachment of grenadiers were aſſigned to the important ſervice. This invidious meaſure was beheld with the higheſt indignation by the people; but the terror of the ſoldiers weapons, together with the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that no attempt was made to paſs through the gate, (the prevention of which was now made the point of honour, when the firſt was given up) ſerved to prevent their proceeding to any actual violence.

The burghers of the Orange party, conſidering this firſt invaſion of privilege as the prelude to farther outrage, held a meeting in the night, where, after deep debate, it was determined to preſerve, at all events and hazards, the purity of their favourite gate from the laſt degree of violation. On the third morning the ſtadtholder's gate was again opened, and matters were conducted with a reaſonable degree of tranquillity through the day;

but upon the breaking up of the ſtates in the evening, the penſionary of Dort, whether through vanity, to ſhew his contempt of the ſtadtholder, or to try the temper of the people, while the means of their chaſtiſement were at hand, ordered his coach to be driven through the gate. This was the ſignal of alarm, the people immediately interfered, both in preventing the deſign, and in endeavouring to diſcharge their fury upon the adventurous penſionary; the riot was violent, and thoſe who were not engaged ſhuddered for the conſequences, nothing leſs than a general maſſacre of the unarmed populace being expected. In this inſtant of terror and danger, the horſe guards ruſhed in with the utmoſt violence upon the crowd, flouriſhing their ſwords with terrible threats, and the moſt dreadful parade of execution. In little more than a moment the tumultuous crowd were either overthrown by the horſes, and lying in heaps upon each other, or diſperſed and flying on every ſide. Never was ſo violent a tumult ſo ſuddenly quelled, and with ſo little miſchief. Not a ſingle man was killed, nor a ſingle wound given with the ſword; the horſes were the only combatants, and left many ſore remembrances of their weight, and of the iron armour on their hoofs. It was no leſs remarkable that only a ſingle priſoner was made, where all lay at the mercy of the victors. This unfortunate culprit was a ſober tradeſman, the maſter of a houſe and family: he had been ſo active in the commencement of the riot as to be particularly conſpicuous, which occaſioned his being early ſecured; and every body was in expectation of his being hanged, as an example, the following morning.

The conduct of the troops upon this occaſion can never be too much praiſed or admired, and ſhould be received and adopted as a moſt excellent model in all caſes of ſuppreſſing civil commotions. Had the infantry, who were quiet lookers-on, undertaken to quell this riot, the ſlaughter, from the narrowneſs of the place, the cloſeneſs of the crowd, and the nature of their weapons, would have been immenſe; and when broken and intermixed with the populace (which would have been unavoidable) the conflict muſt have been attended with loſs to themſelves. Nor would the deſtruction have been ſmall to the people, if the cavalry had made that cruel uſe of their ſwords which was ſo entirely in their power, and of which they made ſo effective and happy a diſplay. Whatever ſhare may be aſcribed to diſcipline in this excellent conduct, no doubt can be entertained but that a much greater was due to the private ſentiments and diſpoſition of the troops.

This riot, together with the general ill temper of the people, put a ſtop for ſome time to the deliberations of the ſtates of Holland. So many interceſſions were made for the life of the unfortunate peruke-maker who had been taken up in the late tumult, that the ſentence of death on him was changed to an order of impriſonment for 20 years.

In the mean time, the diſſenſions in the city of Utrecht became ſo violent, that the ruling faction iſſued the ſingularly arbitrary decree, that not more than two perſons ſhould, under any pretence, and under ſevere penalties, ſtop to confer in the ſtreets. They were not only in a ſtate of hoſtility with their fellow-citizens, and the ſtates of the province, but they flew in the face of their own immediate delegates, who declared, that in conſideration of their oaths, and a full knowledge that the dignities conferred on the ſtadtholder in 1749 had been granted by the unanimous voice of all the regents of that time, as the only means of preſerving the nation, they could not in any manner concur in depriving him of them; although, if any new regulation ſhould, with his own conſent, and with the ſame unanimity be adopted, they ſhould by no means oppoſe ſuch a reform, but act in concert with the ſtates in general. This moderation in their delegates could produce no correſponding effect in the conſtituents, who, determined to ſupport their violence by arms, hired ſoldiers, and procured officers from all parts, and at any expence, making every poſſible preparation at the ſame time to withſtand a ſiege vigorouſly if attacked, as they continually expected.

If the ſubſcriptions to the patriotic funds (which were to ſupport the numberleſs petty armaments of this time) were really as large as repreſented, it would indeed be aſtoniſhing, conſidering the heavy loſſes which individuals as well as the republic had ſuſtained by the war with England, and the ſubſequent prodigious expences and damage occaſioned by the conteſt with the emperor, firſt in the preparations for war and the overflowing of the country, and laſtly in the purchaſe of peace, and the reparation which they were compelled to make to his ſubjects for their damages. It was ſaid, that ſubſcriptions from individuals of eight or ten thouſand florins were common upon this occaſion; and that ſo large a ſum as 100,000 (amounting to ſomething between ſeven and eight thouſand pounds) had been ſent without a name; but this laſt was probably no more than a lure, to excite a ſimilar liberality from ſuch an example.

In the mean time the republic was torn to pieces and convulſed in all its parts and members. Nothing could be more deplorable than the face of tumult, riot, and confuſion which every where prevailed. Many of the towns preſented little leſs than a ſcene of continual civil war. The multitude of ill-connected petty ſovereignties, of which the republic is compoſed, afforded room for a general, as well as for particular degrees of anarchy, which could not perhaps have been equalled under any other form of government. Nor has it poſſibly been known in any civil contention, in which religion was not the object of the conteſt, that the animoſity and malice of the contending factions was carried to ſo extreme an exceſs as in the preſent. Their riots were accordingly, and perhaps it may be ſaid, according to the peculiar genius and temper of the people, fierce, cruel, and bloody. Multitudes of people were ſaid to have been ſacrificed, without count or enquiry, in theſe tumults, while the canals ſerved commodiouſly for the inſtant in hiding the effects of their mutual enormity.

The debates in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland, upon the ſubject of reſtoring the ſtadtholder to his dignity, or at leaſt to the government of the Hague, were conducted with a degree of heat and vehemence ſaid to be unequalled in the Dutch councils. Every method was accordingly uſed, that the nature of ſuch proceedings will admit, in order to conceal the particulars of what paſſed in that aſſembly from the knowledge of the people. The count de Maillebois, who was ſuppoſed to be the ſecret mover of moſt, if not all, of the harſh meaſures adopted againſt the ſtadtholder, was now become ſo extremely odious, at leaſt with one party, that he was very generally burnt in effigy in thoſe places where they were prevalent.

After various debates upon the ſubject, the grand queſtion, with reſpect to the command at the Hague, was carried againſt the prince of Orange in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland by a ſingle vote, the numbers being ten to nine. July 27th. A proteſt was immediately entered by the equeſtrian order, as well as by the deputies or repreſentatives of ſome towns, againſt this reſolution, as being premature and violent, as well as unconſtitutional and illegal.

This reſolution was not ſilently acquieſced in by the ſtadtholder. He tranſmitted a ſtrong letter to the ſtates of Holland, in which, after taking notice that he could conſider this reſolution as nothing leſs than a violent outrage upon his dignity and authority, and an uſurpation upon a right which did not admit of being doubted; after obſerving the defect of unanimity among themſelves, and the cloſeneſs of the diviſion upon which a queſtion of ſuch importance was carried; he denies the legality of any one member of the confederacy depriving him of rights which had been unanimouſly conferred upon him by the whole union; and, though he by no means acknowledges the right even of the whole union to diſpoſſeſs him of dignities and powers which were in the fulleſt manner rendered hereditary in his family, yet, waving that queſtion for the preſent, he obſerves, that it would at leaſt be neceſſary, in order to give any colour of ſanction to ſuch a proceeding, that the retraction ſhould be attended with the ſame unanimity which prevailed in the donation.

Though this letter was conſidered as amounting to a defiance by the moſt violent of the adverſe faction, yet it induced the ſtates of Holland to a re-conſideration (perhaps merely for form) of the late reſolution; the reſult of which was only a farther confirmation of the meaſure, by a declaration that it was ſtrictly legal, and in all reſpects conſonant to the conſtitution, and to the ſpirit of the general union.

The death of the late king of Pruſſia, and the acceſſion of the preſent monarch, to whoſe ſiſter the ſtadtholder is married, could not be ſuppoſed to weaken his intereſt at the court of Berlin. The new king indeed did not leave it long in doubt what part he was determined to take in favour of his brother-in-law. Sept. 2d. For he ſcarcely had time to feel himſelf well in the throne, before he diſpatched a long letter, fully declaratory of his ſentiments, to the ſtates general; and, to give the greater weight to them, it was conveyed by no leſs a perſon than the count de Goertz, his miniſter of ſtate, in the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

In this nervous and ſpirited letter he refrains from entering into any particular detail of the injuries offered to the ſtadtholder, referring them for that, as well as for his own ſentiments upon the ſubject, to certain ſpecified letters or memorials tranſmitted by his uncle and predeceſſor, both to their high mightineſſes, and to the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Friezeland; every part of which he now, for himſelf, renews and confirms. He takes care to remove every objection to his interference, as being unwarranted, intruſive, or dictatorial to a ſovereign ſtate, by ſhewing that the long and tried friendſhip which had for two centuries ſubſiſted between his predeceſſors and the republic, would even have demanded his friendly and mediatorial interpoſition in the preſent unhappy and dangerous ſtate of their civil diſſenſions: that, excluſive of friendſhip, his ſituation as their neareſt neighbour, and the vicinity of a part of his dominions to their territories, muſt neceſſarily prevent his being indifferent to any violent or eſſential change that was attempted to be made in the conſtitution of the republic: but that, independent of theſe cauſes, the near relation in which he ſtood with the prince ſtadtholder, and the affection which he bore for the princeſs his ſiſter, rendered it impoſſible that he could be unconcerned in ſeeing them degraded from their high rank and dignities, and the ſtadtholder arbitrarily deprived of his rights and prerogatives.

He therefore ſtrongly but amicably preſſed the ſtates general to uſe their powerful mediation in the moſt ſerious manner with the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Friezeland, for ſettling the preſent differences; and to take ſuch other meaſures as might appear neceſſary for healing the dangerous diſſenſions ſo glaringly prevalent, for reſtoring the prince to his rights, and enabling him to return with honour and propriety to the reſumption of his high offices at the Hague: offering his own counſel and mediation, if it were neceſſary, in conjunction with other friends and neighbours of the republic, to bring all remaining differences and matters of debate to an equitable, final, and happy termination, and in a manner that would be equally conſonant to the honour and true intereſts of all the parties. He farther informed the ſtates, that they were to receive and conſider all communications from the count de Goertz as coming directly from himſelf.

This early diſplay of the new king's character ſeemed to afford no ſmall indication, that though the great Frederic was no more, the ſpirit and vigour of his councils were by no means departed.

The ſtates of five of the provinces referred the conſideration of the king of Pruſſia's letter to the committee for foreign affairs; but thoſe of Holland and Weſt Friezeland, perſevering in their ſyſtem, and bating nothing of their uſual obſtinacy, declaring their adherence to the reſolution of the preceding December, againſt the admiſſion of any foreign interference in the regulation of their domeſtic affairs, would pay no attention whatever to the letter.

The court of Verſailles, conſcious of having the game ſo effectually in her own hands as to render all public intervention in the affairs of Holland, on her ſide, totally unneceſſary, could have no diſpoſition to admit the interference of other powers, whoſe views and principles ſhe knew to be diametrically oppoſite to her own. She had accordingly preſented to the ſtates, ſome conſiderable time before, as a guarded precaution againſt what was like to happen, a memorial couched in very equivocal terms, in which, after much parade of the French king's friendſhip and regards, and of his attachment to the ſubſiſting alliance between them, he declares his wiſhes to ſee thoſe abuſes reformed, which had occaſioned internal diſſenſions in the republic, and that he ſhould be happy to ſee tranquillity reſtored upon the true principles of its conſtitution; but that, without pretending to meddle in the internal government of the ſeven provinces, he would on the contrary uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent their high mightineſſes being troubled from without as well as from within.

The republican party was now become ſo inſolent, and their violence ſo extreme, that they ſeemed not only to caſt off all obedience to their own laws, but all regard to thoſe of nations, and all reſpect to foreign ſovereigns. A courier from the court of Berlin to that of London, upon his return was ſtopped, and narrowly eſcaped being rummaged, and his diſpatches examined, by the populace in the town of Woerden. This outrage obliged the count de Goertz formally to demand a paſſport from the ſtates general for a courier he was ſending with diſpatches to the king his maſter.

The ſtates of Guelderland, after various ſtrong remonſtrances, couched in terms of great indignation to thoſe of Holland, for the encouragement which they had given, and the ſupport they promiſed, to the refractory or rebellious burghers in their towns of Hattem and Elbourg, declaring that ſuch an undue interference in their government, and outrage offered to their ſovereignty, muſt, if perſevered in or repeated, lead to an immediate diſſolution of the union, determined at length to remove this bone of internal and external contention, by applying force as the laſt remedy for the eradication of the evil.

They accordingly paſſed a written reſolution, tantamount in effect to a commiſſion, charging the prince ſtadtholder, as captain general, immediately to ſend a ſufficient number of troops, under the conduct of an experienced officer, to theſe towns, with injunctions to continue there until further orders; but that if the inhabitants were to make any reſiſtance to the performance of this ſervice, ſuch officer was authorized, in ſpite of all obſtacles, to ſupport the ſovereign authority of their noble mightineſſes, by proceeding to force and violence in the eſtabliſhment of thoſe garriſons.

The ſtates likewiſe wrote to the magiſtracies of both towns (who were equally diſobeyed and ſlighted with themſelves by the turbulent burghers) incloſing a copy of their reſolution, and requiring them to give every aſſiſtance in their power to the troops; and particularly to exhort the inhabitants to the moſt docile ſubmiſſion to all injunctions that might come from their aſſembly.

General Spengler, with four regiments, and proper artillery, was appointed by the ſtadtholder to this ſervice, with ſtrict injunctions, if poſſible, to avoid the ſhedding of blood. The armed burghers of Hattem, being reinforced by as many volunteers as money or party zeal could procure from different quarters, exhibited a great parade of making a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance.

tance. Their cannon were mounted on the walls and works, and on the approach of the ſtadtholder's little army, as they called the regular forces by way of contempt, fired ſeveral rounds of artillery with great briſkneſs, but with ſo little judgment in the direction, as not to produce the ſmalleſt effect. As ſoon as Spengler arrived within a proper diſtance, he pointed his artillery, in order to do the leaſt poſſible miſchief, at the chimnies and tops of the houſes only. This, however, along with the bold advance and near approach of the troops, ſoon produced the deſired effect; the armed burghers, with their adherents and auxiliaries, abandoned the town; and Spengler's men entered at one gate, as they were retiring through another. Elbourg was abandoned in the ſame manner, and with ſtill leſs trouble.

As the public papers were entirely in the hands of the republicans, ſo nothing could be more ridiculous than the pompous and gaſconading accounts publiſhed of the paltry affair at Hattem. The armed burghers and volunteers were deſcribed as inheriting all the valour, and all the prowefs, which had ever been attributed to the heroic ages. The contemptible invading army had been repulſed and put to flight, with a conſiderable ſlaughter of men and officers, who were plainly diſtinguiſhed as they dropped or were carried off; and, to give the better colour to the tale, ſome ſmall loſs was acknowledged on their own ſide. Yet, in the moment of victory, they abandoned all theſe advantages, merely in compliance with the requiſitions of many of their diſtant and moſt reſpectable friends, who, ſhuddering under the apprehenſion of any wanton or needleſs profuſion of patriotic blood, preſſed them to reſerve their courage for ſome occaſion more worthy of it—than the defence of their native town, and the protection of their houſes, poſſeſſions, wives, and families.

In the ſame ſtyle of deluſion, nothing could be more ſhocking or deplorable than the accounts which they publiſhed of the enormities, the plunder, and cruelties, committed by the troops upon their gaining poſſeſſion of Hattem and Elbourg. It was no wonder that the public at large, and eſpecially thoſe at a diſtance, ſhould have been impoſed on by theſe repreſentations, when even the ſtates of Guelderland, notwithſtanding their vicinity, ſwallowed the deluſion ſo implicitly, that under the double impreſſion of indignation at the conduct of the troops, and compaſſion for the ſuppoſed ſufferers, they iſſued a haſty proclamation, promiſing fully to indemnify and to grant adequate ſatisfaction to all perſons who had ſuſtained loſs or injury from them.

To the diſappointment and mortification, however, of all lovers of the marvellous, as well as to the great vexation of the faction themſelves, general Spengler's detail to his maſters, the ſtates, of the operations of the troops under his command, was ſoon publiſhed, by which it appeared that not a ſingle man had been killed or wounded on either ſide in the boaſted action of Hattem; and that the diſcipline of the troops had been ſo exact, and their conduct ſo laudable, that there was not a ſingle complainant from either town to appear againſt them.

In the mean time the ſelf-exiled burghers of thoſe two towns, with their armed confederates, ſuddenly changing their late boaſting into lamentation, and, notwithſtanding that the ſtates of Guelderland had publiſhed an amneſty in favour of all who would return to their houſes within a limited time, filled all places with their clamours, on the woeful detail of their loſſes and ſufferings; the effect of their complaints being the more quickened by the heavy burthen which they proved to their friends, in the various towns where they took refuge.

The taking of theſe two towns was conſidered or repreſented by the adverſe faction, not only as the ſignal, but the actual commencement of civil war; and nothing was to be heard but execrations, as well againſt the ſtates of Gueldres, as the prince ſtadtholder. In the province of Holland eſpecially, the flames ſeemed to be blown up nearly to the greateſt height at which they were capable of arriving. All regard to forms was now laid aſide, in completing the depoſition by force of thoſe magiſtrates, ſenators, and members of the reſpective town councils, who were known or ſuſpected to be of the oppoſite party.

Sept. 22d. The ſtates of Holland, without regard to the miſſion and preſence of the count de Goertz, immediately ſuſpended, for an indefinite time, the prince ſtadtholder from all the functions appertaining to his office of captain general within their province; and diſcharged the troops from that part of their military oath which bound them to obey his orders. At the ſame time they recalled their regiments from Maſtricht, and other garriſons without the province, and ordered a ſtrong line of troops to be formed along the inland frontier towards Utrecht and Guelderland, and magazines to be provided for their ſubſiſtence during the winter; general Van Ryſſel, their commander, being likewiſe ordered to be in conſtant force and readineſs for ſuccouring and protecting the city of Utrecht, if any attempt ſhould be made upon it, under the orders of the ſtates of that province, who were aſſembled at Amersfort. Such was the deplorable ſtate of affairs in this once great and flouriſhing republic, towards the cloſe of the year 1786.

CHAP. V.

Opening of the third ſeſſion of parliament. Amendment moved upon the addreſs in both houſes, and negatived without a diviſion. Mr. Fox's obſervations on the king's ſpeech—on the ſtate of foreign alliances—treaty between France and the United Provinces—Germanic league—treaty with Ruſſia—commercial treaty with France—prepoſterous mode of conducting the public buſineſs—Iriſh propoſitions—affairs of India. Mr. Pitt's reply; his obſervations on Mr. Fox's dexterity in debate; his account of the Ruſſian treaty and German confederacy; his opinion reſpecting the connection between Hanover and Great Britain; defence of his India bill; flouriſhing ſtate of the revenues. Remarks by Mr. Fox on the miniſter's opinion concerning the political connection between Great Britain and Hanover. Major Scott calls on Mr. Burke to bring forward his charges againſt Mr. Haſtings. Mr. Burke relates in reply an anecdote of the duke of Parma. Grand debate on the duke of Richmond's propoſed fortification of the dock-yards. Inſtructions to the board of land and ſea-officers, and extracts from their report. Mr. Pitt's motion and arguments in ſupport of the plan propoſed, as neceſſary, as beſt adapted to their purpoſe, as tending to increaſe the effects of our naval force, and to reduce the army. Amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion by Mr. Baſtard and Sir William Lemon. Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech in favour of the amendment; firſt he ſhews that the plan propoſed was dangerous to the conſtitution; he denies it would reduce the ſtanding army, and if it did, he proves that in the ſame proportion it would increaſe its power; 2dly, he denies that it is ſanctioned by the report of the board of officers, the extracts from the report prove the members were not agreed; the report itſelf founded on hypothetical ſuggeſtions from the maſter general. Mr. Pitt's motion rejected by the caſting vote of the ſpeaker. Debate in the houſe of lords on the new clauſe in the mutiny bill for ſubjecting officers by brevet to the military law; amendment propoſed by lords Carliſle and Stormont; rejected on a diviſion; queſtion ſtarted, whether an officer could reſign his commiſſion at pleaſure; opinions of the lord chancellor and lord Loughborough.

THE third ſeſſion of the preſent parliament was opened on the 24th of January 1786, by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty, after having mentioned the amicable concluſion to which the diſputes that threatened an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought, the friendly diſpoſition of foreign powers towards this country, the extenſion of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increaſe of public credit, informed his parliament that the reſolutions which they had laid before him, as the baſis of an adjuſtment of the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, had been by his direction recommended to the parliament of that kingdom, but that no effectual ſtep had hitherto been taken thereupon, which could enable them to make any further progreſs in that ſalutary work. He afterwards called the attention of the houſe of commons to the eſtabliſhment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt, a meaſure which he truſted the flouriſhing ſtate of the revenue would be ſufficient to effect, with little addition to the public burthens. He concluded with ſaying, that the vigour and reſources of the country, ſo fully manifeſted in its preſent ſituation, would encourage his parliament to give their utmoſt attention to every object of national concern; particularly to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary, in order to give further ſecurity to the revenue, and to promote and extend, as far as poſſible, the trade and general induſtry of his ſubjects.

An addreſs* in the uſual form being moved and read in the houſe of lords, the earl Fitzwilliam propoſed to omit that part of it which related to the commercial negociations with Ireland; firſt, as nugatory, it being acknowledged in the ſpeech that nothing more could be done on the ſubject; ſecondly, as containing an indirect reflection upon the conduct of the parliament of Ireland; and thirdly, as tending to revive the diſcuſſion of a meaſure almoſt univerſally reprobated in one kingdom, received with great jealouſy and alarm in this, and marked with the diſapprobation of a conſiderable minority in both houſes of parliament. An amendment to the ſame purpoſe, and for the ſame reaſons, was moved in the houſe of commons by lord Surry; and although both the addreſſes were carried as originally moved, without any diviſion, yet the ſpeech itſelf underwent a conſiderable degree of animadverſion in both houſes, principally on account of the vague and general terms in which it was worded, and the ſcanty information it held out to parliament.

As the debate on the addreſs to his majeſty on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, is always conſidered as open to any general obſervations on the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Fox took this opportunity to enter at large into the ſituation in which we ſtood with reſpect to the ſeveral powers of Europe. He ſtrongly cenſured the impolitic conduct of his majeſty's miniſters, in not cultivating continental alliances, and their negligence in being perpetually behind hand in all their foreign negotiations. It was owing, he ſaid, to their criminal miſconduct that the houſe of Bourbon had got the ſtart of us in their late treaty with the United Provinces, and that our ambaſſador at the Hague had been expoſed to the ridicule of preſenting an uſeleſs memorial to the ſtates on the ſubject, after the above treaty had been actually ratified. This treaty, which the court of Verſailles had perſuaded the United States to enter into (raſhly indeed he thought, and impolitically on the part of the latter) and which effectually ſecured Holland in its intereſts, he conſidered as highly dangerous and hoſtile to this country, in as much as it combined France, Spain, and Holland, three of the moſt powerful maritime powers of Europe, in a confederacy againſt Great Britain.

---

* The addreſs in the houſe of lords was moved by the earl of Morton, and ſeconded by lord Forteſcue; in the houſe of commons it was moved by Mr. Smyth, member for Pomfret, and ſeconded by Mr. Addington, member for the Devizes.

In order to counterbalance the miſchievous tendency of this confederacy, a more cloſe connection with the courts of Peterſburg and Vienna ſeemed naturally to ſuggeſt itſelf. But what had been the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters? The emperor, who was the moſt able, as well as the moſt likely, to cut out work for France, in caſe of a future war, had been imprudently diſguſted by the part which the king, as elector of Hanover, had taken with reſpect to the electorate of Bavaria, and by his joining with the Germanic princes in a league, founded on the plea of preſerving the liberties of the empire. He deſired the houſe to recollect, that in all her wars, France had been moſt embarraſſed by her continental ſituation, and the dread of an attack from the neighbouring powers; the whole of her policy therefore had been directed to engage them in ſuch a manner as to ſecure their neutrality, and by that means free her from the burthen of maintaining a ruinous frontier eſtabliſhment; and hence it was, that in her late conteſt with Great Britain, ſhe had been enabled to aid her reſources by a reduction of her army in the midſt of a war, and to apply the ſavings to the increaſe of her maritime ſtrength. And what were we to expect in a future war? She was ſafe by the family compact on the ſide of Spain; ſhe had, by the late treaty, ſecured Holland in her intereſt. The emperor (whoſe deſigns, notwithſtanding the treaties ſubſiſting between them, and all the endearing bonds of family connection, it was well known ſhe ſtill watched with jealous apprehenſions) was the only power in Europe ſhe had any cauſe to dread. France therefore had nothing to wiſh for before the late league was made, but that ſome circumſtances ſhould happen to create a jealouſy and diſlike of Great Britain in the emperor. That circumſtance we had ourſelves provided; by the effects of that league we had ſecured the frontier of France gratis, at a moment when ſhe would have paid any price for it, as was apparent from the great ſums ſhe had expended in bringing about the peace between the United Provinces and the emperor. The moſt ſanguine dreamer of national good fortune could not have pictured to himſelf the poſſibility of ſuch a fortunate event.

With reſpect to Ruſſia, a criſis had occurred two years ago, of which this country ought to have taken advantage, and which he himſelf had at the preciſe moment pointed out in that houſe: the moment to which he alluded was that when the empreſs of Ruſſia had ſettled her differences with the Porte on the ſubject of the Crimea, when overtures of the moſt advantageous nature were made to the Britiſh court. At the ſame time, though he was convinced that the beſt opportunity for treating with Ruſſia had been loſt, yet he expreſſed his ſatisfaction at having heard, from good authority, that a treaty was then actually negociating, and in a fair way of being concluded.

Mr. Fox next adverted to the negociation for a commercial treaty, which was then on the point of being opened at Paris. He gave a deciſive opinion againſt the policy of ſuch a meaſure; appealing to the experience of former times, which, he ſaid, proved that this nation had grown great, proſperous, and flouriſhing, from the moment that ſhe quitted all commercial connexions with France. The ſelection of a diſtinguiſhed member of oppoſition, whoſe knowledge of commercial affairs had given no ſmall trouble to the miniſter in the preceding ſeſſion, for the negociation of this treaty, and the ſingularity of the time of its commencement, were the objects of much pointed raillery. By the articles of the peace of Verſailles, a treaty of commerce was to have been ſettled between this country and France on or before the firſt of January 1786, and from that day all negociation was to be at an end: but now that the time of negociation was paſt, the board of trade were buſy with the ſubject, and were about to ſend out a negociator. The ſame unſeemly, but more criminal miſmanagement, had marked their conduct reſpecting the treaty between France and Holland, againſt the concluſion of which ſir James Harris was directed to preſent a memorial to the ſtates, but unfortunately ſeveral days after it had been ratified. The like prepoſterous arrangement of public buſineſs had alſo taken place in the projected ſettlement with Ireland; when, after the commercial propoſitions had been tranſmitted by his majeſty's ſervants from that country, and juſt as the Britiſh parliament was called upon to vote them, the board of trade proceeded to enquire whether the propoſitions were, in fact, ſuch as were fit for either country to accept.

Upon this ſubject, Mr. Fox remarked with ſome triumph, the flat contradiction which the event had given to the arguments uſed by the miniſter and his ſupporters, upon the propriety of firſt taking the ſenſe of the Iriſh parliament, in order to aſcertain their expectations, before the Engliſh parliament was called upon to conſider the ſubject. He put the chancellor of the exchequer in mind of the confidence with which he had again and again told the houſe, reſpecting the relative ſituation of the two countries, *that it was impoſſible things could remain as they were*; and deſired to know, what was the meaning of that part of his majeſty's ſpeech which related to this ſubject, if it was not *that things muſt remain as they were?*

Mr. Fox, finally, took a conciſe view of the affairs of India, inſiſting principally on the alarm, the diſguſt, and indignation, which certain regulating clauſes in Mr. Pitt's bill had juſtly occaſioned amongſt the company's ſervants in India; and upon the extraordinary orders ſent out by the board of controul for reſtoring to the Nabob of Arcot the collection and management of the revenues of the Carnatic, which lord Macartney, from the conviction of the neceſſity of taking them, not out of his hands, but out of the hands of his agents, Britiſh uſurers, who plundered the natives and robbed him, had veſted in the company. It was owing, he ſaid, to this order, that lord Macartney had reſigned his government, and that the company had been deprived of the ſervices of that able and uncorrupt nobleman.

When Mr. Fox had finiſhed, the chancellor of the exchequer, after a ſhort pauſe, roſe and ſaid, he waited to ſee if any member had objections to make to the addreſs, as the right hon. gentleman who ſpoke laſt had certainly made none. He could not avoid bearing teſtimony to that peculiar and almoſt inſtinctive dexterity with which that gentleman was enabled, on all occaſions, to leave out of the diſcuſſion ſuch parts of the ſubject as were unfavourable to him; and he had on the preſent occaſion an opportunity of equally admiring a ſimilar talent in him, of introducing, however foreign and unconnected, ſuch matter as he expected would be favourable. He did not mean, however, to follow him in thoſe deviations from the ſubject. The right hon. gentleman had aſſumed the liberty of ſpeaking of foreign politics without reſtraint, on the ground of his not being a miniſter; and he for his part ſhould avail himſelf of the delicacy and caution requiſite in that character, and ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be diverted from it.

Mr. Pitt then acquainted the houſe, that the treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia was in a ſtate of great forwardneſs, and he had every reaſon to hope would be completed in ſuch a manner as to give general ſatisfaction. With reſpect to the Germanic confederacy, it was a meaſure, he ſaid, with the merits or demerits of which his majeſty's miniſters had no concern; and he deſired to have it underſtood, that Great Britain was by no means committed by any league lately entered into by the elector of Hanover, but was in the preſent inſtance, what ſhe always ought to be, perfectly unconnected with the politics of that electorate. He was clear and explicit upon this point. Accident, he ſaid, had placed the ſovereignty of that country and of this in the ſame hands; but it by no means followed that the intereſts of each muſt neceſſarily be the ſame, though perhaps it might be for their mutual advantage to make their intereſts as reconcilable to each other as poſſible. He pointed out the inconſiſtency of Mr. Fox's apprehenſions of our being involved in difficulties through the means of his majeſty's German territories, and yet his expecting that the adminiſtration of thoſe territories ſhould be ſubordinate to, and regulated by, the miniſters of Great Britain; as if that very circumſtance would not bind this country on all occaſions to aſſiſt and protect the electorate: whereas the only way for Great Britain to avoid embroiling herſelf in quarrels for Hanover, was by our government being kept, as much as poſſible, independent of Hanoverian politics.

He next adverted to Mr Fox's remarks on the affairs of India, and defended the obnoxious clauſe in the India bill againſt the invectives with which it had been treated, as militating againſt the trial by juries. He contended, that there might be tribunals eſtabliſhed in certain caſes that would be found to anſwer equally all the purpoſes of public juſtice; and he conſidered the preſent as reſembling in its conſtitution the beſt ſort of ſpecial jury, and as totally exempt from the imputation of hardſhip, ſince no man became ſubject to it but by his own choice. With reſpect to the orders relative to the nabob of Arcot, he remarked, that though the policy of the meaſure was with lord Macartney, yet the good faith of the nation required that the ſacrifice ſhould be made.

Having followed Mr. Fox through theſe parts of his ſpeech, he took notice of the contemptuous manner he had treated that part of his majeſty's ſpeech which reſpected the flouriſhing ſtate of our finances. He was, however, glad to find that he had changed his ſentiments a little ſince the laſt ſeſſion, and that inſtead of the great deficiency he had then foretold, he had now declared that no perſon could have ever doubted but there muſt be *ſome ſurplus*. He then declared, that it would ſhortly appear, that the ſurplus was conſiderable and important.

He laſtly turned to Mr. Fox's obſervations upon the ſubject of Ireland, and condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms the impropriety of ſpeaking on a ſubject of ſuch delicacy in the unguarded and inflammatory manner they had juſt heard. He recapitulated the arguments uſed in the laſt ſeſſion in defence of thoſe meaſures; and concluded with lamenting their failure, and expreſſing his ſincere regret, that while this country had to contemplate the preſent proſperous ſtate of her affairs, and the pleaſing proſpect before her, ſhe had not been able to extend the bleſſings ſtill further, by communicating thoſe of her commerce to the ſiſter kingdom.

Mr. Pitt's idea that Great Britain was not committed by treaties made by the king, as elector of Hanover, was ridiculed by Mr. Fox with great ſuucceſs. He put a variety of caſes, in ſome of which the ſovereign might, with one part of his forces, endeavour to ſupport a particular cauſe, and with the other attempt to pull it down; in others, Great Britain might be called on to act againſt the electorate, and lend a hand to ſtrip their king of his hereditary dominions; nay, a Britiſh army might be directed to act hoſtilely againſt troops, led in perſon by their ſovereign, as elector of Hanover.

Before the houſe roſe, Major Scott (member for Weſt Looe, and agent to the late governor general of Bengal) obſerving Mr. Burke in his place, begged leave to remind the houſe that Mr. Haſtings had been arrived in England ſome months; and he therefore called upon that gentleman to produce the charges which he had pledged himſelf in the preceding ſeſſion to bring forward againſt Mr. Haſtings, and to fix the earlieſt day poſſible for the diſcuſſion of them. Mr. Burke replied to the major, by relating an anecdote of the great duke of Parma, who, being challenged by Henry the fourth of France "to bring his forces into the open field, and inſtantly decide their diſputes;" anſwered with a ſmile, "that he knew very well what he had to do, and was not come ſo far to be directed by an enemy."

Feb. 27.

The firſt object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament in the preſent ſeſſion, was a meaſure which originated with the duke of Richmond, the maſter general of the ordnance. It was a plan for fortifying the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth.

The houſe of commons had in the preceding ſeſſion expreſſed their unwillingneſs to apply any part of the public money for this purpoſe, before they were made acquainted with the opinions of ſuch perſons as were beſt able to decide concerning the utility and propriety of ſuch a meaſure. In conſequence of this intimation, a board of military and naval officers was appointed by the king, with the maſter general of the ordnance as their preſident; and the propoſed plan of fortifications was referred to them for their opinions and advice. After they had inveſtigated the ſubject, and had made their report thereon, the plans recommended were laid before a board of engineers to make an eſtimate of the expences neceſſary to carry them into execution.

10th Feb. 1786.

This eſtimate, which amounted to no leſs a ſum than 760,097l. Mr. Pitt laid before the houſe on the 10th of February 1786, the day on which the reſt of the ordnance eſtimates were brought forward; and it was originally intended by Mr. Pitt that it ſhould be debated and decided upon, together with the latter eſtimates, as a mere collateral queſtion. Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, who was one of the board of officers that made the report, expreſſed his deſire, that before the buſineſs was further proceeded upon, ſo much both of the report itſelf, and of the inſtructions upon which it was founded, as could be made public with ſafety to the ſtate, ſhould be laid upon the table of the houſe of commons. The reaſon alledged by him was, that the houſe might otherwiſe unwarily be led to think that the report ſanctioned the plan of fortifications propoſed, more than it really did.

Feb. 16th.

In ſupport of this mode of proceeding, Mr. Sheridan, on the 16th of February, moved "for a copy of the appointment of the board of naval and military officers, and of ſuch parts of their inſtructions, and of their report, as his majeſty's diſcretion might deem proper to be made public, with perfect conſiſtency to the ſafety of the ſtate;" but as the board in queſtion had been conſtituted by circular letters from the king, without any official commiſſion or appointment, Mr. Pitt ſubſtituted another motion, the ſame in effect as the foregoing, but more conformable to the fact, which paſſed unanimouſly.

Feb. 27th.

Theſe papers * being laid before the houſe, Mr. Pitt, on the 27th of February, introduced the meaſure in the form of a general reſolution, to the following

---

* As the inſtructions tranſmitted to the board, and the extracts from their report, are neceſſary for the elucidation of the following debates, we have thought proper to inſert them here.

GEORGE R.

Inſtructions for our right truſty and right entirely beloved couſin and counſellor Charles Duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, Maſter General of our Ordnance, whom we have thought fit ſhall be Preſident of a Board of Land and Sea Officers, appointed under our royal authority, to inveſtigate, and report to us on the proper ſyſtem of defence, and on the expediency and efficacy of the propoſed plans for better ſecuring our dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth. Given at our Court at St. James's, the thirteenth day of April 1785, in the twenty-fifth year of our reign.

UPON the receipt of theſe inſtructions, you are to give notice to the members named in the incloſed liſt, of the day on which they are to aſſemble at Portſmouth, and fix the hour and place where they are to meet.

As

lowing effect: " That it appears to this houſe, that to provide effectually for ſecuring his majeſty's dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, by a permanent ſyſtem of fortification, founded on the moſt œconomical principles, and requiring the ſmalleſt number of troops poſſible to anſwer the purpoſe of ſuch ſecurity, is an eſſential object for the ſafety of the ſtate, intimately connected with

As ſoon as ſeven of our ſaid land officers, and five of our ſaid ſea officers are aſſembled, they are to proceed to buſineſs, and to adjourn from time to time as they ſhall ſee occaſion.

You are to appoint ſome intelligent officer to act as ſecretary, who is regularly to enter in a book the proceedings of the board.

In caſe of difference of opinion, the reaſons for ſuch difference are to be ſtated, either jointly or ſeparately, and are to be ſigned by each member preſent.

The matters treated of, and the opinion of the members, are not to be divulged without our royal permiſſion.

As the inquiries neceſſary to be made, to enable the board to give a well-informed opinion on this important ſubject, muſt branch out into a variety of matter, we have directed that they ſhould be arranged under ſeparate heads; which have been accordingly prepared for this purpoſe, and are hereunto annexed. On theſe the board are to report their opinion to us.

Under each head is added a ſet of more minute and detailed queſtions and obſervations. The anſwers which the board will give to them, will form the baſis of their more general concluſions. Theſe queſtions, with the anſwers, as well as theſe inſtructions, the ſeparate heads, and the report, are to be entered in a book, containing the proceedings of the board; which are alſo to be laid before us, that we may be able at any time to refer to the grounds on which their opinions have been formed.

If any other matter, not contained under thoſe heads or queſtions, ſhould occur, and appear to the board to throw more light on this ſubject, they will add it to their report, with any farther obſervations they may think proper to ſubmit to our conſideration.

The firſt part of the ſubject referred to the inveſtigation of the board, is, in general terms, the proper ſyſtem of defence for Portſmouth and Plymouth; which will naturally lead them to conſider, whether a ſyſtem of naval defence alone; a ſyſtem of land defence, from troops alone; or a ſyſtem of naval and land defence combined, can be relied on for the protection of the dock-yards of Portſmouth and Plymouth; or whether fortifications are neceſſary: if they are, the ſecond part of the ſubject referred to this board, viz. the expediency and efficacy of the propoſed plans, will next require their attention.

But before they can agree on any ſyſtem of defence, it will be neceſſary for them to agree on the nature and extent of the attack againſt which it is to be calculated, and on the circumſtances to which the kingdom may be reduced by the events of war, when called upon to defend its dock-yards.

Note.—(Then follow ſix data, ſtating circumſtances that may prevent the fleet from affording effectual protection to the dock-yards, the force of the enemy againſt which it may be prudent to guard, the number and ſort of troops that may be had for the defence of theſe places, and the time it may require to collect the ſtrength of the country from other parts of the kingdom. Theſe ſix data are omitted, becauſe the matter they contain is not proper to be divulged, and becauſe the board eſtabliſhed two new data in place of the two firſt, and conſiderably varied two of the others.)

The

“ with the general defence of the kingdom, and neceſſary for enabling the fleet to act with full vigour and effect for the protection of commerce, the ſupport of our diſtant poſſeſſions, and the proſecution of offenſive operations, in any war in which the nation may hereafter be engaged.” This mode of debating and diſpoſing of the queſtion, he ſaid he had deviſed, as beſt calculated, in his opinion,

The board will vary or add to theſe data as they ſhall ſee occaſion.

The heads and queſtions under them will beſt explain the manner in which the board is to proceed in applying theſe data.

We have ordered that ſuch naval aſſiſtance as may be wanted at the ports ſhall be given; and that ſuch engineers and artillery officers as the board may wiſh to examine, ſhall attend them; they will alſo have the proper plans and ſurveys laid before them.

It will be neceſſary for the naval officers to examine the ſhores, as well as for the land officers to ſtudy the country, which muſt undoubtedly take up time; but we hope that the board will be able to make their report by the firſt week in June.

With reſpect to calculations of expence, or making out plans upon any ideas that may be propoſed, the board will give their directions for this purpoſe, either to the engineer on the ſpot, or to the committee of engineers at the Tower, as they ſhall ſee occaſion; and their reports are to be entered in the proceedings of the board.

As accurate eſtimates can only be made on works which in every particular are finally ſettled, and upon detailed drawings and ſections of them, ſuch computations as may give a general idea of the probable amount of the expence will be ſufficient. G. R.

Extracts from the report made to his majeſty by the board of land and ſea officers, appointed by his majeſty to inveſtigate and report on the proper ſyſtem of defence, and on the expediency and efficacy of the propoſed plans for better ſecuring the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, bearing date the 24th day of June 1785.

MEMBERS Preſent.

At PORTSMOUTH.

Gen. D. of Richmond, Preſ.
V. Ad. Barrington,
Lt. Gen. Sir Guy Carleton.
Lt. G. Sir Will. Howe,
Lt. G. Lord Geo. Lenox,
Lt. G. Burgoyne,
Lt. G. Earl Percy,
Lt. G. Earl Cornwallis,
Lt. G. Sir David Lindſay,
Lt. G. Sir Charles Grey,
Major G. Pattiſon,
Major G. Cleaveland,
Rear Ad. Lord Hood,
Major G. Bramham,
Major G. Green,
Major G. Roy,
Major G. Garth,

At PLYMOUTH.

Gen. D. of Richmond, Preſ.
V. A. Barrington,
Lt. Gen. Sir Guy Carleton,
Lt. Gen. Sir Will. Howe,
Lt. G. Earl Cornwallis
Lt. G. Sir David Lindſay,
Vice Ad. Millbanke,
Lt. Gen. Sir Charles Grey,
Major G. Pattiſon,
Major G. Cleaveland,
Rear Ad. Graves,
Major G. Bramham,
Major G. Green,
Major G. Roy,
Major G. Garth,
Capt. Hotham,
Capt. Macbride,

opinion, to afford an opportunity of diſcuſſing, in their fulleſt extent, every principle which could poſſibly be involved in the proceeding, as well thoſe in oppoſition to it, as thoſe in its favour. It was alſo, he thought, more conſiſtent with the great importance of the ſubject to bring it immediately before the houſe ſeparately, and in the form of a ſpecific reſolution, than to ſend it to the committee involved with

---

Capt. Hotham,
Capt. Sir John Jarvis
Capt. Bowyer,
Capt. Sir A. Hammond,
Capt. James Luttrell.

Capt. Sir A. Hammond.

Report of the board of land and ſea officers appointed by your majeſty to inveſtigate and report on the proper ſyſtem of defence, and on the expediency and efficacy of the propoſed plans for better ſecuring the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth.

Having fully taken into our conſideration your majeſty's inſtructions, under your majeſty's ſignet and ſign manual, dated the thirteenth day of April 1785, and obſerving that your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to allow us to vary or add to the data contained therein, as we ſhould ſee occaſion, we have availed ourſelves of your majeſty's permiſſion ſo to do; and as, in conſequence of ſuch alterations, ſome of the heads and queſtions under them appeared to us to have been already anſwered in ſome of the data, we conceived any diſcuſſion of them became unneceſſary, as will more fully be ſeen in the minutes of our proceedings herewith laid before your majeſty.

We, therefore, in obedience to your majeſty's commands, beg leave humbly to report to your majeſty, that we have agreed on the following data, as the grounds on which our ſubſequent opinions have been formed.

Firſt datum, agreed to unanimouſly by both land and ſea officers at Portſmouth and Plymouth.

That it is perfectly right, neceſſary, and wiſe, effectually to provide in time of peace for the ſecurity of your majeſty's dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, by fortifications capable of reſiſting ſuch an attack as an enemy may be able to make upon them during the abſence of the fleet, or whilſt, from other cauſes, the fleet may be prevented from affording its protection to the dock-yards.

Second datum, agreed to unanimouſly by both land and ſea officers at Portſmouth and Plymouth.

That, as far as is conſiſtent with due conſiderations of expence, and the probable ſtrength of the land forces, it will be adviſeable to provide a defence by fortifications for the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, againſt the chances of the fleet, or ſuch part thereof as might give them protection, being abſent for—(a certain time named, which is omitted, as not being proper to be diſcloſed.)

Note.—The third datum, ſtating the force of the enemy, againſt which it may be prudent to guard, the number of embarkations, and the detailed account of ſhips proper for this purpoſe, and agreed to unanimouſly by both land and ſea officers, is omitted, as it cannot be proper that ſuch particulars ſhould be diſcloſed.

The fourth datum, aſcertaining the preciſe number and ſort of troops which may reaſonably be expected to be had for the defence of Portſmouth and Plymouth, as eſtabliſhed by the land officers, and an obſervation thereupon, is of a nature not proper to with the reſt of the ordnance eſtimates.

In ſupport of the reſolution, Mr. Pitt undertook to prove the following poſitions: Firſt, that the fortifying the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth was a meaſure of abſolute neceſſity; ſecondly, that the plan of fortifications propoſed by the duke of Richmond was the beſt poſſible plan for that purpoſe; thirdly, that theſe fortifications would

to be diſcloſed. The diſſent of lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and Earl Percy, is in ſubſtance contained in their proviſo, under another head hereinafter ſtated at length; but the particular reaſons contained in this diſſent of lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and Earl Percy, are for the ſame reaſon omitted.

The fifth datum, agreed to unanimouſly by the land officers, aſcertaining the time that it may require before the ſtrength of the country can be collected from other parts of the kingdom in ſuch force as to defeat ſuch an attempt as is ſuppoſed, is for the ſame reaſon omitted.

Your majeſty's land officers at Portſmouth and Plymouth are unanimouſly of opinion, that ſuch is the ſituation of the preſent works, that no finiſhing, repairs, or improvements, without additional works, can, under the circumſtances of the data, afford that degree of ſecurity to the dock-yards—(for the time mentioned in the preceding datum) as may enable your majeſty to employ your whole fleet, if neceſſary, on foreign ſervice.

Note.—All the details relative to the inſufficiency of the preſent fortifications, unanimouſly agreed to by the land officers, are omitted.

Your majeſty's land officers, both at Portſmouth and Plymouth, are unanimouſly of opinion, that a ſyſtem of detached forts is the moſt proper for the purpoſe of protecting the dock-yards.

Your majeſty's land officers, both at Portſmouth and Plymouth, are unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſyſtem of detached works, as propoſed, has, in the extenſive ſituations of Portſmouth and Plymouth, this advantage, that the ſecurity to be derived therefrom will not be wholly delayed till the whole of the propoſed plan is executed, but an additional degree of ſtrength will be acquired as the detached works are progreſſively finiſhed.

Your majeſty's land officers, both at Portſmouth and Plymouth, are unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſituations of the ſeveral places therein ſpecified, are well choſen for detached works.

Your majeſty's land officers at Portſmouth and Plymouth are unanimouſly of opinion, that the new works propoſed are well adapted to thoſe ſituations.

Note.—The detail of the peculiar advantages of theſe works, unanimouſly agreed to by the land officers, is omitted.

Your majeſty's land officers at Plymouth are unanimouſly of opinion, that the diſtance of the ſituation propoſed, in lieu of Merrifield, from the dock, appears too great for the circumſtances of the data; and would, if fortified, require a greater garriſon and greater expence, and would not afford the ſame ſecurity to the dock-yard as Merrifield, and therefore the land officers muſt give the preference to Merrifield.

Your majeſty's land officers at Portſmouth are unanimouſly of opinion, that the propoſed finiſhing for works already begun, the improvements to old ones, and the plan for re-building South-Sea caſtle, will, together with the new works propoſed, give a reaſonable degree of ſecurity for your majeſty's dock-yard at Portſmouth, for the time and under the circumſtances of the data, with a garriſon of the numbers before ſpecified (regulars and militia) which the land officers are of opinion is ſufficient for its defence; whereas the preſent works, even when repaired, would be the means of giving a greater ſcope and effect to the operations of our fleets; and laſtly, that they would diminiſh the ſtanding army.

With reſpect to the neceſſity of the meaſure, he ſaid, that the board had fully eſtabliſhed that point, by declaring, that neither any naval or military force, nor even both united, could afford ſuch a degree of ſecurity as was adequate to the importance of our dock-yards, but that

paired, finiſhed, and improved, would require a larger force for their defence, with which they would ſtill be ineffectual for the purpoſe of ſecuring this dock-yard.

Your majeſty's land officers at Plymouth are unanimouſly of opinion, that a garriſon—(of the numbers before ſpecified, regulars and militia) appears ſufficient, if the propoſed new works and repair of old ones are executed; and that for the preſent works, even when repaired, a much larger garriſon would be ineffectual for the purpoſe of ſecuring this dock-yard.

Your majeſty's land officers having taken into conſideration the whole ſituation of Plymouth, are unanimouſly of opinion, that the propoſed new works, in addition to the old ones, when properly repaired, as ſuggeſted in our proceedings, (with a garriſon of the numbers before ſpecified, regulars and militia) will give a reaſonable degree of ſecurity for your majeſty's dock-yard at Plymouth for the time and under the circumſtances of the data.

Your majeſty's land officers, as far as they were reſpectively concerned at Portſmouth or Plymouth, do report to your majeſty, that from the report of the committee of engineers at the Tower, which they have unanimouſly agreed to adopt, it appears, that the expence of the works propoſed for ſecuring your majeſty's dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, will be as follows:

Note.—This paper has been already delivered to the houſe.

Your majeſty's inſtructions under the 23d head, having required, what improvements or alterations, or what other ſyſtem of defence, the board would ſuggeſt, the unanimous opinion of your majeſty's ſea officers is, that—(a certain number therein ſpecified) of gun-boats at Portſmouth and Plymouth will form a great arm of defence againſt an invading enemy.

And your majeſty's land officers entirely concur in this opinion with the ſea officers, conſidering theſe gun-boats as a great improvement in the defence of theſe places.

Your majeſty's land and ſea officers beg leave to recommend a ſet of ſignals to be eſtabliſhed on the projecting head-lands—(of certain parts of the coaſt therein ſpecified) with intelligent mariners to make them, as of eſſential advantage in conveying early intelligence of the approach of an enemy, and for the protection of commerce.

Your majeſty's land and ſea officers unanimouſly recommend—(an improvement in the ſupply of freſh water at Plymouth, if to be had at a reaſonable expence.)

The board has no other improvement, or other ſyſtem of defence to ſuggeſt to your majeſty.

Laſtly, your majeſty's land and ſea officers humbly beg leave to obſerve, that they make this report to your majeſty, in full confidence, that the providing an additional ſecurity to the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth is in no reſpect inconſiſtent with the neceſſary exertions for the ſupport of the navy; which they conſider that fortifications were abſolutely neceſſary in addition to both. Secondly, with reſpect to the mode of fortification, they had declared the plan ſuggeſted by the maſter general of the ordnance to be the moſt eligible, as being the moſt adequate to the defence of the places in queſtion, capable of being manned by the ſmalleſt force, requiring the leaſt expence to erect, and particularly as affording an increaſing degree

conſider as the firſt object of attention for the ſafety and proſperity of the kingdom.

(Signed)
Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny.
Sam. Barrington,
Guy Carleton,
Will. Howe,
Geo. H. Lenox,
John Burgoyne,
Percy,
Cornwallis,
David Lindſay,
Mark Millbanke,
Charles Grey,
James Pattiſon,
Sam. Cleaveland,
Tho. Graves,
Hood,
James Bramham,
William Green,
William Roy,
Geo. Garth,
William Hotham,
John Macbride,
John Jarvis,
Geo. Bowyer,
A. Snape Hammond,
James Luttrell.

Captain Macbride entered the following objection to the third datum, on the ſubject of the enemy's force againſt which the board thought it neceſſary to provide.

I object to this datum, becauſe it is founded upon a calculation of a large imaginary force. My idea of a deſcent goes only to the probability of an armament that may poſſibly conſiſt of—(a certain force which he ſpecifies) which I think ſufficient to provide againſt.

To the queſtion, What improvement or alterations, or what other ſyſtem of defence the board would ſuggeſt?

Lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and earl Percy, vice-admiral Millbanke, and major-general Green, ſtated, that they had none to ſuggeſt under the circumſtances of the data.

Rear-admiral Graves ſtated, that he had none to ſuggeſt under the exceſs of the data.

Vice-admiral Barrington, rear-admiral lord Hood, captains Hotham, Bowyer, ſir Andrew Snape Hammond, and the honourable James Luttrell, ſtated, that they thought it more properly belonged to the land officers of this board, than to them, as the minutes of their proceedings will ſhew, to enter into any ſyſtem of defence or fortifications, except ſuch parts as are intended for a defence againſt ſhips of war, and the propoſals they have offered for gun-boats.

Captain Macbride ſtated, that he had no farther improvements to ſuggeſt; but entered his objections to the propoſed ſyſtem of defence.

Note.—Captain Macbride's objections are omitted, becauſe they contain detailed deſcriptions of the coaſt, roadſteads, currents, tides, and bottoms, and anchorage, by no means proper to be divulged. Captain Macbride concludes his objections with theſe words:

gree of ſecurity in the courſe of their erection, in ſo much as that, if any given portion of them was compleated, and the remainder unfiniſhed, yet even that part ſo compleated would afford a great deal of additional ſtrength. In ſupport of his third poſition, he urged, that the dock-yards being thus protected, the navy would conſequently be unfettered, and left at liberty to act as occaſion might require, in whatever

part

I am therefore of opinion that no new works are at preſent neceſſary to be erected at Plymouth.

(Signed) J. Macbride.

On the board having declared it to be their unanimous opinion, that no member is precluded, by the data agreed to by the board, from ſuggeſting any other ſyſtem of defence, on thoſe or any other data, for the conſideration of the board, in anſwer to the queſtion contained in the 23d head under his majeſty's inſtructions;

The following proviſo was added:

But we do not think ourſelves required, as individuals, by his majeſty's inſtructions, or any queſtions under them, to produce any other ſyſtem, or other data.

(Signed)

S. Barrington,
J. Burgoyne,
Percy,
M. Millbanke,
Tho. Graves,
Will. Green,
Will. Hotham,
John Jarvis,
Geo. Bowyer.

Rear-admiral Graves, in aſſenting to the article of the report expreſſing the full confidence of the board, that the providing an additional ſecurity to the dock-yard at Plymouth is in no reſpect inconſiſtent with the neceſſary ſupport of the navy; to avoid being miſunderſtood, deſired to explain himſelf by the following proviſo:

I perfectly agree with the reſt of the board, as to the importance of the royal navy towards the ſafety and proſperity of this maritime and inſular kingdom; but would not have it implied, that I think any new ſyſtem of additional land fortifications for the ſecurity of Plymouth neceſſary.

(Signed) T. Graves.

Lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and earl Percy, vice-admiral Millbanke, rear-admiral Graves, and captain ſir John Jarvis, on ſigning the report, beg leave to repreſent to your majeſty as follows:

That our proceedings have been founded upon the ſuppoſition of the whole fleet being abſent (for a certain time) as mentioned in the ſecond datum, and therefore that the enemy may bring over an army (of the force mentioned in the third datum) with an artillery proportionate to an attack on Portſmouth or Plymouth, having (a certain time) to act in, uninterrupted by the Britiſh fleet, as mentioned in the third datum: the bare poſſibility of ſuch an event we do not pretend to deny; but how far it is probable that the whole Britiſh fleet may be ſent on any ſervice requiring ſo long an abſence, at a time when the enemy is prepared to invade this country with (a force as that mentioned in the third datum) we muſt humbly leave to your majeſty's ſuperior wiſdom; and therefore, whether it is neceſſary, in conſequence of ſuch a ſuppoſition, to erect works of ſo expenſive a nature as thoſe propoſed, and which require ſuch large garriſons to defend them.

(Signed)

J. Burgoyne,
Percy,
M. Millbanke,
T. Graves,
J. Jarvis.

Lieutenant-part of the world their preſence might be moſt neceſſary. Whoever, he ſaid, turned in his mind the events of the laſt war, would, he was ſure, be convinced of the great benefit that might be drawn from our fleets being enabled to act in ſuch a manner; and he particularly alluded to that period when the French were hovering upon our coaſts, and when the renown of defending and relieving Gibraltar would have been loſt, but for ſome accidental circumſtances that luckily at that moment ſecured us from the danger of an attack at home, and enabled the fleet under lord Howe to ſail on that important ſervice. In proof of his laſt poſition, that the fortifications in queſtion would reduce our ſtanding army, he ſaid, that if, in caſe of a threatened

Lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and earl Percy, on agreeing to the erection of new works, and to the ſyſtem of detached forts being the moſt proper for the preſervation of the dock-yard at Portſmouth, entered the following proviſo:

We approve of the ſyſtem of detached works, and we agree to the above, under the circumſtances ſettled in the data, provided the expence to be incurred ſhall not exceed ſuch ſums as the ſtate can afford to grant for theſe purpoſes, and that the number of troops ſuppoſed to be allotted by the fourth datum, can be ſpared for the defence of Portſmouth, conſiſtently with the general defence of the kingdom.

(Signed) J. Burgoyne,
Percy.

To which proviſo the reſt of the land officers, members of this board, think it their duty to add:

That we the under-written humbly deſire that it may be underſtood by your majeſty, that we never entertained an idea that any expence to be incurred ſhould exceed ſuch ſums as the ſtate could afford for theſe purpoſes, as we apprehend was fully ſtated in our ſecond datum; or that we meant to recommend works requiring a greater number of troops to defend than could be ſpared for the defence of Portſmouth, conſiſtently with the general defence of the kingdom.

On the contrary, the works we recommend appear to us to be calculated upon the moſt œconomical principles, and to require the ſmalleſt number of troops poſſible to anſwer the purpoſe of effectually ſecuring your majeſty's dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth. We conceive that ſuch numbers can be ſpared for this purpoſe; we conſider ſuch protection to be an eſſential object for the ſafety of the ſtate, and intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom; but we do not conſider it to be our province minutely to enter into a conſideration of the abilities of the ſtate to provide the neceſſary ſupplies for this purpoſe.

(Signed)
Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny,
Guy Carleton,
Will. Howe,
Geo. H. Lenox,
Cornwallis,
David Lindſay,
Charles Grey,
James Pattiſon,
Sam. Cleaveland,
James Bramham,
William Green,
William Roy,
George Garth.

RICHMOND, &c, Preſident
of the Board of Land and Sea
Officers, &c.

invaſion, we ſhould truſt only to our ſtanding army, and remain without fortifications, there would be a neceſſity of augmenting to a moſt enormous degree that army, on which the whole ſafety of the kingdom was to reſt; whereas, if it was aſſiſted with fortifications, a much ſmaller force would be ſufficient, it being abſurd to contend that any number of troops, independent of fortifications, were able to defend a place better than the ſame number, aſſiſted by fortifications. But it had been, he ſaid, already proved, that the plan propoſed for the ſecurity of the dock-yards was the beſt that could be deviſed, and was capable of defence by the ſmalleſt number of troops; it would therefore follow of courſe, that the fortifications in queſtion would reduce the ſtanding army to the loweſt poſſible number that the circumſtances of the caſe would admit of. This laſt argument he hoped would compleatly remove thoſe alarms that prevailed both within and beyond the walls of the houſe, from a miſtaken idea that the meaſure was unconſtitutional in its tendency, by laying the foundation for a ſtanding army, and diverting into an uſeleſs and dangerous channel thoſe reſources which ſhould ſtrengthen our navy. He concluded with declaring, that he viewed it as a naval queſtion, and as ſuch it ought to be conſidered, becauſe while it gave ſecurity to the vital ſprings and ſources of our marine, by protecting the dock-yards, ſo far from rendering an increaſe of the military force of the kingdom neceſſary, as ſome gentlemen, from a laudable jealouſy of the ſtanding army, and from a natural and zealous regard for the conſtitution, had been led to imagine, it would actually tend to remove the neceſſity of keeping up ſo large a military eſtabliſhment as otherwiſe muſt be maintained.

Such were the leading arguments by which the reſolution was ſupported. The other ſpeakers in favour of it were lord Hood, the honourable captain Berkeley, the honourable James Luttrell, captain Bowyer, Sir C. Middleton, Mr. J. Hawkins Browne, and lord Mahon.

In oppoſition to the meaſure, it was moved as an amendment, by Mr. Baſtard, and ſeconded by Sir W. Lemon, one of the members for the county of Cornwall, to leave out of the reſolution all the words from the word "houſe" to the end of the queſtion; and to inſert, "that "fortifications on ſo extenſive a "plan as propoſed by the board, "are inexpedient."

This amendment was defended by Mr. Wallwyn, general Burgoyne, captain Macbride, colonel Barré, Mr. Courtenay, the honourable Charles Marſham, Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, lord North, and Mr. Sheridan.

The ſpeech of the laſt-mentioned gentleman on this occaſion was the ſubject of much admiration; and indeed, independent of ſuch arguments as were peculiar to itſelf, it appears to have comprehended every other which was made uſe of in contradiction to the propoſed plan of fortifications. His objections to the ſyſtem were of a two-fold nature;—firſt, ſuch as went to ſhew that it was in itſelf, and in its conſequences, dangerous and inimical to the conſtitution;—and ſecondly, that ſuch were the nature and circumſtances of the report made by the board of officers, that the report itſelf did not warrant or authorize the ſyſtem. Under the firſt of theſe heads he took notice of the arguments that had been uſed to ſhew that this ſyſtem of fortification would actually diminiſh the ſtanding army in this country, and that, the number of troops being ſo diminiſhed, there would be proportionably leſs cauſe for conſtitutional jealouſy. The poſition that this ſyſtem of defence by fortifications could, under any circumſtances whatever, have the effect of reducing the ſtanding army, he utterly denied, But even allowing that ſuch fortifications would leſſen the ſtanding army, it did not follow, he ſaid, as a concluſion, that there would be leſs cauſe for conſtitutional jealouſy; that when we talked of a conſtitutional jealouſy of the military power of the crown, what was the real object we pointed our ſuſpicion at, but that it was in the nature of kings to love power, and in the conſtitution of armies to obey kings?—That whenever we ſpoke of a conſtitutional jealouſy of the army, it was upon a ſuppoſition that the unhappy time might come, when a prince might be miſled by evil counſellors, and that an army might be found who would ſupport their military head in an attempt upon the rights and liberties of their country.—The poſſible exiſtence of this caſe, and the probable coincidence of theſe circumſtances, was in contemplation whenever an argument was admitted upon the ſubject; otherwiſe we burleſqued and derided the wiſdom of our anceſtors in the proviſions of the bill of rights, and made a mere mockery of the ſalutary and ſacred reſerve with which for a ſhort and limited period we annually entruſted the executive magiſtrate with the neceſſary defence of the country.

This plain ſtatement being the caſe, it was not merely to the number of ſoldiers a king might have, that we were to look. The jet and ſubſtance of the queſtion was, in which of the two ſituations, the one with, the other without the propoſed fortifications, would ſuch a miſled king and his counſellors find themſelves in a ſtate of the greateſt military force and preparation, and moſt likely to command and to receive a military ſupport? In this point of view, would it be argued that theſe fortreſſes, which were to become capable of reſiſting the ſiege of a foreign enemy landed in force, would not ſerve as a ſufficient ſtrength in the hands of the crown, when the enemy was his people? Again, would no ſtreſs be given to the great important diſtinction between troops ſelected and ſeparated from their fellow citizens in garriſons and forts, and men living ſcattered and entangled in all the common duties and connections of their countrymen? Was this an argument of no weight, when applied to the militia, who were to form a part of theſe garriſons? or would it, even for a moment, be pretended, that men, under ſuch circumſtances, and in ſuch diſciplined habits, were not a thouſand times more likely to deſpiſe the breath of parliament, and to lend themſelves to the active purpoſes of tyranny and ambition, than the looſe and unconnected bodies which exiſt, even with jealouſy, under the preſent regulations? It was unneceſſary to preſs the diſtinction; the fact was, that thoſe ſtrong military holds, if maintained as they muſt be in peace by full and diſciplined garriſons; if well provided,

vided, and calculated to ſtand regular ſieges, as the preſent plan profeſſed; and if extended to all the objects to which the ſyſtem muſt inevitably lead, whether they were to be conſidered as inducements to tempt a weak prince to evil views, or as engines of power in caſe of an actual rupture, would in truth promiſe ten-fold the means of curbing and ſubduing the country that could be ſtated to ariſe even from doubling the preſent military eſtabliſhment; with this extraordinary aggravation attending the folly of conſenting to ſuch a ſyſtem, that thoſe very naval ſtores and magazines, the effectual preſervation of which was the pretence for theſe unaſſailable fortreſſes, would in that caſe become a pledge and hoſtage in the hands of the crown, which, in a country circumſtanced as this was, muſt enſure an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the moſt extravagant claims which deſpotiſm could dictate.

He next adverted to the arguments which had been uſed to ſhew that the preſent ſyſtem of fortification would leſſen the ſtanding army; the fallacy of which he ſaid was evident, in ſuppoſing that the ſyſtem of defence by fortifications was neceſſarily to ſtop, when Portſmouth and Plymouth ſhould become ſecured, and that the reaſoning upon which the extenſive works for theſe places were juſtified, would not apply to any other parts of the kingdom, wherever their importance called for defence, or their ſituation expoſed them to attack. The ſhorteſt method of refuting this idea, was ſimply to ſuppoſe the ſame board of officers, acting under the ſame inſtructions, and deliberating under the ſame data, going a circuit round the coaſt of the kingdom, and directed to report upon the various places in their progreſs, and let any perſon fairly conſider the ſuppoſitions under which they make their preſent report, and then heſitate to confeſs, that they muſt of neceſſity recommend a ſimilar plan of defence, proportionable to the importance of every place to which their attention was directed.

Mr. Sheridan now proceeded to examine ſo much of the report made by the board of officers as had been laid before the houſe; which, he argued, was framed in ſuch a manner, and under ſuch circumſtances, as by no means ſanctioned or warranted the plan under their conſideration. Had the board been left to their own free and unfettered judgment, and had they then reported, as their decided and unqualified opinion, that the ſyſtem propoſed by the maſter general of the ordnance was a meaſure worthy of the wiſdom of parliament to adopt, he ſhould, he ſaid, have acquieſced in their determination; but to ſhew that this was not the caſe, he ſhould appeal to, and argue from the report itſelf. Firſt, he obſerved, that, mutilated as the ſtate of it was, it was ſtill evident that, ſo far from its having received the unanimous ſanction of the board, there was good reaſon to believe, from the reference which was made to the minutes of the naval officers, (the reſult of which was withheld) that thoſe minutes contained a condemnation of the plan. He did not think it would be argued, that the reſult of thoſe minutes could not be communicated, becauſe they were mixed with ſuch other matters of intelligence as it might be dangerous to reveal; ſince a ſufficient degree of ingenuity had been ſhewn in the manner of making the extracts from the report; and it would prove extraordinary indeed, if, wherever the judgment was unfavourable, it ſhould have been ſo blinded and complicated with matter of detail and dangerous diſcuſſion, that no chemical proceſs in the ordnance laboratory could poſſibly ſeparate them; while, on the contrary, every approving opinion, like a ſubtile oily fluid, floated at the top at once, and the clumſieſt clerk was capable of preſenting it to the houſe pure and untinged by a ſingle particle of the reaſon or information which produced it.

Secondly, he contended that the opinion of the land officers was founded upon hypothetical and conditional *ſuggeſtions*, and upon ſuch *data* as the maſter general had propoſed to them; the truth or probability of which *ſuggeſtions* and *data* the board invariably and unanimouſly refuſed to authoriſe or make themſelves reſponſible for. This circumſtance, he ſaid, deſerved particular attention, ſince the report had been ſo artfully framed and managed as to warrant a contrary aſſertion, namely, that the board had acceded to the truth or probability of the *data* themſelves. In ſpeaking of theſe data, Mr. Sheridan uſed much wit and ingenious raillery, at the expence of the maſter general. He ſaid that his grace deſerved the warmeſt panegyrics for the ſtriking proofs which he had given of his genius as an engineer, which appeared even in the planning and conſtructing of the report in queſtion; the profeſſional ability of the maſter general ſhone conſpicuouſly there, as it would upon our coaſts: he had made an argument of poſts, and conducted his reaſoning upon principles of trigonometry as well as logic. There were certain detached *data* like advanced works to keep the enemy at a diſtance from the main object in debate; ſtrong proviſions covered the flanks of his aſſertions; his very queries were in caſemates; no impreſſion therefore was to be made on this fortreſs of ſophiſtry by deſultory obſervations, and it was neceſſary to ſit down before it, and aſſail it by regular approaches. It was fortunate however, he ſaid, to obſerve, that notwithſtanding all the ſkill employed by the noble and literary engineer, his mode of defence on paper was open to the ſame objection which had been urged againſt his other fortifications, that, if his adverſary got poſſeſſion of one of his poſts, it became ſtrength againſt him, and the means of ſubduing the whole line of his argument.

Laſtly, he argued, that the *data* themſelves were founded upon a ſuppoſition of events ſo deſperate and improbable, as would, were they to take effect, not only produce imminent danger to Portſmouth and Plymouth, but equally ſo to every other part of the country, and in fact the actual conqueſt of the iſland.—*Under the circumſtances of the data*, it was neceſſary to ſuppoſe literally as follows:—"The "abſence of the whole Britiſh fleet "for the ſpace of three months, "while an army of thirty or forty "thouſand men was ready on the "enemy's coaſt to invade this "country, that enemy to chuſe "their point of landing, to land "and encamp with heavy artil-

"lery, and every neceſſary for a "ſiege, while no force in Great "Britain could be collected in "leſs than two months to op"poſe them."

Admitting firſt as a fact, what was not at all certain, namely, that the enemy ſhould decide to attack Portſmouth and Plymouth, inſtead of ſtriking at the heart of the empire, yet it did not then follow, he ſaid, that theſe only objects were effectually ſecured and provided for; ſince, in the firſt place, it had not yet been made out that the enemy might not either land or march to the eaſtward of Plymouth, where no defence was yet intended to be conſtructed; and, ſecondly, as the whole queſtion turned upon the ſuppoſition of our being inferior at ſea, we muſt either, upon the return of our inferior fleet, truſt to its beating the ſuperior fleet of the enemy, or the conſequence muſt be fatal to the beſieged dockyards—for it was expreſsly ſtated in the report, that the defence of Portſmouth and Plymouth was calculated only *againſt the force,* and *for the time ſtated in the data.* But by ſuppoſition, the enemy was to have the ſuperior fleet; and ſhould the inferior fleet either be abſent or be beat, they would then, being maſters of the ſea, obviouſly have it in their power to recruit their own army, to continue the ſiege, and to keep the other expoſed parts of the kingdom in ſuch check and alarm, as thereby to prevent the poſſibility of our aſſembling a force ſufficient to raiſe it. From hence it would follow of courſe, that whenever the army of the enemy ſhould by theſe means either exceed the number ſuppoſed, or that the time ſhould be prolonged beyond the period calculated in the *data,* the whole of this effectual ſecurity would vaniſh under the very reaſons given for its ſupport, and we ſhould have prepared a ſtrong hold in our own country for the enemy, which, from the very circumſtances under which he was ſuppoſed to have taken it, he would be enabled for ever to maintain.

After a long diſcuſſion of the ſubject, the houſe divided on the original motion, as moved by Mr. Pitt: Ayes, 169; Noes, 169. The numbers being thus equal, the ſpeaker, as is uſual upon ſuch occaſions, was called upon to give his caſting vote, which he gave againſt the original motion.

March 20th.

An alteration introduced into the mutiny bill, for the purpoſe of ſubjecting officers who held commiſſions by brevet to military law, was ſtrongly oppoſed in both houſes of parliament. It appears that the earlieſt mutiny bills included every officer "muſtered or in pay as an officer, or on half-pay." The incluſion of the laſt deſcription of officers occaſioned in thoſe times ſome jealouſy and uneaſineſs without doors, as an unneceſſary extenſion of the military law, and was the ſubject of frequent debates in both houſes of parliament; and in the year 1748 that part of the clauſe was omitted, and has been left out of the mutiny bill ever ſince. In the preſent bill, inſtead of the word "muſtered", the word "commiſſioned" was inſerted, by which alteration all thoſe officers who had commiſſions by brevet, although out of the ſervice, were made ſubject to the regulations of the act.

The general ground on which

this alteration was ſupported, was, that though ſuch officers received no pay from the crown, yet as they might poſſibly be inveſted with command, it was neceſſary they ſhould be made ſubject to be tried by courts martial, in caſe of miſbehaviour while in command; and that there were alſo many other military officers who were not muſtered, ſuch as governors, lieutenant-governors, &c. who might eventually exerciſe command; and that it was highly reaſonable that they ſhould, on that account, become amenable to military law; and laſtly, two particular inſtances, which had lately occurred, were alledged as proofs of the expediency of the meaſure propoſed:—col. Stuart, a major-general by brevet in the Eaſt Indies, had in that quality taken upon him the command of the army in the ſettlement in which he was upon ſervice, and had nevertheleſs not been deemed liable to be tried by a court-martial, had any part of his conduct required that he ſhould be tried. The ſecond inſtance was that of gen. Roſs, in which, upon a reference to the judges, they were unanimouſly of opinion, that officers holding commiſſions by brevet were not liable to be tried by a court-martial.

In reply to theſe obſervations, it was urged, that the whole ſyſtem of martial law, as it infringed upon the natural and conſtitutional rights of the ſubject, was only defenſible upon the ſtrict ground of neceſſity, and ought therefore, in times of peace more eſpecially, to be narrowed if poſſible, inſtead of being extended. That the general principle, as recognized both in the theory and practice of our conſtitution, was, that military law ſhould be confined to actual military ſervice alone. That in ancient times when every man bore arms, and was liable to be called forth, military law was exerciſed upon every man while he was in actual ſervice, but no longer. Thus thoſe princes who had little power in their dominions, in reſpect to civil government, enjoyed and exerciſed almoſt an unlimited authority when at the head of their ſubjects, collected and embodied as an army, which again always ceaſed with the occaſion that made it neceſſary. That in our times, the militia were under military law when embodied as a militia, but were freed from it after they returned into the maſs of the people, and the character of the ſoldier was ſunk in that of the citizen. That the officers on half-pay, though at firſt included in the mutiny act, had been exempted from its operation by the deliberate voice of both houſes of parliament: circumſtances which clearly proved, that the prevalent idea in all ages had been to confine military law to actual military ſervice.

It was further urged, that there was a peculiar hardſhip and injuſtice in ſubjecting men in civil life, and who derived no emolument from the rank which they held in the army, to be tried by courts-martial, not only for offences at this time known and defined in the articles of war to be military offences, but for offences as yet unknown, which his majeſty had the power hereafter to create. That the act expreſsly ordered that the articles of war ſhould be read twice in every month at the head of every regiment in the army; that this meaſure was doubtleſs thought neceſſary, for the purpoſe of making them familiarly known to all who were liable to be affected by them, and was therefore a clear proof that the mutiny act, under which the king derives his authority to make ſuch articles of war as he pleaſed, was never deſigned to be extended to brevet officers, or officers on half pay: and that at leaſt, if the innovation propoſed ſhould be perſiſted in, thoſe gentlemen ſhould be apprized of their being about to be made ſubject to trial by court-martial for a variety of offences, which at preſent, in their civil ſituation, were not offences.

In addition to theſe arguments, it was alſo remarked, that the preamble to the mutiny act cónfined the ſtanding army to a limited number of men, to be paid by the public; and that the propoſed alteration would falſify the preamble, by enabling the executive government to exerciſe military authority over an additional body of men not in the pay of the public. In fine, both houſes were called upon not to ſuffer that jealouſy to be laid aſleep, with which parliament, ever ſince a ſtanding army in peace was firſt ſuffered to exiſt, had always regarded it: and to take care leſt, under pretence of providing againſt fanciful inconveniences, they did not connive at a ſerious attack upon the moſt important principles of the conſtitution.

In the houſe of lords, the bill was oppoſed in two ſubſequent debates, with great eloquence and ability, by the earl of Carliſle, lord Stormont, and lord Loughborough; the firſt of whom propoſed, in order to obviate the difficulty of a brevet officer's ſucceeding to command without being amenable to military law, that a clauſe ſhould be added, enacting, that brevet officers ſhould not take command but by virtue of a letter of ſervice, or ſome ſpecial commiſſion from his majeſty. This propoſal not being accepted, lord Stormont moved, that inſtead of the word "commiſſioned" theſe words ſhould be inſerted, "muſtered, or called by proper authority into ſervice;" this amendment, he conceived, would do away the objections entertained againſt the propoſed innovation, and would ſurely comprehend all that the executive government could poſſibly deſire.

The clauſe, as originally framed, was defended by the lord chancellor, chiefly on the ground that all the king's forces, however conſtituted, ought to be ſubject to the ſame laws; that the diſtinction between an officer by brevet out of ſervice, and an officer in actual ſervice, was an unfair diſtinction with reſpect to the latter. If gentlemen choſe to have the advantage of military rank, they ought to hold it on the condition of being ſubject to military law; and if they diſliked that condition, they might eaſe themſelves of the grievance by reſigning their commiſſions.

This argument introduced another topic of diſcuſſion. It was aſked, whether an officer might not, in actual ſervice, give up his commiſſion whenever he pleaſed? It was anſwered by lord Loughborough, that ſuch a reſignation was ſubject to his majeſty's acceptance; and in this opinion the lord chancellor concurred, but added, no miniſter, under the circumſtances deſcribed, could adviſe his majeſty not to accept ſuch a reſignation. On the diviſion there appeared for the original clauſe 42, againſt it 20.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Pitt's motion with reſpect to the reduction of the national debt.—Report of a ſelect committee relative to the annual income and expenditure of the ſtate.—Supplies and ways and means for the current year.—Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt to form a ſinking fund of one million annually, to be veſted in commiſſioners, and to be applied to the reduction of the national debt; debates thereon; reſolutions moved by Mr. Sheridan negatived; an amendment moved by Mr. Fox, and agreed to without a diviſion; the Bill paſſes both houſes of parliament, and receives the royal aſſent.—Mr. Pitt's Bill for transferring the duties on wines from the cuſtoms to the exciſe; debates thereon; a new clauſe, moved by Mr. Beaufoy, negatived; the bill carried up to the houſe of lords; debates upon it there; paſſed.—Mr. Pitt's Bill, empowering commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of, and to ſell, the crown lands; debates thereon; amendments moved by Mr. Jolliffe agreed to; the Bill carried up to the lords; debates thereon; carried on a diviſion; proteſt entered againſt it.—Bill brought in by Mr. Marſham to extend the diſqualifications in Mr. Crewe's Bill to perſons holding places under the navy and ordnance offices; debates thereon; negatived on a diviſion.

MR. Pitt had early in this ſeſſion taken notice of that part of his Majeſty's ſpeech which related to the neceſſity of providing for the diminution of the national debt; he had at the ſame time given the houſe to underſtand, that ſuch was the preſent flouriſhing condition of the revenue, that the annual national income would not only equal the annual national diſburſements, but would leave a ſurplus of conſiderable magnitude; this ſurplus, he ſaid, he meant to form into a permanent fund, to be conſtantly and invariably applied to the liquidation of the public debt. In purſuance of this information to the houſe, and in order to aſcertain the amount of the ſurplus in queſtion, Mr. Pitt, previous to his entering into the ſtate of the finances, or ways and means for the preſent year, moved, "That the ſeveral accounts and other papers preſented that ſeſſion, relating to the public income and expenditure, be referred to the conſideration of a ſelect committee, and that the ſaid committee be directed to examine and report to the houſe, what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future."

This motion was unanimouſly agreed to, and the ſelect committee having framed their report, laid it before the houſe on the 21ſt of March: Mr. Pitt on the 29th, together with the ſupplies and ways and means for the preſent year, brought the conſideration of the national debt, and his propoſition for the diminution of it, formally before the houſe.

Before we enter upon this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to give a ſhort abſtract of the report in queſtion, as the whole jut and ſubſtance of the arguments and reaſoning upon the meaſure are founded upon it. The committee prefaced their report with obſerving, that "Having proceeded to the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the houſe, they had arranged ſeveral papers relating thereto under diſtinct heads, containing the different articles of the public income and expenditure.

But that before they entered on the firſt part of their report, they thought it neceſſary to premiſe, that they had confined their examination to the preſent ſtate of the revenue, as it appeared either from the amount actually received in the periods contained in the papers referred to them, or from the beſt eſtimates which they could form of the produce of ſuch articles as had not been brought to account in thoſe periods, but compoſe nevertheleſs a part of the preſent income of the public. The large amount of taxes impoſed ſince the commencement of the late war, in addition to the then ſubſiſting revenue, the difficulties under which the different branches of our commerce laboured during the continuance of that war, and the great and increaſing prevalence of ſmuggling, previous to the meaſures recently adopted for its ſuppreſſion, appeared to them to render any averages of the amount of the revenue in former periods in a great degree inapplicable to the preſent ſituation of the country; on the other hand, they did not think themſelves competent to diſcuſs the various contingencies which might in future operate to the increaſe or diminution of the public income: a revenue ſo complicated in its nature, and depending ſo much on the various branches of an extenſive commerce, muſt always be liable to temporary fluctuations, even although no circumſtances ſhould ariſe to occaſion any permanent alteration in its produce; that they had therefore judged it proper to ſubmit to the wiſdom of the houſe ſuch an extenſive conſideration, and to ſtate in their report the preſent amount of the public income, as reſulting from the papers before them.

After making all the neceſſary deductions, the ſeveral articles of the annual public receipt and expenditure, from Michaelmas 1784 to Michaelmas 1785, and from January 1785 to January 1786, ſtood in the report as follows:

			From Mich. 1784 to Mich. 1785.	From 5th Jan. 1785 to 5th Jan. 1786.
RECEIPT.				
§ 1. Total net payments into the exchequer, from Michaelmas 1784 to Michaelmas 1785		£. 12,321,520		
Deduct therefrom				
The respited duties paid by the East India Company	£. 401,118			
Excess beyond the future amount of the window duties	46,189			
		447,307	£. 11,874,213	
§ 1. Total net payments into the exchequer, from 5th January 1785 to 5th January 1786		£. 12,499,916		
Deduct therefrom				
The respited duties paid by the East India Company	£. 401,118			
Excess beyond the future amount of the window duties	56,101			
		457,219		£. 12,042,697
§ 2. Further produce of the window duty imposed by the 24th Geo. III.			380,056	253,534
§ 3. Further produce of the duty on two-wheel and four-wheel carriages			59,281	107,186
§ 4. To compleat the former duty on male servants			26,803	42,444
§ 5. Further produce of the duties on horses, waggons, and carts			56,829	73,610
§ 6. Further produce of taxes imposed in 1784			103,000	22,000
§ 7. Further produce of taxes imposed in 1785, including the improvement of the medicine duty			265,000	242,000
§ 8. Paid at the excise and alienation office, in part of civil list			14,000	14,000
§ 9. Produce of the land and malt			2,600,000	2,600,000
EXPENDITURE.			£. 15,379,182	15,397,471
§ 10. Interest and charges of the public debts		£. 9,275,769		
§ 11. Exchequer bills		258,000		
§ 12. Civil list		900,000		
§ 13. Charges on aggregate fund		64,600		
§ 14. Navy		1,800,000		
§ 14. Ordnance		348,000		
§ 14. Army		1,600,000		
§ 15. Militia		91,000		
§ 16. Miscellaneous services		74,274		
§ 17. Appropriated duties		66,538		
			£. 14,478,181	£. 14,478,181
Annual Surplus			901,001	919,290

Mr. Pitt opened the ſubject at large, and with conſiderable ability, claſſing and arranging the different articles under their ſeveral heads with great clearneſs and perſpicuity. He began with obſerving, that the neceſſity we were under of adopting ſome means or other for the diminution of our national debt, was a point upon which all perſons and parties were univerſally agreed; as to the quantum of the fund to be provided, it was as univerſally agreed that not leſs than a million annually ought to be appropriated for that purpoſe.

From the report before the houſe, to which he paid the higheſt compliments, might be ſeen, he ſaid, what were the means of the country for effectuating this purpoſe. It exhibited at one view the whole national finance, including the income and the expenditure of the ſtate.

The committee had taken two periods from which to aſcertain the annual amount of the revenue; the one the year ending at Michaelmas 1785, and the other the year ending on the 5th January 1786. In the former of theſe periods the whole income was 15,379,182 l.; in the latter it was 15,397,471 l. The different articles from which this revenue aroſe, he obſerved, were next to be attended to; they were all branches of the revenue payable yearly, but ſeveral of them had not yet been received into the exchequer; at the ſame time he added, that ſuch as had not yet been received, being levied by aſſeſſments, were on that account as capable of being aſcertained by ſuch aſſeſſments, as if they had been actually received. Thus the net money already received into the exchequer for the year ending Michaelmas 1785 was 11,874,213 l.; and for the year ending in January 1786, 12,042,000 l.; the other yearly ſums, which he ſtated from the report, as calculated from aſſeſſments, and yet to be received, would, he ſaid, when added together, amount, in the year ending at Michaelmas 1785, to 3,365,000 l. which, added to the receipts for that year, 11,874,000 l. would produce above 15,379,000 l. In the ſame manner the aſſeſſed yearly ſums to be received for the year ending in January 1786 would together make 3,354,000 l. which, added to the money actually received in that year, would produce 15,397,000 l. Having thus before them the whole annual *income* of the ſtate, it remained to conſider what was the annual *expenditure*; it would appear from the report to amount to 14,477,003 l. This ſum, he obſerved, was of a two-fold nature, conſiſting of ſuch items as might be exactly aſcertained, and ſuch as were fluctuating. Under the firſt head, he included the intereſt of the national debt, 9,275,769 l.; exchequer bills 258,000 l.; the civil liſt 900,000 l.; the charges on the aggregate fund 64,600 l.; and appropriated duties 66,538 l.; amounting together to 10,564,907 l. Under the laſt head he claſſed the charges of the navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miſcellaneous ſervices, which from their nature were fluctuating and uncertain. But as the committee, in calculating the expences of the different ſervices, had purpoſely gone upon the largeſt and moſt extenſive eſtabliſhments, it would be but reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the real expences would fall ſhort of thoſe ſtated in the report.

Theſe fluctuating expences of the navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miſcellaneous ſervices, the report had ſtated at 3,913,274 l. which, added to the ſum of 10,564,907 l. under the firſt head of permanent expences, makes the whole of the expenditure 14,478,181 l.; which, deducted from 15,397,000 l. the amount of the income, left a ſurplus, of about 900,000 l. towards the diſcharge of the national debt. But in order to make up the remaining 100,000 l. it would be neceſſary to levy freſh taxes to that amount, to compleat what ſeemed to be univerſally received as the ſum which ought to be applied to the purpoſe in queſtion, viz. one million annually. This he meant to do by adding one penny per gallon to the duty on ſpirits, as it now ſtood, and which had been reduced 5 d. per gallon on the old duty by a late act of parliament. This tax he ſhould calculate at 60 or 70,000 l. per ann. He ſhould next propoſe an alteration in the mode of meaſuring deals and battens, with a view of correcting certain abuſes, which at preſent tended to defraud the revenue. From this regulation, he ſaid, 20 or 30,000 l. per annum would ariſe to the public. Laſtly, he ſhould propoſe a tax on hair powder and pomatums, which might bring in from 15 to 30,000 l. per annum. Thus, agreeable to the ſtatement made in the report, there would be a clear ſurplus of at leaſt a million annually, for a ſinking fund, to be applied to the reduction of the national debt.

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to obſerve, that the amount of the expenditure, as ſtated in the report, with reſpect to the navy, army, and ordnance, although it was large and ample, as calculated for times of peace, and as they were to ſtand in future, yet that it fell infinitely ſhort of what was the actual expenditure for thoſe eſtabliſhments for the preſent year, or what would be ſo for two or three years to come. The effects of the late tedious and expenſive war, he ſaid, would be felt for ſome time longer, and the neceſſary claims it had left on the public purſe were ſuch as it was wiſe and politic to comply with; thus, for inſtance, the naval half-pay and penſion liſts were unavoidably much increaſed, and a number of ſhips, which were now on the ſtocks, were to be compleated, in order to ſave the expence that already had been incurred by them, and which otherwiſe, from the total decay of the veſſels, would be loſt. By ſuch means the allowance for the navy, which according to the report was only 1,800,000 l. amounted in the preſent year to 2,400,000 l. In the ſame manner the exceedings of the army, ariſing from the ſame enormous increaſe of the half-pay liſt, and penſion liſt, amounted to 260,000 l. over and above the ſum allowed for that ſervice in the report. The whole of theſe exceedings in the army and navy, on their preſent eſtabliſhment, above what was ſtated in the report as the amount of their permanent expenditure, was above 750,000 l. This was a ſum, which from its very nature would gradually diminiſh, and in time be reduced to nothing. Suppoſing it to laſt four years, it would then be equal to a ſum of 3,000,000 l. For this ſum a proviſion was neceſſary; but he added, ſuch were the extraordinary reſources of the country, although not immediately capable

pable of being claſſed under any certain head of revenue, that it would be unneceſſary to lay any freſh burthens on the people for that purpoſe.

Mr. Pitt took this opportunity of entering at large into the actual and probable reſources of the country. He firſt ſtated the ſurplus on the ſeveral funds, and the army ſavings, at 450,000 l. the arrears ſtill due from paymaſters at 1,000,000 l.; a lottery, if it ſhould be thought proper to have one, at 140,000 l.: a great deal, he ſaid, was to be expected from the increaſe of the cuſtoms, which had been uniform ever ſince the means adopted for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling. Other regulations relative to the cuſtoms, he ſaid, were now in agitation; alſo ſuch as reſpected the wine duty, and above all a plan for the conſolidation of the cuſtoms. From all theſe regulations, there was but little doubt, but that the growing reſources of the country, and the contingent receipts of the different ſums he had mentioned, would be more than ſufficient, without a loan, to diſcharge the exceedings which our eſtabliſhments, during the next three or four years, would amount to, beyond their permanent level, as ſtated in the report. But if it ſhould be otherwiſe, he nevertheleſs was of opinion, that money ſhould rather be borrowed for the diſcharge of thoſe extraordinary demands, than that the inſtitution of the fund in queſtion ſhould be poſtponed, or infringed upon at any time after it was eſtabliſhed. Mr. Pitt next proceeded to explain the mode he meant to adopt, in order to inſure the due application of this fund to its deſtined object: he propoſed, he ſaid, to veſt in a certain number of commiſſioners the full power of diſpoſing of it in the purchaſe of ſtock for the public in their own names. Theſe commiſſioners ſhould receive the annual million by quarterly payments of 250,000 l. to be iſſued out of the exchequer before any other money, except the intereſt of the national debt itſelf; by theſe proviſions, the fund would be ſecured, and no deficiencies in the national revenues could affect it, but ſuch muſt be ſeparately provided for by parliament.

The accumulated compound intereſt on a million yearly, together with the annuities that would fall into that fund, would, he ſaid, in twenty-eight years, amount to ſuch a ſum as would leave a ſurplus of four millions annually, to be applied, if neceſſary, to the exigencies of the ſtate. In appointing the commiſſioners he ſhould, he ſaid, endeavour to chuſe perſons of ſuch weight and character as correſponded with the importance of the commiſſion they were to execute. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, the maſter of the rolls, the governor and deputy governor of the bank of England, and the accountant general of the high court of chancery, were perſons who, from their ſeveral ſituations, he ſhould think highly proper to be of the number.

The next point that Mr. Pitt conſidered was the *ſupplies* and *ways* and *means* for the preſent year, which he ſaid were in ſuch a ſtate as would enable the houſe to put the plan for the reduction of the national debt into immediate execution.

Mr. Pitt ſtated the whole of the *ſupplies*, including a ſum of 210,000 l.

granted in aid of the civil liſt, at 12,477,086l. The ſum of 210,000l. in aid of the civil liſt, was to diſcharge certain outſtanding exchequer bills to the amount of 180,000l. for which the civil liſt ſtood mortgaged, and about 30,000l. additional debt, which it had incurred during the laſt year. The *ways* and *means* to ſatisfy theſe demands Mr. Pitt ſtated at 13,362,480l. which included 5,000,000l. by exchequer bills, to be iſſued for the purpoſe of paying off certain exchequer bills to the ſame amount, which already made part of the ſupplies for the current year. Agreeably to this calculation, there would, after deducting the amount of the *ſupplies* from the *ways* and *means*, remain a *ſurplus* of 885,394l. This ſum, he ſaid, would be more than ſufficient to put his propoſed plan into immediate execution. It would allow 250,000l. a quarter to be iſſued to the commiſſioners for the three ſucceeding quarters of the current year. The amount of this would be 750,000l. which would leave a balance for the beginning of the following year of 135,394l.

Mr. Pitt, before he ſat down, entered into a ſhort recapitulation of the different points he had diſcuſſed.—Firſt, That the yearly income of the ſtate exceeded the permanent level of its expenditure, by a ſum of 900,000l. Next, that this ſum would be increaſed to a million by means in no wiſe burthenſome to the people.—Thirdly, That altho' the preſent eſtabliſhment exceeded in certain inſtances the ſame eſtabliſhments as ſtated in the report of the ſelect committee, yet there were ample reſources, and contingent and outſtanding receipts, ſufficient to overbalance ſuch exceſſes, without having recourſe to any freſh taxes:—And laſtly, that the ways and means for the preſent year would be ſufficient to furniſh the ſupplies, together with the ſum of 250,000l. to be applied quarterly towards the eſtabliſhment of the new fund; and, after all, would leave a conſiderable balance to be carried to the next year. Mr. Pitt concluded by moving, "That the ſum of one million be annually granted to certain commiſſioners, to be by them applied to the purchaſe of ſtocks, towards diſcharging the public debt of this country; which money ſhall ariſe out of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, and overplus monies compoſing the fund, commonly called the ſinking fund."

The policy of the principle upon which this motion was founded, viz. the policy of making the income of the ſtate ſo far exceed its expenditure as to leave a conſiderable ſurplus towards the liquidation of the public debt, was on all ſides univerſally acknowledged, and it was accordingly carried in the affirmative without a diviſion.

At the ſame time ſeveral objections were ſtated by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Huſſey, to what they termed the inſufficiency, and in ſome inſtances the impolicy, of the mode which Mr. Pitt had adopted to accompliſh ſo great and ſo deſirable an end.

Theſe objections were of a twofold nature: 1ſt, Such as tended to ſhow that the ſuppoſed exceſs of 900,000l. in the national income over its expenditure, aroſe from falſe and miſtaken calculations and concluſions in the report of the ſelect committee, and ſuch as the real ſtate of the finances of the country by no means warranted: 2d, Such as went to the purpoſed mode of applying that exceſs or ſurplus, provided it exiſted. The ſubſtance of the different arguments made uſe of in ſupport of the objections which come under the firſt of theſe heads were as it were concentered in a ſeries of reſolutions moved by Mr. Sheridan on the 4th of May, and whilſt the meaſure was in its paſſage through the houſe.

Theſe reſolutions, which were negatived without a diviſion, were, 1ſt, "That the expected annual amount of the national income ſtated in the report of the committee, appeared in no reſpect to have been calculated upon the average receipts of a number of years, but was fixed at the amount of the produce of one year only, with the addition of the probable increaſe of the new taxes: 2d, That it appeared, that the account of the annual expenditure, as oppoſed to the amount of the income ſo calculated, was not a ſtatement of the preſent exiſting expenditure, or of that which muſt exiſt for ſome years to come, but was formed from the probable reductions, which it was alledged would have taken place in the proſpect of permanent peace towards the end of the year 1791: 3d, That the different branches of the revenue, in the period upon which the future was calculated, appeared to have been ſingularly productive, particularly in the cuſtoms: 4th, That it did not appear that any means had been taken, or information called for, in order to aſcertain whether ſuch an increaſe of revenue had ariſen from cauſes which were likely to have a permanent operation, or otherwiſe; and that ſuch an inveſtigation was indiſpenſably neceſſary: 5th, That the uncertainty of eſtimating by ſuch a criterion the expected future produce of the revenue, was ſtill more evident upon a compariſon of the quarter-day ending the fifth of April laſt with the ſame quarter in the preceding year upon which the future income was calculated; by which it appeared that the amount of the latter quarter was inferior in the article of cuſtoms by the ſum of 188,215l. 13s. 4d. to the former: 6th, That in the ſaid report there were certain articles of receipt erroneouſly ſtated as proper to be added to the future annual income, and other articles of expence erroneouſly omitted to be added to the expenditure: 7th, That the ſums voted and to be voted for the preſent year conſiderably exceeded 15,397,471l.: 8th, That the means by which the deficiency was to be made good aroſe from aids and debts that belonged to the preſent year only: 9th, That there was no ſurplus income now exiſting applicable to the reduction of the national debt: 10th, That a ſurplus income in the enſuing quarters could ariſe only in the renewal of a loan for an extraordinary million, borrowed upon exchequer bills in the laſt year, and which it would be unneceſſary to make but for the purpoſe of ſecuring that ſurplus: 11th, That an extraordinary increaſe of exchequer bills was an inexpedient anticipation of that aſſiſtance which government might receive in the event of a peculiar emergency: 12th, That the ſaving to the public upon the intereſt of money borrowed in this way was rendered precarious by the neceſſity of the more ſpeedy iſſuing of ſuch bills, in order that the object for which the loan was made might be effectually anſwered: 13th, That, admitting that by the foregoing means the expected ſurplus would ariſe upon the three enſuing quarters, it appeared, that there would then be an interval of nearly four years, before the commencement of that permanent peace eſtabliſhment, which was to furniſh in the reduction of its ſervices the expected ſurplus: 14th, That in this period it appeared from the vouchers annexed to the report and other papers, that a ſum amounting to 4,000,000l. beſides 2,000,000l. due to the bank, would be wanted above the ſtated annual income: Finally, that for this ſum of 6,000,000l. there appeared to be no adequate proviſion or reſource."

In ſupport of ſuch objections as were made to the mode of applying the ſuppoſed ſurplus, it was urged, that ſuch part of it as rendered the ſum appropriated *unalienable* under any circumſtances whatever, was highly impolitic; that it tended to tie up and fetter the revenues of the country, when their application to ſome particular purpoſe might be of the higheſt importance. Alſo, that the obligation to pay the money was only of a general nature, and not an obligation to individuals. In the latter caſe the pledge was held ſacred, and ſtood upon as ſure a footing as the acknowledgment of the national debt itſelf; whereas a general obligation was liable to be annulled by parliament, upon the ſlighteſt pretence even of conveniency:—Laſtly, that the preſent large amount of unfunded exchequer bills, which were to be charged on the aids of next ſeſſion, would become a great and ſerious evil, as they would oblige the commiſſioners, from the quantity that would be at market, to buy their ſtock dear, and ſell it cheap, and conſequently defeat the very plan in queſtion.

In ſupport of the firſt of theſe objections, Mr. Fox, on the day for reconſidering the report of the committee on this bill, moved a clauſe to impower the commiſſioners therein named to accept ſo much of any future loan as they ſhould have caſh belonging to the public in their hands to pay for. This, he ſaid, would obviate the great objection he had to the preſent bill, on account of its making the ſinking fund unalienable under any circumſtances whatever; it would relieve that diſtreſs the country would otherwiſe be under, when, on account of a war, it might be neceſſary to raiſe a new loan: whenever that ſhould be the caſe, his opinion was, that the miniſter ſhould not only raiſe taxes ſufficiently productive to pay the intereſt of the loan, but alſo ſufficient to make good to the ſinking fund whatſoever had been taken from it.

If therefore, for inſtance, at any future period a loan of ſix millions was propoſed, and there was at that time one million in the hands of the commiſſioners, in ſuch caſe they ſhould take a million of the loan, and the bonus or douceur thereupon ſhould be received by them for the public. Thus government would only have five millions to borrow inſtead of ſix, and, from ſuch a mode of proceeding, he ſaid, it was evident great benefit would ariſe to the public.

This clauſe was brought up by Mr. Fox, and received by Mr. Pitt with the ſtrongeſt marks of approbation. Another clauſe, enabling the commiſſioners named in the bill to continue purchaſing ſtock for the public when at or above par, unleſs otherwiſe directed by parliament, was moved by Mr. Pultney, and carried. The object of this clauſe was to throw upon parliament the reſponſibility of giving freſh inſtructions to the commiſſioners, whenever the funds ſhould be at or above par, or in caſe of its neglecting to do ſo, to render the conſequences imputable to ſuch neglect.

The bill, with theſe additional clauſes, was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the lords, where it alſo paſſed without meeting with any material oppoſition, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

May 22d, 1786. On the 22d of May, Mr. Pitt preſented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the *cuſtoms* to the *exciſe.*—This was one of the plans he had in view for increaſing the revenue, and which he had before given the houſe notice of, when he propoſed the ſinking fund of a million annually.

The preſent amount of duties on wines, he ſaid, was at this moment leſs, by 280,000l. per annum, than what had been the amount in the middle of the laſt century; and yet at the ſame time there was no doubt, but that the conſumption of that article was conſiderably increaſed ſince that period.

This defalcation he attributed to two cauſes: firſt, the fraudulent importation of large quantities of foreign wine without paying the duties; and ſecondly, which he looked upon as the principal cauſe, the ſale of a ſpurious liquor under the name of wine, made at home. Theſe cauſes, he ſaid, would be removed by the operation of the preſent bill; which, by impoſing duties upon the ſpurious equal to thoſe on the genuine commodity, would either ſuppreſs the former, as was moſt likely, and thereby increaſing the demand for foreign wines, not only increaſe the revenue, but extend in return the ſale of the various articles of our home trade; or it would oblige the ſpurious commodity to pay the ſame duties as the genuine, and not ſuffer both the conſumer and the revenue to be cheated at the ſame time. The bill would likewiſe inſure the payment of all duties impoſed on ſuch foreign wines as ſhould hereafter be imported.

The carrying this improvement into execution by means of the exciſe laws, Mr. Pitt was aware, would be regarded with an eye of jealouſy by the houſe; but the bill ſpecially provided againſt any general extenſion of the exciſe laws, and only permitted the officers of exciſe to enter the cellars and warehouſes of ſuch as dealt in wine, and not the dwelling-houſes even of thoſe.

The bill was objected to upon two grounds: firſt, on the difficulty of applying the exciſe laws to ſuch a commodity as wine; and ſecondly, on the impolicy of ever extending thoſe laws beyond their preſent limits.

Under the firſt head it was contended, that the practice of gauging, ſo applicable to brewers, was perfectly incompatible with reſpect to ſuch an article as wine; that the continual increaſe and diminution of the trader's ſtock would baffle the endeavours of the officers to keep a regular account of it, and yet the whole ſyſtem of exciſe regulation was founded on that principle.

But the objections which aroſe from the very nature and operation of the exciſe laws themſelves were much more warmly inſiſted upon. The mode of trial adopted by thoſe laws, with reſpect to offences com-

mitted

mitted againſt them, were reprobated, as foreign and abhorrent to the law of the land. It was urged that the commiſſioners of the exciſe were themſelves the ſole judges between the officer informing and the ſuppoſed offender: that the informer was concerned in the conviction, as he had by law one half of the commodity forfeited. Added to this, the proceedings were ſo ſummary, that only three days were allowed for the appearance of perſons ſummoned to anſwer before the commiſſioners: that the particulars of the charge itſelf were not ſpecified in the ſummons, which might be left with a ſervant or a child, or in the key-hole of the door. Under theſe circumſtances it was ſtated to be very poſſible that the accuſed might be condemned without knowing that he was to be tried; and the execution of the ſentence might be the firſt notice he had of the charge.

In ſupport of theſe objections, and in order to obviate as much as poſſible the evils which were involved in the execution of the exciſe laws, Mr. Beaufoy propoſed, as an amendment, "to give the "ſubject, in all caſes of an in-"formation exhibited in purſu-"ance of the bill in queſtion, an "optional right of being tried by "a jury of his peers."

This amendment was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, and on a diviſion negatived by a majority of 65—the numbers being for it 30, againſt it 95. The bill, without receiving any material alterations, was read a third time on the 29th of June, and carried.

In its paſſage through the houſe of lords it met with a conſiderable degree of oppoſition from lord Loughborough, who, in addition to what had been urged againſt the general principle of the bill, attacked with a peculiar degree of ſeverity a clauſe which had been introduced into the bill whilſt in the committee. The purport of this clauſe was, to prohibit the jury, in caſe of any ſuit commenced againſt an officer of the exciſe for improper ſeizure, and the officer being able to ſhew a *probable cauſe* for ſuch ſeizure, to grant the plaintiff a verdict, excluſive of the value of the things ſeized, of more than two-pence damages, or any coſts of ſuit, or to inflict a fine that ſhould exceed one ſhilling. This, his lordſhip ſaid, rendered nugatory every appeal made to the laws of the land for redreſs. As to the term *a probable cauſe*, falſe information was a probable cauſe, and that might continually be aſſigned: thus the rights and powers of juries were infringed, and they were made mere cyphers; the exciſeman was placed beyond their juriſdiction, and might laugh both at them and the courts in Weſtminſter-hall. In the courſe of his ſpeech he particularly addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Camden, as a perſon who had ever defended the rights of juries, and without changing his former opinion on the ſubject, could not acquieſce in the clauſe in queſtion. Lord Camden, in return, confeſſed that the clauſe was far from meeting with his approbation; but as any alteration would deſtroy the bill for the preſent ſeſſion, he ſhould rather give way to the clauſe in queſtion than ſet aſide the whole bill, which would be the caſe if any amendment took place.

The bill afterwards paſſed without a diviſion.

Mr. Pitt, on the 20th of June, in conſequence of a previous meſſage from his majeſty to both houſes of parliament, moved, "That leave "be given to bring in a bill for "appointing commiſſioners to en- "quire into the ſtate and condi- "tion of the woods, foreſts, and "land revenues, belonging to the "crown." The bill was read a firſt and ſecond time without having any particular notice taken of it, or at all challenging the attention of the houſe. Upon its being reported on the 29th of June, Mr. Jolliffe ſtrongly objected to its further progreſs. The commiſſioners appointed by the bill were, he ſaid, to continue in their office during the exiſtence of the bill itſelf, which was for three years, without being removable by his majeſty, or by addreſs or petition of parliament. The appointment of the commiſſioners in Mr. Fox's India bill, for the term only of one year more, though they were removable by addreſs of parliament, had yet excited the greateſt alarm and clamour, becauſe they were not removable by the crown. This appeared the more extraordinary, as they were not concerned in matters that had any particular relation to the crown; neither did the bill in queſtion compel the commiſſioners to report their proceedings, or give any ſecurity to the public that they would do their duty. Thus an immenſe expence might be incurred, without producing any effect what ever. This omiſſion he added was the more unpardonable, ſince the bill appointing the commiſſioners of the public accounts compelled them to report their proceedings at the opening of every ſeſſion.

But his ſtrongeſt objection to the bill was, the unlimited power it gave to the commiſſioners to call for, and take into their cuſtody, all titles, maps, plans, and documents, which related to lands holden of the crown. This, he ſaid, was inſtituting a court of inquiſition unknown in any other, much leſs in this country; it left every man concerned without any thing like certainty of title or eſtate; whereever a reſervation was made for the delivery of copy deeds, it was invariably the cuſtom to inſert a clauſe that they ſhould be made by perſons appointed by the holder of the deeds, but at the expence of the perſon claiming them.

Mr. Jolliffe concluded by moving amendments for the protection of title deeds, and to oblige the commiſſioners to report their proceedings to the houſe; which were immediately received without a diviſion, and the bill paſſed the commons. It was afterwards attacked with a conſiderable degree of ſeverity in the houſe of lords by lord Loughborough, who, upon the third reading, oppoſed it chiefly upon the following grounds:—Firſt, Becauſe the bill did not agree with his majeſty's meſſage, on which it profeſſed to be founded: that meſſage only authorized an enquiry to be made into the ſtate and condition of the woods, foreſts, and land revenues belonging to the crown; but the bill proceeded to alienate and diſpoſe of the land revenues of the crown, contrary to the uſage of parliament, and inconſiſtent with the reſpect due to the crown.— Secondly,

July 7th.

Secondly, Becauſe the bill repealed the acts of the 22d and 23d of Charles the Second, and created a new power for the ſale of thoſe lands, without any exception of the rents in the former acts reſerved in behalf of divers perſons, and for ſundry good and wholeſome purpoſes in thoſe acts mentioned.—Laſtly, Becauſe the powers granted to the commiſſioners were dangerous to the ſubject, and derogatory to the honour of the crown. It ſubjected all perſons holding of the crown, or holding eſtates adjoining to crown lands, to an inquiſition into their ancient boundaries and title deeds, at the mere motion of the commiſſioners, without any other legal or ordinary proceſs. It tended to reſtrain the tenants of the crown from their accuſtomed rights and privileges; and the crown itſelf was deprived by it of the management of its own eſtate, which it transferred to the commiſſioners. The bill was nevertheleſs carried by a majority of ten, the houſe dividing; contents 14, proxies 14; non-contents 11, proxies 7.

A proteſt againſt this bill, containing the objections already mentioned, and ſome other additional ones, was afterwards ſigned by his lordſhip the earl of Carliſle, the duke of Portland, the earl of Sandwich, and the biſhop of Briſtol.

An attempt was made this ſeſſion by the Hon. Mr. Marſham to extend the diſqualifications reſpecting the power of voting at elections, contained in the bill generally known by the name of Mr. Crewe's bill, to perſons holding places in the navy and ordnance-office.—Theſe places he added were all of a civil nature, and had not the moſt diſtant connection or interference with the officers of the army or navy.

Mr. Crewe's bill, in ſetting aſide the votes of all perſons holding places in the cuſtoms, exciſe, poſt, and ſtamp-offices, had done the higheſt ſervice to the conſtitution. The bill he propoſed, Mr. Marſham ſaid, was ſo ſimilar in its principle and operation to Mr. Crewe's, that every argument which was or could be adduced in favour of that bill, was equally applicable to the one in queſtion.

The miniſter oppoſed the bill, alledging that it ſtood upon very different grounds from the bill brought in by Mr. Crewe, for which he had himſelf voted. The reaſon, he ſaid, for paſſing that act, was the neceſſity of reducing the influence of the crown—an influence which the houſe had previouſly declared had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed. If Mr. Crewe's bill had anſwered that purpoſe, then the object contended for was gained; if it had not, it was unwiſe to extend ſuch principles as that bill contained, where no benefit aroſe from their operation.

At the ſame time Mr. Pitt allowed that Mr. Crewe's bill might be ſaid to have gone a good way in deſtroying that influence which in matters of election ought effectually to be eradicated: but there were other grounds of objection which he had to the preſent bill, and which he felt to be inſurmountable. The perſons diſqualified by Mr. Crewe's bill were of ſuch a deſcription, that the very burthens impoſed upon the public were conducive to their private intereſts; and therefore they were peculiarly unfit to elect the members of that aſſembly, whoſe buſineſs it was to impoſe thoſe burthens. Again, the officers of the exciſe and cuſtoms pervaded the whole kingdom; whereas the preſent deſcription of men were confined only to particular parts of the coaſt. There exiſted another difference between them, which was to be taken into conſideration: the revenue-officers were completely under the influence of government, but the perſons employed in the departments in queſtion were ſubject to no controul whatever; they were at all times capable of procuring what was equal to their preſent ſalaries in foreign ſervices, or with our merchantmen at home. If the preſent bill paſſed, the whole corps of our naval artificers might carry their ſkill and induſtry to a foreign market, and there did not exiſt a maritime country that would not grant them their own terms. Laſtly, he added, that it did not appear, that the influence of the perſons in queſtion was ever felt in thoſe parts of the kingdom where, if at all, it muſt be the more prevalent.

Mr. Fox made ſome obſervations on the miniſter's reaſons for rejecting the propoſed meaſure. He began with obſerving, that it was allowed that no degree of influence with reſpect to elections ought to remain in the crown; but if depriving the revenue-officers of the right of voting tended to reduce that influence, the depriving thoſe other ſervants of the crown muſt neceſſarily reduce it ſtill more.

With reſpect to the diſtinction made between the different perſons concerned, namely that one body extended over the whole kingdom, whilſt the other was confined to a few places, it only proved, when taken in its fulleſt extent, that as the officers of the revenue were more numerous and more diffuſed than the ſervants of the navy and ordnance, the diſqualifying of the latter, although an uſeful and neceſſary regulation, was not ſo in the ſame degree, and to the ſame extent, as the diſqualification of the former. Next, it had been urged that the influence of the perſons in queſtion had not been felt; but would it, Mr. Fox ſaid, be argued, that becauſe the influence might be either dormant or unſucceſsful, that it therefore did not exiſt? It had alſo been ſuggeſted, he ſaid, that the naval artizans, if deprived of their votes, would hire themſelves to foreign powers; but ſuch a ſuppoſition, he added, was too ridiculous to be treated ſeriouſly. They were to go abroad, he ſuppoſed, to have voices in the appointment of members of parliament in France, or were to influence the elections of Spain, or were to look for a ſhare in the ariſtocracy of Holland. He concluded by ſeriouſly calling the attention of the houſe to the conſideration of the preſent influence of the crown, and to the conſequent neceſſity of applying the remedy now propoſed. After ſome further debate Mr. Marſham's motion for the ſecond reading of his bill was negatived by a majority of 76; the numbers being for the queſtion 41, againſt it 117.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Accuſation of Mr. Haſtings.—Speech of Mr. Burke on opening that buſineſs in the houſe of commons; he gives the reaſons for his undertaking it; reminds the houſe of their former proceedings; ſtates three different modes of accuſation, proſecution in the courts below, bill of pains and penalties, impeachment; objection to the two former modes; his plan of conducting the laſt; general obſervations on the whole; he moves for a variety of India papers and documents; debates thereon; Mr. Dundas's defence of himſelf; Mr. Pitt's argument on the ſame ſide; anſwer to objections by Mr. Burke; rights and privileges of an accuſer; the production of papers relative to the treaties with the Mahrattas and the Mogul objected to, on the ground of diſcloſing dangerous ſecrets; anſwer to that objection; papers refuſed on a diviſion; motion renewed by Mr. Fox, and rejected. Mr. Burke delivers in twenty-two articles of charge againſt Mr. Haſtings; Mr. Haſtings petitions to be heard in his own defence; converſation thereon; Mr. Haſtings heard at the bar; his defence laid on the table: firſt charge, reſpecting the Rohilla war, moved by Mr. Burke; his introductory ſpeech; liſt of ſpeakers on both ſides; charge rejected on a diviſion: ſecond charge, reſpecting Benares, moved by Mr. Fox; ſupported by Mr. Pitt; carried by a large majority; indecent reflections of Mr. Haſtings's friends thereupon.—Mr. Dundas's Bill for amending the India act of 1784; *its arbitrary principles ſtrongly oppoſed; defended by Mr. Dundas; paſſes both houſes.—King's ſpeech.—Parliament prorogued.*

WE have before related, that on the firſt day of the ſeſſion Mr. Burke was called upon by the agent of the late governor general of Bengal to produce the criminal charges againſt Mr. Haſtings in ſuch a ſhape as might enable parliament to enter into a full diſcuſſion of his conduct, and come to a final deciſion upon it.

On Friday the 17th of February, Mr. Burke brought this ſubject before the houſe of commons: after deſiring the clerk to read the 44th and 45th reſolutions of cenſure and recal of Mr. Haſtings, moved by Mr. Dundas on the 29th of May 1782, he ſaid that he entirely agreed in opinion with the friends of that gentleman, that the reſolution which had been read ſhould not be ſuffered to remain a mere calumny on the page of their journals; at the ſame time he lamented that the ſolemn buſineſs of the day ſhould have devolved upon him by the natural death of ſome, by the political death of others, and in ſome inſtances by a death to duty and to principle. It would doubtleſs, he ſaid, have come forward with much more weight and effect in the hands of the right honourable gentleman who had induced the houſe to adopt thoſe reſolutions, or in thoſe of another gentleman, who had taken an active part in the ſelect committee, and then enjoyed a confidential poſt in the Indian department, the ſecretary of the board of controul; but as he could not perceive any intentions

tions of the kind in either of thoſe members, and as he had been perſonally called upon, in a manner highly honourable to the party intereſted in the proceeding, but in a manner which rendered it impoſſible for him not to do his duty, he ſhould endeavour to the beſt of his power to ſupport the credit and dignity of the houſe, to enforce its intentions, and give vigour and effect to a ſentence paſſed four years ago; and he truſted that he ſhould receive that protection, that fair and honourable interpretation of his conduct, which the houſe owed to thoſe who acted in its name, and under the ſanction of its authority.

Having endeavoured upon this ground to remove the odium of appearing a forward proſecutor of public delinquency, Mr. Burke called back the recollection of the houſe to the ſeveral proceedings which had been had in parliament reſpecting the mal-adminiſtration of the company's affairs in India, from the period of Lord Clive's government down to the reports of the ſecret and ſelect committees, the reſolutions moved thereupon, and the approbation repeatedly given to theſe proceedings by his majeſty from the throne.—It was upon the authority, the ſanction, and the encouragement thus afforded him, that he reſted his accuſation of Mr. Haſtings, as a delinquent of the firſt magnitude.

After going through an infinite variety of topics relative to this part of his ſubject; he proceeded to explain the proceſs which he ſhould recommend to the houſe to purſue. There were, he obſerved, three ſeveral modes of proceeding againſt ſtate delinquents, which, according to the exigencies of particular caſes, had each at different times been adopted. The firſt was to direct his majeſty's attorney general to proſecute; from this mode he acknowledged himſelf totally averſe, not only becauſe he had not diſcovered in the learned gentleman, whoſe reſpectable character and profeſſional abilities had advanced him to that high official ſituation, that zeal for public juſtice in the preſent inſtance, which was a neceſſary qualification in a public proſecutor; but more eſpecially, becauſe he thought a trial in the court of King's Bench, amidſt a cloud of cauſes of meum and tuum, of treſpaſs, aſſault, battery, converſion, and trover, &c. &c. not at all ſuited to the ſize and enormity of the offender, or to the complicated nature and extent of his offences. Another mode of proceeding occaſionally adopted by the houſe was by *bill of pains and penalties*; this mode he alſo greatly diſapproved of, in the firſt place, as attended with great hardſhip and injuſtice to the party proſecuted, by obliging him to anticipate his defence; and ſecondly, as putting the houſe in a ſituation which, where the nature of the caſe did not abſolutely require it, ought carefully to be avoided, that of ſhifting its character backwards and forwards, and appearing in the ſame cauſe one day as accuſers, and another as judges.—The only proceſs that remained, was by the ancient and conſtitutional mode of *impeachment*; and even in adopting this proceſs he ſhould adviſe the houſe to proceed with all poſſible caution and prudence. It had been uſual, he obſerved, in the firſt inſtance, to reſolve that the party accuſed ſhould be impeached, and then to appoint a committee to examine the evidence, and find the articles on which the impeachment was to be founded.—This mode of proceeding had, from the heat and paſſion with which the minds of men were ſometimes apt to be inflamed, led the houſe, on more than one occaſion, into the diſgraceful dilemma of either abandoning the impeachment they had voted, or of preferring articles which they had not evidence to ſupport.—In order to ſteer clear of this diſgrace, he ſhould move that ſuch papers as were neceſſary for ſubſtantiating the guilt of Mr. Haſtings, if guilt there was, ſhould be laid before the houſe; and that theſe papers, together with the charges extracted from them, ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe, and evidence examined thereon: if the charges ſhould then appear, what he believed they would be found to be, charges of the blackeſt and fouleſt nature, and ſupported by competent and ſufficient evidence, the houſe would then proceed with confidence and dignity to the bar of the houſe of lords.

Having ſtated theſe matters with great preciſion, Mr. Burke went into a ſeries of reflections on the nature of the office he had undertaken. Every accuſer, he ſaid, was himſelf under accuſation at the very time he accuſed another; it behoved him to act upon ſure grounds, and he had therefore choſen the line of conduct he had juſt explained, as being at the ſame time the moſt effectual for the purpoſes of public juſtice, and the leaſt expoſed to the danger of error: he urged the unavoidable neceſſity of making the enquiry perſonal; he aſked what would be the ſentiments of the miſerable and oppreſſed natives of India, if the reſult of the proceedings in that houſe ſhould be to find that enormous peculation exiſted, but that there was no peculator; that there was groſs corruption, but no perſon to corrupt, or to be corrupted; that a torrent of violence, oppreſſion, and cruelty had deluged that country, but that every ſoul in it was juſt, moderate, and humane? To trace peculation to the peculator, corruption to its ſource, and oppreſſion to the oppreſſor, had been the object of the reſearches of the ſeveral committees that had been inſtituted at different times by the houſe; and the reſult was, they found that government in India could not be foul and the governor pure. After a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which theſe and many other topics of the ſame nature were argued with great force and perſpicuity, Mr. Burke concluded, by moving, "That copies of all correſpondence, ſince the month of Jannary 1782, between Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, governor general of Bengal, and the court of directors, as well before as ſince the return of the ſaid governor general, relative to preſents and other money particularly received by the ſaid governor general, be laid before this houſe."

The reflections thrown out by Mr. Burke, relative to the reſolutions of the ſecret committee, and the conduct of Mr. Dundas, called up that gentleman to juſtify the part he had taken.—He acknowledged that he undoubtedly was the perſon who ſuggeſted the reſolutions alluded to, and he had not the ſmalleſt ſcruple to admit that the ſame ſentiments that he entertained reſpecting Mr. Haſtings, at the time of propoſing thoſe reſolutions,

lutions, he entertained at that moment; but would any one contend that thoſe ſentiments went ſo far as to ſuppoſe Mr. Haſtings to be a fit object for a criminal proſecution? The reſolutions went to the recal of Mr. Haſtings, a matter which he at the time thought expedient, and had recommended it to the houſe as a matter of expediency only. He thought the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, ſince the period to which thoſe reſolutions referred, not only not criminal but highly meritorious, and he had for that reaſon approved of the vote of thanks which the court of directors had conferred upon him.

The charge of inconſiſtency being again urged againſt Mr. Dundas with great ſeverity, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt roſe up in his defence, and retorted the charge with ſome acrimony on Mr. Fox, whoſe conduct, he ſaid, in the coalition he had formed with a perſon whom he had been in the habit of loading with the moſt extravagant reproaches, had ſufficiently explained to the public his ideas of conſiſtency. He contended that the reſolution of recal by no means pledged the houſe to proſecute; ſince, if that were the caſe, they would on all occaſions be reduced to the neceſſity either of heſitating on ſuch a ſtep (however urgent the emergency might be) until a full examination of the conduct of the perſon could be had, or of rendering a proſecution unavoidable, although no adequate enquiry had been inſtituted to evince its propriety. The reſolutions contained in themſelves the whole of the object for which they were deſigned, namely, that in order to recover the loſt confidence of the princes of India, it was adviſeable, what?—to puniſh?—No! but to recal certain of the company's ſervants. Whether the conduct by which the confidence had been loſt was imputable as a crime to thoſe ſervants, was totally another conſideration; he was indeed ready to join in opinion with the gentlemen oppoſite to him, that if any real guilt was to be inveſtigated, and adequate puniſhment to be inflicted, his right honourable friend would be full as proper a perſon to take the lead, and full as likely to accompliſh all the purpoſes of public juſtice, as thoſe gentlemen into whoſe hands the proſecution would fall; but, as it had been ſaid in the courſe of the debate that there were occaſions when the formal rules of common juſtice might be overleaped, and a proſecution conducted with violence and reſentment, rather than by the dull forms of ordinary proceedings, perhaps, conſidering the preſent buſineſs in that point of view, the gentlemen that had taken it up were the fitteſt people to be intruſted with it: with reſpect to the papers moved for, Mr. Pitt made no objection, but hoped the gentleman who moved for them would inform the houſe as early and as explicitly as poſſible of the nature and extent of the charges he intended to make.

The queſtion being carried, Mr. Burke proceeded to move for a great variety of other papers, which he alledged were neceſſary for the proſecution of the cauſe he had undertaken. Theſe motions produced much converſation, and towards the cloſe of the day there appeared ſome heſitation in the miniſters of the crown, whether it would be proper to produce whatever papers might be called for on the mere ſuggeſtion of the mover, without inſiſting upon his ſtating to the houſe the connection they had with the matters contained in the reports of the committees, beyond which they did not think he ought to go in the matter of his intended accuſation. At this ſtage of the buſineſs the houſe adjourned at one o'clock, on account of the illneſs of the ſpeaker; and the day following the converſation was renewed, upon a motion for papers relative to the affairs of Oude.

It was urged that it would be a precedent of a very dangerous nature to ſuffer papers, of the contents of which the houſe was in a great meaſure ignorant, to be laid upon the table, merely on the word of any individual member. Why did not the honourable gentleman bring forward a ſpecific accuſation? the houſe might then be enabled to judge whether the papers moved for were neceſſary to ſuſtantiate the charge or not; but till that was done, it was their duty to reſiſt the production of them. In oppoſition to this unexpected obſtacle, Mr. Burke contended, and endeavoured to prove from ſeveral inſtances, that the practice of the houſe by no means bound them down to the mode of proceeding to which it was attempted to ſubject him. In every criminal proceſs the accuſer, who, by becoming ſuch, took upon himſelf the *onus probandi*, was entitled to have ſuch documents and papers as he eſteemed neceſſary to ſupport the charge he undertook to bring forward, open and acceſſible. A refuſal muſt be attended with a double injuſtice. If the accuſer wanted collateral and explanatory aid, he ought not to be denied the means of digeſting, explaining, or ſimplifying thoſe facts of which he was in prior poſſeſſion. If, on the other hand, the grounds of accuſation could be extenuated, if the ſeverity of the charge could be abated, nay, perhaps annihilated, a denial of that opportunity to the accuſer was an injuſtice to the accuſed. He ſhould therefore conſider the rejection of his motion as a ſtratagem to get rid of the whole enquiry; but he entertained too ſtrong a ſenſe of what he owed to public juſtice, and to humanity, to accept of the ſubterfuge that was offered him, and ſteal away from and deſert their cauſe. He knew that he ſhould have to encounter a connected force of the firſt weight and influence in the country: but he had not undertaken the accuſation upon light grounds, and he had the firmeſt reliance upon the juſtice of his cauſe. He had been told, that the proſecution would be unpopular; that the people of England would reject him in ſuch a purſuit.—O miſ'rable public! he exclaimed; what! for having taken up the cauſe of their injured and oppreſſed fellow-ſubjects in India, for attempting to bring to juſtice the plunderers of mankind, the deſolators of provinces, the oppreſſors of an innocent and meritorious people, in every rank, ſex, and condition, the violators of public faith, the deſtroyers of the Britiſh character and reputation—was he to be unpopular? Thoſe who had raiſed monuments of their benevolence, by providing aſylums and receptacles for human miſery, were juſtly ranked for ſuch deeds amongſt the benefactors to mankind; but even theſe acts of patriotiſm and charity were not to be compared to the noble work of ſupporting the moſt ſacred rights and valuable intereſts of mankind, by bringing to public juſtice the man who had ſacrificed them to his cruelty, his avarice, and his ambition.

After purſuing this train of reflections with great energy and eloquence, Mr. Burke remarked, that the *prevaricatio accuſatorum* had been reckoned amongſt one of the firſt ſymptoms of the decline of the Roman greatneſs. But at the time this obſervation was made, when Verres was accuſed by Cicero, every means of information was allowed him. One hundred and fifty days were granted him, to collect the materials of his accuſation from ſo near a province as Sicily. All the public records were open to him, and perſons ſent out of Italy to every place where the proofs of his guilt could be collected. In like manner, when the Cicero of the preſent age felt that indignity againſt public crimes which did him ſo much honour, every poſſible aſſiſtance was afforded him; every paper which he wanted was produced; every avenue of information was opened; all parties concurred in encouraging him; the flower of the bar ſupported him; crown lawyers were engaged in making reſearches; and treaſury clerks exerted themſelves with all the enthuſiaſm of public virtue. In ſhort the learned gentleman obtained more information than he might have ultimately wiſhed to have brought in charge againſt the delinquent he proſecuted. Mr. Burke added, that it was ſufficiently viſible that his ſituation was in every reſpect the very reverſe; that, for his own part, he only called for what the hand of power had no excuſe for refuſing. The papers for which he had moved he avowed were neceſſary for his purpoſe; and it was incumbent on thoſe who refuſed them to juſtify, by ſome better plea than that of ignorance of their contents, the refuſal of them.

Major Scott followed Mr. Burke, and agreed in opinion with him, that the papers were neceſſary to be produced; and Mr. Pitt, after many profeſſions of the moſt unbiaſſed impartiality, concurred with them; remarking, at the ſame time, that it would be but fair and candid in the right honourable mover, to give the houſe ſome ſpecific information of the ſubject matter of his charges, and to ſtate the grounds and reaſons for the production of ſuch papers as he might think it neceſſary to call for in ſupport of them. In compliance with this requeſt, Mr. Burke read to the houſe a ſhort abſtract of the ſeveral charges which he deſigned to bring forward; and pointed out the matters which the ſeveral papers, he afterwards moved for, were intended to explain and ſubſtantiate.

3d March. The reſt of Mr. Burke's motions met with little oppoſition, till, on the 3d of March, he moved for copies of letters, and other papers, relative to the treaty of peace with the Mahrattas. This motion was oppoſed by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt, on two grounds; firſt, that the treaty in queſtion was a wiſe and ſalutary treaty, and had ſaved the Britiſh empire in Aſia; and, ſecondly, that the production of the papers moved for would diſcover tranſactions relative to that peace, which ought to be kept a ſecret from the country powers in India, inſomuch

much as it would diſcloſe the means by which the ſeveral ſtates that were confederate againſt England were made jealous of each other, and the intrigues by which they were induced to diſſolve that confederacy. In anſwer to theſe objections, it was urged, by Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, in the firſt place, that to argue from the merits of the peace, was to beg the queſtion. Mr. Haſtings was charged with having acted in that treaty unjuſtly, treacherouſly, and cruelly; that was the point in iſſue, and it could only be tried by the production of the papers. The accuſer alledged he was in poſſeſſion of the facts, and demanded the public documents only as furniſhing the means of formal evidence of his charge. In the ſecond place it was argued, that the reaſons given for withholding the papers were, in fact, the ſtrongeſt reaſons for producing them; thoſe reaſons amounted to this, that the papers ought not to be produced, becauſe they would diſcover in what manner the different powers in India had been ſacrificed in that treaty to each other—the very point that was charged in the accuſation. This argument, if carried to its full extent, would cover almoſt every ſpecies of political delinquency, ſince it made it only neceſſary for the delinquent to add complicated treachery to his other crimes, to render it dangerous to bring him to a public trial. But the argument was futile in another reſpect; the tranſactions alluded to were but too well known, and too generally condemned and reprobated throughout India. If they were to be a ſecret, it would be a ſecret only to the houſe of commons, and of this ſufficient proof might eaſily be given. After a long debate, the houſe divided upon the motion, which was rejected by a majority of 87 to 44.

17th March. The conduct of adminiſtration in refuſing the papers moved for by Mr. Burke, and the reaſons upon which that refuſal was grounded, appeared to the members in oppoſition of ſo ſerious and alarming a nature, that the ſame motion was twice renewed, on the 6th and on the 17th of March by Mr. Fox, but reſtricted to the correſpondence of a Major Brown, an agent of Mr Haſtings at the court of Delhi. Copies of many parts of this correſpondence were in the hands of ſome private individuals in England, and they were uſed, in the courſe of the debate, both to prove the criminal conduct of Mr. Haſtings, and the futility of the pretenſion of ſecreſy.

It was ſtrongly urged, that if the grounds upon which miniſters withheld thoſe papers from the inſpection of parliament were admitted by the houſe as ſufficient, it would in fact veſt them with a power of protecting every delinquent, and quaſhing at the very outſet every public enquiry. Notwithſtanding the odium which was attempted by theſe repeated diſcuſſions to be thrown on adminiſtration, they continued firm in their refuſal; urging, in addition to their former arguments, that the agency of major Brown was by no means proved, and that the correſpondence in queſtion appeared to contain merely the wild and chimerical projects of an unauthorized individual. The motion was rejected on the laſt day by 140 to 73.

April 4th. On the fourth of April, Mr. Burke, in his place, charged Warren Haſtings, eſq; the late governor general of Bengal, with ſundry high crimes and miſdemeanors, and delivered at the table the nine firſt articles of his charge, and the reſt in the courſe of the following week, amounting in all to 22 in number. On the 26th Mr. Haſtings requeſted by petition to the houſe to be permitted to be heard in his defence to the ſeveral articles, and that he might be allowed a copy of the ſame *. Mr. Burke declared his wiſh that every reaſonable degree of indulgence ſhould be ſhewn to Mr. Haſtings: he ſhould therefore readily conſent to his being heard in his defence, though he did not think it quite agreeable to the regularity of their proceeding, that he ſhould be heard in the preſent ſtage of it. With reſpect to a copy of the charges, he believed there was no precedent of ſuch an indulgence being granted. It was well known that it was his original intention to have gone through the whole of his evidence before he delivered in his articles, and to let the charge grow out of the evidence; but the houſe, in its wiſdom, had thought proper to vote a different mode of proceeding, and to direct that the charges ſhould be firſt made; and that he ſhould then proceed to ſubſtantiate them by evidence. Hence he had been under the neceſſity of new arranging his plan, and of making his charges as comprehenſive as poſſible, taking in and ſtating every thing with which private information could furniſh him. In their preſent form they were to be conſidered merely as a general collection of accuſatory facts, intermixed with a variety of collateral matter, both of fact and reaſoning neceſſary for their elucidation; and the committee to which they were to be referred would neceſſarily find occaſion to alter them materially. For this reaſon alſo he thought it would be highly improper to give a copy of them, in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, to Mr. Haſtings. Theſe reaſons, however, being overruled by the majority, and a copy ordered to be granted to Mr. Haſtings, Mr. Burke moved, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to examine the witneſſes that had been ordered to attend. This was alſo objected to by the other ſide of the houſe, on this

---

* To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain,
in Parliament aſſembled.

The humble Petition of WARREN HASTINGS, late Governor General of Bengal.

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner obſerves by the votes of the 4th and 12th days of April inſtant, that Mr. Burke in his place charged Warren Haſtings, late governor general of Bengal, with ſundry high crimes and miſdemeanors; and preſented to the houſe ſeveral articles of charge of high crimes and miſdemeanors againſt the ſaid Warren Haſtings.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that he may be heard in his defence to the ſeveral articles; and that he may be allowed a copy of the ſame.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray.

WARREN HASTINGS.

ground, that as they had agreed to hear the defence of Mr. Haſtings, they ought to wait till that had been gone through, ſince he might poſſibly be able to offer ſuch matter in exculpation of himſelf as would induce the houſe entirely to ſtop all further proceeding. This argument was ſtrongly ſupported by the maſter of the rolls and the attorney general, and ably oppoſed by Mr. Hardinge, ſolicitor general to the queen, and Mr. Anſtruther.

The deciſion of the houſe, by a majority of 140 to 80 againſt the propoſition of Mr. Burke, was conſidered as a moſt favourable prognoſtic by the friends of Mr. Haſtings; and they ſpoke with the utmoſt confidence of a ſpeedy concluſion of the whole buſineſs in his favour.

May 1ſt.

On the 1ſt of May, Mr. Haſtings being called to the bar, addreſſed the houſe in a ſhort ſpeech; in which he ſtated, that he conſidered his being allowed to be heard in that ſtage of the buſineſs as a very great indulgence, for which he begged leave to make his moſt grateful acknowledgments to the houſe; and as his wiſh was to deliver what he had to ſay in anſwer to the charges that had been preſented againſt him by an honourable member, with a greater ſhare of accuracy and correctneſs than he could pretend to in a ſpeech from memory, he had committed his ſentiments to writing, and hoped to be permitted to read them. This requeſt being granted, Mr. Haſtings proceeded to read his defence, in which he was aſſiſted by Mr. Markham, a ſon of the archbiſhop of York, and the clerks of the houſe. Three days were ſpent in going through the ſeveral parts of his defence; and it was afterwards, at the requeſt of Mr. Haſtings, ordered to be laid upon the table of the houſe, and printed for the uſe of the members.

As two articles only of the charge were decided upon in this ſeſſion of parliament, we ſhall, for the ſake of giving our readers a connected view of the whole ſubject together, defer entering at preſent into the ſubject matter of the charges exhibited, the proofs by which they were ſupported, or the allegations urged by Mr. Haſtings in his defence, and content ourſelves with a narrative of the proceedings of the houſe of commons.

In our next volume we ſhall endeavour to give as conciſe and comprehenſive an abſtract of the whole buſineſs, as its immenſe extent and complicated variety will admit. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, with reſpect to the defence of Mr. Haſtings, that it does not appear to have produced an effect anſwerable to the ſanguine expectation of his friends, or to the views of thoſe who might wiſh to have taken a plauſible opportunity of quaſhing the whole proceeding, by a ſhort queſtion upon the general merits of the perſon accuſed.

In the mean time, the houſe, in a committee, proceeded in the examination of witneſſes in proof of the charges; and on the

June 1ſt.

firſt of June Mr. Burke brought forward the Rohilla charge, and moved the following reſolution, thereupon:—"That the committee, heaving conſidered the ſaid article, and examined evidence on the ſame, are of opinion that there are grounds ſufficient to charge Warren Haſtings with high crimes and miſdemeanors upon the matter of the ſaid article."

Mr. Burke introduced his motion with a ſolemn invocation of the juſtice of the houſe, which he ſaid was particularly due, as well to the people of Great Britain, becauſe the national credit and character were deeply involved, and implicated in the iſſue of the buſineſs about to be brought before them, as for the ſake of their own honour and dignity. He deſcribed with great force the nature of the queſtion to be decided; declaring emphatically, that it was an appeal from Britiſh power to Britiſh juſtice.—The charge, he ſaid, muſt either condemn the accuſer or the accuſed; there was no medium. The reſult muſt be, that Warren Haſtings, eſq; had been guilty of groſs, enormous, and flagitious crimes; or, that he was a baſe, calumniatory, wicked, and malicious accuſer. He enlarged upon the degree of guilt aſcribable to that man who ſhould dare preſume to take up the time of the houſe by raſhly coming forward, and urging groundleſs and ill-founded charges againſt a perſon who had been intruſted with high and exalted offices in the government of a part of our territories, much larger and more extenſive than the whole iſland of Great Britain. There were, he obſerved, but three ſources of falſe accuſation, viz. ignorance, inadvertency, or paſſion; by none of theſe three had he been actuated: ignorance he could not plead, becauſe he knew the ſubject as fully as the labour and ſtudy of ſix years could make him know it: inadvertency as little could he be charged with, becauſe he had deliberately proceeded, and examined every ſtep he took in the buſineſs with the moſt minute and cautious attention: and, leaſt of all, could it be ſaid, with any colour of truth, that he had been actuated by paſſion. Anger indeed he had felt, but ſurely not a blameable anger; for who ever heard of an enquiring anger, a digeſting anger, a collating anger, an examining anger, or a ſelecting anger? The anger he had felt was, an uniform, ſteady, public anger, but never a private anger; that anger which five years ago warmed his breaſt, he felt preciſely the ſame and unimpaired at that moment. Not all the various occurrences of the laſt five years, neither five changes of adminiſtration, nor the retirement of the ſummer, nor the occupation of winter, neither his public nor his private avocations, nor the ſnow, which in that period had ſo plentifully ſhowered on his head, had been able to cool that anger, which he acknowledged to feel as a public man, but which, as a private individual, he had never felt for one moment.

He obſerved, that the vote they were to give that day was not merely on the caſe of Mr. Haſtings; they were to vote a ſet of maxims and principles, to be the guide of all future governors in India. The code of political principles which they ſhould that day eſtabliſh as the principles of Britiſh government in its diſtant provinces, would ſtand recorded as a proof of their wiſdom and juſtice, or of their diſpoſition to tyranny and oppreſſion. He entered at large into thoſe peculiar circumſtances in the connection between this country and India, which rendered the retribution of juſtice, in caſes of cruelty and oppreſſion, extremely difficult, and contraſted them with the ſituation of the provinces conquered by the Romans. The Roman empire was an empire of continuity, each province being either immediately or nearly acceſſible by land; they had likewiſe one general tongue to ſpeak with, ſo that each man was able to tell his tale in his own way. They had another advantage, which aroſe from the very circumſtance of their being conquered, and it was that the principal perſons who accompliſhed the conqueſt always acquired a property and influence in each new province by them ſubdued, and of courſe the vanquiſhed found patrons and protectors in the perſons of their conquerors. Each province was alſo conſidered as a body corporate, and conſequently each province was enabled to ſend their grievance to Rome collectively, and to ſtate them as ſpeaking with one mouth. He next adverted to the ſituation of an accuſer in Rome, and to the advantages that attended him in proſecuting his charges againſt a ſtate delinquent, who was ſtripped of his power, and even of his rights as a citizen, pending the proſecution, the better to enable his accuſer to make out and eſtabliſh his accuſation. He drew a diſtinction between this facility of coming at a Roman governor, charged with high crimes and miſdemeanors, and the extreme difficulty of ſubſtantiating an accuſation againſt a Britiſh governor. When it was conſidered that Mr. Haſtings had been for fourteen years at the head of the government in India, and that no one complaint during that time had been tranſmitted to England againſt him, the houſe muſt be convinced of the enormous degree of power he had to contend with, to which alone could be aſcribed the ſilence in queſtion, ſince it was not in human nature, ſituated as Mr. Haſtings had been, to preſerve ſo pure, even-handed, and unimpeachable a conduct, as to afford no room for a ſingle accuſation to be ſtated againſt him.

After this exordium, Mr. Burke ſtated at large the ſubject matter of the charge, and concluded a long and eloquent ſpeech, with deſiring the clerk to read the reſolution of May 1782, to clear himſelf from the imputation of having raſhly and ſingly meddled with the ſubject; and to ſhew that the houſe had, in very ſtrong terms, already reprobated Mr. Haſtings's conduct in the Rohilla war. The motion was ſupported by Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Powis, Mr. Montague, Lord North, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Hardinge; and oppoſed by Mr. Nicholls, Lord Mornington, Mr. H. Browne, and Lord Mulgrave. At half paſt three o'clock the debate was adjourned, and renewed the day following by Mr. Francis, Mr. Anſtruther, and Mr. Fox, on the one ſide; and Mr. W. Grenville, Mr. J. Scott, Mr. Burton, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Dundas, on the other. At half paſt ſeven the committee divided, when there appeared for the motion 67, againſt it 119.

13th June. On the 13th of June, Mr. Fox brought forward the charge reſpecting the Rajah of Benares. Nearly the ſame perſons took a part in this debate as in the former, and it was carried by a majority of 119 to 79, "that there was matter of impeachment againſt Warren Haſtings contained in the ſaid charge." The chancellor of the exchequer concurred in this vote, but upon very narrow ground. He thought that the demands made upon the Raja went beyond the exigence of the caſe, and that Mr. Haſtings had puſhed the exerciſe of the arbitrary diſcretion entruſted to him beyond the neceſſity of the ſervice. The conduct of the miniſter on this occaſion drew upon him much indecent calumny from the friends of Mr. Haſtings; they did not heſitate to accuſe him out of doors, both publicly and privately, of treachery. They declared it was in the full confidence of his protection and ſupport, that they had urged on Mr. Burke to bring forward his charges; and that the gentleman accuſed had been perſuaded to come to their bar, with an haſty and premature defence: and they did not ſcruple to attribute this conduct in the miniſter to motives of the baſeſt jealouſy.

During the courſe of the proceedings of the houſe of commons on the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings, another ſubject, relative to the adminiſtration of the company's affairs in India, underwent a warm diſcuſſion in both houſes of parliament; this was a bill brought in by Mr. Dundas, for amending Mr. Pitt's act, paſſed in the year 1784, for regulating the government of the Eaſt India company. Previous to the firſt mention of the ſubject by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Francis had moved for leave to bring in a bill with the ſame title, but much more extenſive in its objects. Upon this motion the previous queſtion was put, and carried without a diviſion. The principal object of Mr. Dundas's bill was to enlarge the powers of the governor general; firſt, by veſting in him the nomination to the vacant ſeats in the council: ſecondly, by uniting the offices of governor general and commander in chief of the forces: and thirdly, by authorizing him to decide upon every meaſure, whether his council agreed with him or not. Leave being given to bring in the bill, Mr. Francis moved, "that it be an inſtruction to the gentlemen appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to explain and amend an act, paſſed in the 24th year of his majeſty's reign, intituled, 'An act, &c.' that in preparing the ſame they do never loſe ſight of the effect, which any meaſure to be adopted for the good government of our poſſeſſions in India may have on our own conſtitution, and our deareſt intereſts at home; and particularly, that in amending the ſaid act they do take care that no part thereof ſhall be confirmed or re-enacted, by which the unalienable birthright of every Britiſh ſubject to a trial by jury, as declared in magna charta, ſhall be taken away or impaired." This motion was rejected without debate, by a majority of 85 to 16.

On the 22d of March the bill was committed, when the clauſes conferring ſo extraordinary a degree of power on the governor general were oppoſed with a torrent of eloquence by Mr. Burke. He proteſted in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the principle of a bill which was, he ſaid, to introduce an arbitrary and deſpotic government in India, on the falſe pretence of its tending greatly to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Britiſh poſſeſſions there, and giving energy, vigour, and diſpatch to the meaſures and proceedings of the executive government. He reprobated the whole of this idea, contending that an arbitrary and deſpotic government was always ſure to produce the reverſe of energy, vigour, and diſpatch;

its conſtant features being weakneſs, debility, and delay. He referred to the Turkiſh government, and every arbitrary government that ever exiſted, in proof of his aſſertion.

In anſwer to theſe objections, Mr. Dundas contended, that before gentlemen took upon them to charge the empowering the governor general to act, in caſes of emergency, without the concurrence of the council, as the introduction of arbitrary government, it behoved them to prove that arbitrary government depended more upon one perſon governing than two, a poſition which he believed it would not be eaſy to make out. He had ever conſidered the governing by known laws, the preſervation of all the rights and franchiſes of ſubjects, and trial in all caſes of property by the eſtabliſhed judicature of the country, as the invariable and undoubted proofs of freedom. This was the real caſe of India; the perſon intruſted with the adminiſtration of the country was indeed inveſted with more power, but he had therefore the greater reſponſibility: though in caſes of great emergency he was allowed to act without the concurrence of his council, yet he had ſtill his council to adviſe with, and they were always about him, as checks and controuls upon his conduct; in fact, the governor could do no more under the preſent clauſe than he could have done with the concurrence of his council before: in proportion as he had more perſonal power, ſo had the bill provided more reſponſibility.

All the miſchiefs and all the misfortunes which had for years taken place in India, he was ſatisfied, in his own mind, after long and attentive inquiry into the affairs of that country, aroſe intirely from the party principles of the members of the different councils in exiſtence there, and the factious ſcenes which thoſe councils had almoſt uniformly preſented.

In the houſe of lords the bill was oppoſed on the ſame grounds, with great ability, by Lord Carliſle, Lord Stormont, and eſpecially by Lord Loughborough. In both houſes it was ſupported by large majorities, and finally paſſed into a law.

On Tueſday the 11th of July, his majeſty came down to the houſe of lords, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. He expreſſed the particular ſatisfaction he had received from their attention to the public buſineſs, and from the meaſures which had been adopted for improving the reſources of the country.

He thanked the houſe of commons for the ſupplies which they had granted for the current year, and for the proviſion which they had made for diſcharging the incumbrances on the civil liſt: from the plan adopted for the reduction of the national debt, he looked for the moſt ſalutary effects; it was an object which he conſidered as inſeparably connected with the intereſts of the public. He ſaid, that the aſſurances he had from abroad promiſed the continuance of general tranquillity: and he concluded by obſerving, that the happy effects of peace had already appeared in the extenſion of the national commerce, and that no meaſures ſhould be wanting on his part, which could tend to confirm thoſe advantages, and to give additional encouragement to the manufactures and induſtry of his people.

His majeſty's pleaſure was then ſignified, that the parliament ſhould be prorogued until the 14th of September.

CHAP. VIII.

Ruſſia.—Magnificence of the Court of Peterſburgh.—Expeditions of diſcovery by land and ſea, to the yet-unexplored parts of the empire.—Small colony of Chriſtians diſcovered in the wilds of Caucaſus.—New canal for opening an inland navigation between the Caſpian Sea and the Baltic.—Commercial treaty with the Emperor.—Similar treaties in negociation with France and other nations.—Old commercial treaty with England ſuffered to expire without renewal.—Some obſervations on that circumſtance, and on the change which ſeems to have taken place in the Empreſs's political ſyſtem.—War with the Tartars.—Inequality of the contending parties.—Brave and obſtinate reſiſtance notwithſtanding made.—Prince of Heſſe Rhinfels killed.—Tartar chief, with his ſons and nephew taken priſoners.—Cuban Tartary deſolated.—The new prophet, Sheich Manſour, defeated.—Empreſs announces her intention of making a progreſs to Cherſon and the Crimea.—Extraordinary preparations for rendering the proceſſion ſuperbly magnificent.—The intelligence of this intended progreſs and deſign, inſtead of terrifying the Tartars, occaſions a ſtricter union and general confederacy among them; ſhew unuſual judgment in ſeizing the gorges and defiles of the mountains, and interrupting the Ruſſian communications.—Victory gained by the Tartars in the autumn of 1786, on the ſide of Caucaſus.—Some of the apparent conſequences of that event; and particularly its effect with reſpect to the intended progreſs.—Georgians ſorely preſſed by the Leſghis Tartars.—Court of Peterſburgh vents its indignation on the Porte, as the cauſe of all theſe untoward events.—Some jealouſies entertained by the Chineſe.—Death of Kienlong, the excellent Emperor of China.—Singular bank eſtabliſhed by the Empreſs at Peterſburgh.—Ruſſian troops ſent into Courland, in order to ſupport the freedom of election in caſe of the Duke's death.—Turkey.—Appeal from the Grand Signior to his ſubjects, and to all true Muſſulmen, on the differences with Ruſſia, the treatment he has received, and calling upon them to be in preparation for the expected conſequences.—Preparations for placing the empire in a formidable ſtate of defence.—Troubles in Egypt.—Captain Pacha's expedition to that country;—defeats Murat Bey in two battles, and takes Grand Cairo.—Porte does not relax in its endeavours, notwithſtanding the critical ſtate of public affairs, to introduce the arts and ſciences in that empire; orders a tranſlation of the French Encyclopediæ.—Emperor's conduct with reſpect to Ruſſia and the Porte.—Engaged ſtill in a multiplicity of internal regulations.—Abrogation of the old laws, and eſtabliſhment of a new code.—Eccleſiaſtical reforms.—Suppreſſion of religious houſes.—Number of the conventual clergy already reduced.—German prelacy join the Emperor in reſiſting the interference of the court of Rome in their eccleſiaſtical and metropolitan government.—Elector of Mentz and Archbiſhop of Saltzbourg *apply to the Emperor, to prevent a nuncio's arrival at the court of Munich.—Emperor publiſhes a declaration againſt the powers aſſumed by nuncios, and promiſes to ſupport the Germanic Church in all its rights.—Reſolutions of the eccleſiaſtical princes againſt the encroachments of the ſee of Rome.—Emperor's edict, laying reſtrictions on free maſonry.—Letters in favour of the Jews to the corporations of Vienna.—Edict prohibiting gaming.—Forbids all publications from making any mention of the Germanic league, &c.—Regulation of the numerous proſtitutes in Vienna.—Attention to the troubles in Holland.—New claim in preparation on the Eaſt-India trade of that country.*

THE ſame ſtile of outward magnificence, with the ſame munificent ſpirit in the diſpoſal of bounties or rewards, which have ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the court of Peterſburgh through the preſent reign, ſtill continue to be its peculiar characteriſtics. Every thing that comes within theſe deſcriptions is done in the higheſt ſtile of grandeur, and ſeems not only ſuited to the preſent greatneſs, but to the riſing hope and fortune of that empire. Indeed the empreſs proceeds upon ſo large a ſcale in theſe matters, that it ſeems rather to be graduated by an Aſiatic than an European model. It is not often ſeen, at leaſt in the weſtern world, that a great military power, whoſe ambition and armaments ſpread apprehenſion or terror all round, and which ſeems almoſt conſtantly looking for war, ſhould at the ſame time exceed all others in the ſplendid eſtabliſhments of peace and luxury.

The views of the court are, however, directed in its expences to other objects of greater importance and utility than thoſe of mere magnificence. Of theſe may be conſidered the great expedition undertaken in the year 1785, under the empreſs's direction, for the purpoſe of diſcovering, exploring, and examining the moſt remote provinces, and the yet unknown parts of that immenſe empire. The difficulties and perils to which this expedition by land was ſuppoſed liable, through the trackleſs deſerts which they were to explore, the inhoſpitality of the climates, and the barbarity of the nations they were to encounter, with the numberleſs obſtacles of various ſorts they were to ſurmount, rendered the proſpect much more terrible than it had appeared to our circumnavigators in any of their late great voyages of diſcovery. The boldeſt and moſt enterprizing perſons of all nations were accordingly ſought out for this undertaking, and high rewards and promiſes held out as an encouragement to their zeal and perſeverance. The Baron de Walchen Stedz, who has a regiment of cavalry in the empreſs's ſervice, was appointed commander in chief upon this expedition. His corps conſiſted of 810 choſen men, who were led on by 107 officers of different degrees of diſtinction, and accompanied by pioneers, artillery-men, handycraftſmen, draughtſmen, engineers, and an hiſtoriographer. We ſuppoſe naturaliſts and aſtronomers were included in ſome of theſe deſcriptions. It need ſcarcely be obſerved, that they were amply provided with all manner of neceſſaries, and that they were furniſhed with credentials ſuited to every circumſtance and ſituation. It was ſuppoſed that the expedition could not be completed under three years.

The only fruit of their diſcoveries which has yet reached our knowledge, was that of a ſmall fugitive colony of ſtrangers and Chriſtians, who they found ſhut up from the world, in a moſt ſequeſtered part of the wilds of Caucaſus; and who, in the language of the country, are called Tſcheches. Theſe poor people are ſaid to lead lives of the moſt exemplary piety, and to exhibit a primæval ſimplicity of manners.—They are totally ignorant of their origin, any farther than knowing that they are ſtrangers, which they are likewiſe conſidered by the ſcattered neighbouring nations. From an affinity in their language, and ſome other circumſtances, they are ſuppoſed to be deſcended from a colony of Bohemians, who flying from the religious perſecutions in their own country, towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, found at length a refuge from oppreſſion, in the diſtance from the reſt of mankind which theſe remote deſarts afforded.

Not ſatisfied with the diſcoveries which this expedition by land might produce, the empreſs formed another by ſea about the ſame time, in order to extend and aſcertain thoſe which, within the preſent century, have been unſucceſsfully attempted or imperfectly made by different Ruſſian navigators. Lieut. Col. Bleumer was appointed to conduct this expedition, and commiſſioned to take along with him (beſides able navigators) a number of perſons ſkilled in various arts, to aſſiſt in making proper enquiries, and in turning to the greateſt advantage ſuch diſcoveries as they might make, or were already made. They were to embark at the mouth of the river Anadir, and to proſecute with greater accuracy and ſtricter obſervation thoſe diſcoveries which had been made by former navigators, of ſeveral inhabited iſlands lying about the 64th degree of latitude, in ſituations advantageous for trade. They were then to double the Cape of Tſchurſky, the ſuppoſed *ne plus ultra* of the Ruſſian navigators, (although they affirm the contrary) and entering the Straits which ſeparate Siberia from America, to purſue their voyage at leaſt to the 74th degree of latitude; but if they find the ſeas practicable, to proceed as much farther as circumſtances will permit.

It is a ſingular circumſtance, at leaſt in the modern hiſtory of the Old World, for a prince to be under the neceſſity of undertaking great expeditions by ſea and land, in order to diſcover new countries within his own dominions. Such is the vaſtneſs of that unbounded empire!

But the great work, which, if completed, is to prove a laſting monument to the glory of Catherine, is the navigable canal in the province of Twer, which, by opening a communication between the river Twertz and the Miſta, the former of which falls directly into the Wolga, and the latter, by the great lakes, opens the paſſage to the Neva, will not only eſtabliſh an inland navigation through all the vaſt countries that lie between the ſhores of the Caſpian and the Baltic, but will actually unite theſe diſtant ſeas—an union unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind. This great work was ſo far advanced in the ſummer of 1785, as to occaſion a viſit from the empreſs in perſon, attended by a conſiderable part of the court.

Towards the cloſe of the ſame year, a treaty of commerce was concluded with the emperor, which afforded great advantages to his ſubjects, who, beſides their being in general placed upon a footing with the moſt favoured nations, were granted ſeveral peculiar privileges. Among theſe was the clauſe which granted them an exemption from all duties in the port of Riga, and which placed them in all reſpects upon the footing of native inhabitants in that city. In general, however, the advantages were reciprocal; ſuch as in lowering the duties upon Hungarian wines on one ſide, and thoſe upon leather, hides, and other commodities, which might in a good meaſure be conſidered as ſtaple, upon the other. Upon the whole, the treaty ſeemed evidently calculated to eſtabliſh the eaſieſt poſſible intercourſe, with the moſt intimate and laſting connections, between the ſubjects of both empires; ſo that though the terms of the treaty limited its duration to twelve years, it appeared that the mutual friendſhip which it was to produce among the people was intended to be hereditary. Upon this principle, ſeveral cities and trading towns in both empires were placed upon the footing of open markets, where the foreign inhabitant, or even temporary reſident, on either ſide, was to enjoy a ſort of denizenſhip, and to poſſeſs the ſame ſecurity and advantages in trade with the native. The contracting parties likewiſe particularly bound themſelves to a ſtrict adherence to the terms and principles of that regulation or compact of which the empreſs had been inſtitutreſs in the late war, and which has been ſo well known under the denomination of the Armed Neutrality; and which, though now of ſome ſtanding, ſhe ſtill ſeems to regard with all the predilection which novelty gives to a favourite ſcheme.

A treaty of commerce with France was likewiſe at this time in negociation, and has ſince been concluded. Similar negociations were at the ſame time in train with ſeveral other nations. Yet, with this prevalent diſpoſition to the forming of new connections in trade, the old treaty of commerce with England (which had ſo long been conſidered as the moſt favoured nation, and entitled to peculiar privileges in Ruſſia) was now ſuffered to expire, nor has it yet been renewed. The Engliſh had many grounds, without reckoning political cauſes or motives, whereon to ſupport their claims to peculiar favour and privileges in Ruſſia. Among others, it is not to be forgotten, that the Engliſh were not only the firſt people who ever opened a commerce with Ruſſia by ſea, but that they were the firſt who diſcovered her at all poſſeſſing an acceſſible ſea coaſt. To them, therefore, Archangel owed her riſe from a poor fiſhing village to be the great emporium of northern trade; to that cauſe were the adjoining deſart provinces indebted for the degrees of culture, improvement, and civilization, which they received; and the whole empire, for thereby obtaining a ready vent for their own goods, and an eaſy ſupply of the numberleſs European commodities which they wanted.

But the empreſs ſeems to be faſt departing from that line of policy which had been ſo long generally purſued by her predeceſſors as well as herſelf, in their conduct with reſpect to England and France. The friendſhip ſhewn, and the effectual ſervice done by England, in that war againſt the Ottomans which covered her reign with glory, and from which Ruſſia has derived ſuch vaſt acquiſitions of territory, and ſo great an extenſion of at leaſt apparent power, was but ill returned by the latter in her ſubſequent conduct, at the time that Great Britain was oppreſſed and nearly overborne by the greateſt combination of hoſtile power which has been formed againſt any ſingle ſtate in modern times. The ſcheme of the armed neutrality was formed upon principles as unfriendly to England, and, intentionally, if not actually, as inimical to her intereſts, as any thing ſhort of abſolute hoſtility could well be; nor did it afford much leſs encouragement to her numerous enemies, nor depreſſion to herſelf (for friends ſhe had none) than an actual declaration of war from Ruſſia would have done.

Indeed the wiſdom of the policy adopted by Great Britain in that Ruſſian and Ottoman war was much queſtioned, and her conduct no leſs cenſured, at the time, by not a few, who were well acquainted with the general politics of Europe, as well as with the intereſts of its reſpective ſtates. They contended, that ſhe departed from the ancient principles, as well as the ſtrait line of her policy, in encouraging or admitting Ruſſia to take any hoſtile ſhare in maritime affairs, without the limits aſſigned to her by nature in the Baltic; but that to lead her by the hand, as it were, from the bottom of the gulph of Finland to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and there to aid or encourage her in acquiring poſſeſſions which might enable her to eſtabliſh a formidable naval force in thoſe central ſeas, which would afford her an opportunity of continual interference in the concerns of all the ſtates of Europe, was repreſented as ſuch a violation of all the obvious principles of policy, that it ſeemed to partake more of the raſh predilection of an individual, than of thoſe cold but comprehenſive maxims which ſhould regulate the conduct of ſtates, and which ſhould look as fully to future contingencies as to preſent effect.

The coincidence of views and deſigns between Ruſſia and the houſe of Auſtria has drawn the bands of their union ſo cloſe, that whatevever excites jealouſy or diſſatisfaction in the one is ſure to operate no leſs powerfully upon the other; a circumſtance by no means tending to render the ſudden and extraordinary friendſhip which has ſprung up between them the more pleaſing to other ſtates. This was fully exemplified in the haſty and uncalled-for ſentence, without being authorized as a judge or mediator to interfere, which Ruſſia pronounced againſt Holland on the affair of the Schelde. The part taken by the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, in his acceſſion to the Germanic league, was, without queſtion, the cauſe of diſtaſte with both theſe formidable powers towards England: it was reported, and probably not without foundation, that the court of Peterſburgh was no leſs zealous or urgent than that of Vienna, firſt in its endeavours to prevent the acceſſion to that league, and then in uſing every poſſible means which could induce the king to a renunciation of it. The failure in both produced ſuch effects as were to be expected from the character and reſpective ſituation of the parties.

It is not, however, to be forgotten, that the commerce with England is to the full as eſſential to Ruſſia as to the former; that a very conſiderable annual balance, in money, is gained by her from England on that trade; that no merchants, with ſmaller capitals or leſs commercial ſpirit than the Engliſh, could or would adventure the large ſums of money which they conſtantly and neceſſarily advance long before the period of a return, in order to invigorate the manufactures, to ſet the people to work in a wide and poor country, and to enable the ſmall traders to bring the goods, whether ſtaple or manufacture, from their reſpective and remote diſtricts to market; and that without this eſſential pecuniary aſſiſtance, a conſequent decreaſe of induſtry and product muſt inevitably take place, trade and manufacture would languiſh, and whatever there was would become a monopoly in the hands of a few opulent natives, whoſe avarice would encumber it with ſuch obſtructions as would bring it to nothing. The advantages being thus reciprocal, the evil of any interruption to the long-eſtabliſhed commerce between the two countries (if ſuch it really would be to England, which is a queſtion of much doubt) is likely to cure itſelf; and things, if not carried too far, will probably, in defiance of caprice or ill-humour, as in other caſes of improper reſtrictions on trade, return to their natural channel. Commerce once loſt is with great difficulty recovered; and it happens well to mankind in general, that there are but few products confined entirely to any one country. Our countrymen and old fellow-ſubjects the Americans would joyfully ſupply the place of Ruſſia in many reſpects; and thoſe articles in which they are yet deficient might be procured in the intermediate time.

An irregular, expenſive, and deſtructive, though not brilliant war, has been carried on with increaſing action and effect between the Ruſſians and the Tartar nations inhabiting the regions of Caucaſus and the Caſpian, ever ſince the violent ſeizure by the former of the Crimea, and the neighbouring countries. The circumſtances of theſe remote tranſactions can at preſent be but very imperfectly known, and would not be very intereſting if they were, any farther than as they tend to diſplay the generous and deſperate efforts which a people naturally brave and warlike will make, under the greateſt poſſible diſadvantages, in the contention for their rights and liberties. The condition of the contending parties was, indeed, very unequal: the one poſſeſſed numbers and courage, with ſuch advantages as the ineffectiveneſs of their means could enable them to derive from difficult countries, covered with vaſt mountains, and abounding with inacceſſible poſts and dangerous defiles; but they wanted generals, military ſkill, experienced officers, and, beſides artillery, all other effective weapons and machines for offence or defence; the ſword and the arrow, once ſo deciſive in the field, being now of ſmall avail in war. They being likewiſe compoſed of a number of ſmall independent nations, no one leader was furniſhed with ſuch coercive powers as could give due efficacy to the union. Neither is the manner of life, or habits of the Tartars, ſuited to the ſupport of a continual war; nor would their poverty and deficiency of reſources admit the poſſibility of their keeping the field for any conſiderable length of time, had their diſpoſitions been otherwiſe.

On the other hand, their potent enemy, beſides unlimited power and reſource, and numbers at all times ſuited to the exigency, were themſelves maſters in the art of war, and adepts in all its great modern improvements. They poſſeſſed able generals, experienced officers of all nations, and a line compoſed of veteran troops, inured to war, and trained up in the ſevereſt diſcipline; they were covered with a tremendous artillery, abundantly furniſhed with every weapon and engine invented either for defence or deſtruction, ſupported by ſtores, magazines, and money, and could with little difficulty fortify in a ſhort time whatever poſts they thought proper, in ſuch a manner as to render them impregnable to the enemy. The Ruſſians were likewiſe joined by ſeveral bodies of dependant Tartars, and of Coſſacks poſſeſſing ſimilar qualities, who encountered the enemy in their own manner, being equally expert in the ſuddenneſs and quickneſs of their attacks and evolutions; equal in the endurance of hunger, cold, and fatigue; and equally adapted to the nature and difficulties of country and climate; but with the prodigious advantage of being led or under the direction of experienced officers, and of being infinitely better provided with arms and neceſſaries than their enemy.

But what greater and more deciſive ſuperiority need be mentioned, than that which the Ruſſians derived from their acting in concert under a ſole command; from their being enabled at all times to keep collected in ſtrong bodies ready for action; and from their poſſeſſing an advantage which the Roman legions wanted, that their artillery rendered every camp an impregnable fortreſs to the enemy? Under theſe circumſtances they could lie quiet and ſecure while the enemy was exhauſting his vigour in fruitleſsly traverſing the deſarts, and wait coolly for that occaſion of advantage which could not but ſoon offer: while the Tartars, deſtitute of ſtores and magazines, and having no other proviſion than the ſmall bag of millet which each man carried, or one of the horſes which he rode when that failed, however eminent their ſucceſſes might be, or however inviting the occaſions for keeping the field, were obliged of neceſſity, at a given time, to ſeparate and retire to their reſpective hordes for ſubſiſtence. Then came on the inevitable ſeaſon of danger and ruin; for, living in tents, or in villages not leſs open and defenceleſs, they were either ſurprized and cut to pieces by their active and mercileſs enemy, or if they had the fortune, by notice or accident, to eſcape the ſword, the loſs of their flocks and herds was ſcarcely leſs deſtructive in its conſequences.

In ſuch a ſtate of inequality the object of ſurprize is, how a war could at all exiſt; or at moſt, how its exiſtence could be much more than ephemeral. Yet under theſe diſadvantages, which ſeemed capable of annihilating all the principles of courage, excepting merely the conſciouſneſs of its own dignity, the Tartars appear to have long ſupported it with unexampled conſtancy and reſolution; and notwithſtanding the dearth of intelligence that has prevailed upon the ſubject, enough has tranſpired to ſhew that the Ruſſians have found it full of difficulty and trouble; that their victories have by no means been deciſive; and that however deſtructive they proved to the enemy, they have not been bloodleſs to themſelves.

Some circumſtances of notoriety were neceſſary to the communication of ſuch intelligence as the public have received relative to theſe tranſactions. The fall of a brave German prince, of the houſe of Heſſe Rhinfels, in the autumn of 1784, gave occaſion to the mention of an action, which probably would not otherwiſe have been heard of. Its nature was, however, very differently repreſented. While a victory nearly bloodleſs, excepting in the misfortune that befel the prince, was claimed on one ſide, the accounts from Conſtantinople and Paris deſcribed that event as the conſequence of hard and deſperate fighting. The ſame variation prevailed in general in the accounts which were received through the medium of either of thoſe places, and thoſe which were either publiſhed at or received from Peterſburgh: from which it may be no very unfair concluſion, that exact information was not the principal object in any of their ſtatements.

1785. A victory claimed by Ruſſia in the following year was pretty well authenticated by the capture of a Tartar chan, two of his ſons, and a nephew, who were all brought priſoners to Peterſburgh. This action was, however, acknowledged, even from thence, to have been very ſevere; and it was owned, that in the beginning the ſhock fell ſo heavily upon the regiment of Aſtracan, that it was defeated, ruined, and its colonel killed.

In the latter part of the ſame year, great havock was made and execution done among the Cuban Tartars, by the Ruſſians. It would ſeem that the whole nation had been either ſubdued, cut off, or totally ruined, by the deſtruction of their villages, and the loſs of their flocks and herds at the approach of winter. Brigadier General Apraxin, and a Colonel Nagel, diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly about this time, either againſt the Cuban, or ſome other nations of Tartars; for we cannot pretend to aſcertain dates, places, or circumſtances. It appears, however, that colonel Nagel had the honour of being the firſt who defeated the new prophet, Sheich Manſour, and his adherents; who being diſappointed in the ſuccour which he had taught them to expect from Heaven, were doomed to a ſore conviction, that their fanaticiſm was no proof whatever againſt the Ruſſian bayonets. The prophet fought boldly on foot, at the head of ſeven or eight thouſand of his followers, who were in the ſame ſituation (which evidently ſhews that they were not Tartars); and his own reliance on the divine aid appears to have been ſo weak, that as a ſubſtitute he employed his invention in the conſtruction of ſome ſort of rolling machines, which in their approach to the enemy they puſhed on on before them, as a cover from their fire. But the Ruſſian foot ruſhing on furiouſly with their bayonets, and the cavalry falling in pell-mell upon the wings and rear, this rabble was ſoon routed, and purſued with unremitting ſlaughter. The impoſtor was wounded, but had the fortune to eſcape.

1786. The empreſs had publicly announced, in the beginning of the year of which we are to treat, her intention of making a magnificent progreſs to Cherſon and the Crimea, in order to her being crowned ſovereign of the new conqueſts. This deſign ſeems at firſt to have been conceived in the moſt ſplendid ideas of eaſtern magnificence and grandeur. It was given out that Catharine was to be crowned empreſs of Taurida, and to be declared protectreſs or autocratrix of all the nations of Tartars. That, in order to render the ſolemnization of this great act the more auguſt, aweful, and more extenſively ſtriking, ſhe was to be attended by the patriarch, by ſix archbiſhops, and by a great body of other clergy; which, with the court and its attendants, muſt have formed a prodigious number. Triumphal arches were to be erected, and enriched with ſculpture, devices and inſcriptions, on the approaches to Cherſon, and in the town; the empreſs was to be drawn on the latter part of the way in a triumphal car, crowned with laurel; and the concourſe of people was expected to be ſo great, that the multitudes which attend the pilgrimages to Mecca would no longer be regarded as a wonder. She was beſides to be eſcorted by a formidable army, to be compoſed of no leſs than ſix regiments of cavalry, and 22 of infantry. The magnificence of the proceſſion, whether by land or by water, was to be ſuited to that of the grand concluding ceremonial. A fleet of gallies were built on the Nieper, and beſides their ornaments and embelliſhments, were to be furniſhed with all the accommodations neceſſary for a court, or uſually found in a great city. It ſeemed as if coſt was a matter not to be thought of in theſe preparations; and it ſeems ſcarcely credible, though poſitively aſſerted, that the prodigious ſum of ſeven millions of roubles, (amounting to about a million and a half ſterling) had been originally dedicated to the purpoſe only of thoſe preſents which were to be diſtributed at the coronation. It may poſſibly be thought, that the return of Alexander from India, and the voyage on the Cydnus, were not entirely out of mind in the conception of this deſign.

We are probably to make the ſame allowance for vanity and exaggeration in ſome of theſe accounts, which is uſually neceſſary in ſimilar caſes; but it is, however, certain, that every thing that could be conceived ſplendid or grand, was included in the original deſign, and the uſual magnificence of the empreſs ſeems to give a ſanction to the whole. It is likewiſe to be remembered, that there was a great political object in view in this ſplendour and expence. That it was undoubtedly expected that all the adjoining nations would have been either terrified by the power, or faſcinated by the pomp, ſplendour, and wealth, which were now to be diſplayed, and that the Tartar chiefs, under theſe impreſſions, would not only have rendered the ſcene truly glorious, by coming from all parts to do homage to the new empreſs of the eaſt, but that ſhe would thereby have enlarged and ſecured her dominion without the trouble of war and conqueſt.

But theſe iron-minded Tartars do not appear ever to have had any true taſte for magnificence; excepting, indeed, when they have occaſionally conquered half the world, and that too much wealth, and too long eaſe, have led them by degrees to depart from their ancient inſtitutions, and to adopt the follies and vices of the conquered. In the preſent inſtance, as ſoon as the intended grand progreſs, and its great object, were known, inſtead of producing the expected effect, in dazzling or terrifying the Tartars, it ſerved on the contrary, as a ſignal of general and immediate danger, to cement their union in the ſtrongeſt manner, and to urge them to the greateſt poſſible exertion, and to the moſt determined reſiſtance. This ſoon became apparent; and the war daily became more ſerious. The different confederacies of Tartars were ſaid, in a little time, to amount to a hundred thouſand men; they were ſaid to have ſhewn an unuſual degree of judgment and ſkill in ſeizing the gorges of the mountains, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſtrong poſts and leading paſſes in ſuch a manner, that while they were in a great meaſure ſecure themſelves from attack, they interrupted in a very dangerous degree the Ruſſian communications, not only between different parts of the conquered countries, but between their armies and home. We are to obſerve, that as the particular ſcenes of theſe tranſactions are never ſpecified in the looſe accounts given of them, no aid can be derived from geography in eſtimating their validity.

It however appears, that the deſultory inroads of the Tartars had cauſed much trouble in the new countries, and kept the Ruſſian troops on the frontiers in conſtant employment through the ſummer.— Whether the meaſure adopted by the former of cutting off the communications led to the ſucceeding event, or from whatever other cauſe it might have proceeded, we are totally uninformed, but in the ſucceeding autumn the moſt conſiderable action of the war took place between the Ruſſians and Tartars: the accounts of it from Peterſburgh were very ſhort; ſome mentioning that their troops had received a check, and others acknowledging a defeat on the ſide of Caucaſus; but it was a bare as well as unwilling acknowledgment; not a ſingle particular of the action, nor any ſpecification of the number engaged, or loſs ſuſtained on either ſide, being given. It was, however, repeated in ſubſequent accounts; and what ſhewed the affair to be of no ſmall conſideration, was, that this loſs was ſaid to have greatly ſhaken the intereſt and power of that ſupreme favourite, prince Potemkin, who had long been conſidered as paramount in the affairs of that empire.

That prince was not himſelf in the action, but as he had the unlimited government of thoſe regions, and the ſole conduct of the war, he was liable of courſe to blame for miſadventure, and was charged in this inſtance with ſuffering the army to be ſurprized. There are two ill conſequences that attend a glaring and habitual miſrepreſentation of public affairs, or a concealment of public loſſes; the one is, that if a true ſtatement ever becomes neceſſary it is not credited, and in caſe of concealment, that the loſs is always ſuppoſed and conſidered as being much greater than it really is. This was exemplified in the preſent inſtance. The accounts from Conſtantinople, as well as thoſe through the medium of France, repreſented this as a formal and deciſive battle, in which, they ſaid, that an army of 30,000 Ruſſians had been totally defeated, and nearly cut to pieces. Theſe are, however, as totally deſtitute of all circumſtances and incidents, as thoſe from Peterſburgh; and are undoubtedly as faulty in one reſpect, as the latter in the other.

This extraordinary and unexpected reſiſtance of the Tartars occaſioned, however, a great alteration in the ſcheme of the progreſs to Cherſon. It ſeems to have been greatly narrowed in the deſign, to have been diſencumbered of much of its intended ſuperb magnificence; the great object of the coronation, and of the aſſumption of new titles, was entirely given up; the formidable military force that was expected did not attend; the proceſſion did not take place until the following year; and the only end obtained, ſaving the conferences held with the king of Poland and the emperor, ſeemed to be nothing more than the empreſs's ſhewing herſelf to the new ſubjects, and appearing to take ſome ſort of formal poſſeſſion of Cherſon and the Crimea.

During the war thus carried on in thoſe unmeaſured and almoſt unknown regions, which ſeemed ſcarcely to know any particular owner, the Georgians were ſorely preſſed by their ancient neighbours and eternal enemies the Leſghis Tartars; a nation as brave as themſelves, but who, being leſs civilized, were infinitely more ferocious. A ſort of conſtant war, generally confined to depredation and deſultory incurſion, had probably at all times ſubſiſted between them; but the great objects of religion, general liberty and ſecurity, being now at ſtake with the Tartars, and the Georgians allies to their mortal enemy, the Leſghis, who were principal members of the confederacy, attacked them with a fury and effect before unknown. The Georgians, overborne and diſtreſſed in this war, looked in vain for protection from Ruſſia; which was too much embarraſſed and too diſtant to afford any effectual aid; a circumſtance which could not but be extremely vexatious to the latter, and the more ſo, if the Georgians at this time (which ſeems probable) ſubmitted to deſcend from the ſtate of allies to that of vaſſalage, in the hope of obtaining thereby the more ſpeedy and effectual protection.

The court of Peterſburgh ſeemed to vent her indignation entirely upon the Porte, for all the vexation which this and other untoward circumſtances excited. The Ottomans were charged with being the fomenters of the war, or (what was a more favourite term) rebellion of the Tartars; and were to be made reſponſible for their whole conduct. No great ceremony was uſed at Conſtantinople upon theſe occaſions; threats of war, and denunciations of the heavieſt vengeance, were familiar.

liar. Indeed, this haughty tone, with a high aſſumption of authority, only uſual to vaſſals, is what the Ottoman pride has been conſtantly doomed to ſubmit to, ever ſince its laſt unfortunate and inglorious war.

No meaſures were, however, left untried, which could tend to reconcile the Tartars to the change that was meditated in their condition, and induce them to a voluntary ſubmiſſion to the Ruſſian government. Repeated proclamations were iſſued, aſſuring them of the moſt perfect ſecurity to their religion, and the moſt unlimited freedom in the exerciſe of its rites; at the ſame time, that they were to partake of all the temporal advantages which were enjoyed by the old ſubjects of the empire. The empreſs likewiſe iſſued an ordinance which ſeemed calculated to afford immediate conviction how much their condition would be bettered under her government, by announcing, that in their addreſſes to her they were not, according to the eaſtern form, to ſtyle themſelves her ſlaves, but merely, in the European manner, to ſubſcribe themſelves her loyal ſubjects. But antient prejudices are not eaſily ſubdued; and it does not appear that this condeſcenſion produced any great effect in allaying the obſtinacy of the Tartars.

Some diſcontent or jealouſy on the ſide of the Chineſe occaſioned their putting a temporary ſtop to the trade between Ruſſia and that empire, which is their uſual mode of expreſſing diſſatisfaction or reſentment. The cauſe of this meaſure was unknown at the court of Peterſburgh; but as that commerce is conſidered as being of the greateſt importance to the empire, an embaſſy was in contemplation to China, and the moſt ſpeedy meaſures, which the greatneſs of the diſtance would admit, were adopted, in order to induce the court of Pequin to appoint commiſſioners to meet thoſe of Ruſſia upon the borders, and amicably to adjuſt the matters in difference. But while things were in this unſettled ſtate, advice was received of the death of Kienlong, the emperor of China, a prince deſervedly little leſs than adored by his ſubjects; and who, poſſeſſing all the excellencies to be wiſhed for in a monarch and the father of his people, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the elegant accompliſhments of learning, philoſophy, and poetry; in the latter of which he was conſidered ſo eminent, that tranſlations of ſome of his productions have been tranſmitted into Europe.

A new and ſingular meaſure has been adopted by the empreſs of Ruſſia, by which, reverſing the uſual order of things, inſtead of borrowing money from her ſubjects, ſhe becomes the great money-lender of the empire. Upon this principle ſhe has opened a bank, whoſe capital is to conſiſt of 33 millions of roubles; and is empowered to emit bills, with the currency of money, to the amount of 100 millions more; (which, at the loweſt eſtimate of the rouble, amounts to 20 millions ſterling) but it is particularly reſtricted from ever exceeding this prodigious emiſſion of paper; which, indeed, ſeems more correſpondent to the extent than to the wealth of the empire. Of the capital fund, twenty-two millions is to be lent to the nobleſſe for the term of twenty years, upon mortgages on their eſtates, at an intereſt of five *per cent.* beſides a payment of three *per cent.* which is to be applied annually towards the diſcharge of the original debt. The mortgages are not to include the whole eſtates; but ſuch a number of villages, with the peaſants appertaining to them, as ſhall appear to the directors a ſufficient ſecurity; the peaſants to be eſtimated at forty roubles; but we have no certain knowledge whether whole families or heads are thus rated. The mortgaged eſtates are not ſubject to confiſcation; but heavy pecuniary mulcts ariſe upon any delay in paying either the five *per cent.* intereſt, or the three *per cent.* which is allotted to the diſcharge of the principal; and if theſe mulcts are not ſufficient to remedy the contumacy or neglect, the directors are to take the adminiſtration of the eſtate into their own hands. Four periods are ſtated in the courſe of the term, at any of which the borrower may redeem his eſtate by paying off the remaining debt.

The remaining eleven millions of the capital are deſtined to the encouragement both of foreign commerce and of the internal trade of the empire, by being lent out to the merchants and retail dealers for the term of twenty-two years, at only four *per cent.* intereſt, with the ſame annual application of three *per cent.* towards the diſcharge of the principal. The bank is likewiſe to act as an inſurance-office with reſpect to fire, but the houſes muſt be built of ſtone; and all foreigners, as well as natives, are admitted to the privilege of depoſiting their money in it, and of having the empreſs's royal word pledged to them as a ſecurity. The ordinance for this eſtabliſhment conveys an admonition to the nobleſſe, which will probably oblige many of them to become borrowers, however they may happen or not to approve of the conditions; for they are warned, that the empreſs having provided ſuch a fund for their ſupport, it is expected that they will be more punctual in fulfilling of their engagements than they have hitherto been; and that it is therefore ordered, that all who have given bonds, notes, or bills of exchange, and have failed in the payment, or who have contracted any debts whatever, ſhall be proſecuted, without any diſtinction of perſons, with the utmoſt rigour. As this admonition can only relate to debts owing to the crown, and that theſe muſt have ariſen generally through the inability of the poorer part of the nobility or landholders to diſcharge the taxes riſing on their eſtates as they became due, it follows that they muſt borrow money at intereſt from it with one hand, and pay it back at the ſame inſtant with the other: and that the inability being thus continually increaſing, while the taxes remain always the ſame, the eſtates will in time become ſo deeply involved, as to reduce the owners to abſolute dependence and beggary; the more eſpecially, as a provident foreſight in the conduct of their affairs is perhaps leſs the characteriſtic of that order of men in Ruſſia, than even in other countries.

A bank founded on ſome of theſe principles, corrected by certain modifications, might undoubtedly be very deſirable, and productive of much benefit, in any country where the laws were ſuperior to the will of the ſovereign, and where the public were ſecurity for the money, and for fulfilling the preſcribed covenants. But in a deſpotic government, which ever carries the principles of inſtability in its very nature, where the ſhort but magic words "*we will,*" are paramount to all laws, can in a breath overthrow all covenants, and cancel all obligations, and where the unfortunate ſufferers dare not even to hint diſlike, much leſs to claim right, or to complain of wrong, it will be eaſily ſeen that ſuch a meaſure is liable to be pregnant with danger and ruin to the people; and that it might be eaſily converted to an engine for drawing much of the landed property, and the greater part of the money of the country, within the vortex of the crown.

The reigning duke of Courland has long been out of favour at the court of Peterſburgh, and being now repreſented or ſuppoſed to be in a precarious ſtate of health, it has afforded an opportunity of marching a body of Ruſſian troops into that duchy, under the colour of ſupporting the freedom of election in caſe of his demiſe; a pretence ſufficient to excite the riſibility of thoſe who are not too ſeriouſly affected by their intereſt in the country to laugh at being reminded of its condition.

While the Grand Signior, in conformity with the circumſtances of the empire, endeavoured in ſome ſort to reſtrain the indignation excited by the continued threat and inſult offered, and the never-ending claims and demands made by Ruſſia, he, however, thought it neceſſary to prepare his ſubjects for that laſt reſort, which he well knew muſt be the inevitable conſequence of her views and conduct. He accordingly publiſhed a ſort of appeal to the people at large, and which was evidently intended to extend its effect to all believers whatever of the Mahometan doctrines, in which the language and colouring were ſo ſtrong, that he ſeemed not only to depart entirely from his uſual caution and forbearance, but it appeared actually tantamount to a declaration of war. In this piece he repreſented his own invariable moderation, his inviolable adherence to faith and to treaty, the repeated wrongs and injuries which he had endured, the great conceſſions and ſacrifices he had made, particularly in ſubmitting to the uſurpation of the Crimea and the adjoining provinces, through his anxious deſire of preſerving the public tranquillity, and ſecuring his people from the numberleſs evils ever incident to war. That his deſign and endeavours were fruſtrated by the violence, injuſtice, and rapacity of their enemies, by their repeated violation of faith and of treaties; their ambition being ſo inſatiate, that he no ſooner ſubmitted to their injuſtice in one inſtance, however great the conceſſion, than they immediately required others ſtill more exorbitant than the former. That they had ſcarcely eſtabliſhed their uſurpations on the borders of the Black Sea, than they endeavoured to extend them into Aſia, to countries ſo remote that they could not pretend any connection with them; that having inſidiouſly prevailed on ſome of his vaſſals to depart from their allegiance, but being bravely repelled by others, they had made it a ground of new quarrel with him, that he would not become the inſtrument of puniſhing his ſubjects or friends for their fidelity and courage. He therefore called upon all true Muſſulmen ſeriouſly to reflect upon their condition, to arm their bodies and their minds to withſtand the approaching danger, and to be ready with hearts and with hands to ſupport the ſtandard of their prophet when it ſhould be exalted; that it would not be a war of ambition but of ſelf-defence; that their religion and every thing dear were now at ſtake, for that nothing leſs than the extermination of every thing Ottoman, and of all true believers, could ſatisfy their inveterate enemies.

The moſt vigorous meaſures were at the ſame time adopted for ſuppreſſing the diſorders of the empire, regulating its internal affairs, and reducing the malcontents or rebels in the diſtant provinces, that its whole collected force, without domeſtic obſtruction or embarraſſment, might be brought to act in the common defence, when the arduous queſtion of exiſtence as a great people, or of final ruin, came to be decided at the point of the ſword, and all hope muſt be centered in their own exertions to emulate the courage and virtue of their anceſtors.

The baſha of Scutari, who had one of the braveſt and fierceſt nations of the empire, the antient Epirots, under his government, had for ſome time been in a ſtate of open rebellion, or, if he did not abſolutely deny the ſovereignty, totally rejected the authority of the Porte; waged continual and generally ſucceſsful war with the baſhas of the adjoining countries, and committed the greateſt ravage and cruelties in their governments, as well as his own.

But, however important this object was, there was another of much greater conſideration. Egypt, the great granary of the empire, and the unfailing reſource of its armies for proviſion, had long been in the moſt deplorable ſtate. The country was torn to pieces and deſolated by the endleſs contentions and wars between the rebel Beys; in which the people, beſides ſupporting their ſeveral armies, and ſupplying their reſpective extortions, were expoſed to all the ravage and devaſtation which they could have experienced from the moſt cruel foreign enemy. Murat Bey, and his party, had of late gained ſo ſupreme an aſcendancy, that he was become in a great meaſure the abſolute deſpot of that kingdom; and was at leaſt ſo without reſtriction in the Lower Egypt, which is ſo much the moſt fruitful and wealthy part of the country.

This man was cruel beyond meaſure, and, if poſſible, more rapacious than he was cruel; he poſſeſſed, in common with the Mamalucks in general, a fierce and unconquerable courage; inherited from nature all the qualities neceſſary to form a great commander and conqueror; and had acquired, in the petty wars in which he was nurtured, no ſmall portion of military addreſs and experience. He had of late extended his rapacity and oppreſſion to the Europeans, extorted money from the merchants, and without regard to the laws and cuſtoms of nations, or to the intereſts of a country formed by nature for commerce, treated the conſuls with ſuch contumely, if not violence, that the Chriſtian reſidents at Conſtantinople found themſelves under a neceſſity of applying, on the part of their reſpective nations, to that government for redreſs and future protection. The Porte have, however, ſince, endeavoured to throw all the fault of theſe tranſactions upon the Ruſſian conſul at

Alexandria, who, they aſſert, had been the adviſer and inſtigator of Murat Bey, in all the oppreſſion and injury offered to the Chriſtians of the weſtern nations of Europe. Nor do they ſtop here, but inſiſt, that all the troubles of Egypt had originated in the ſame quarter, and that the fore-mentioned conſul had been the agent in firſt exciting the Beys to rebellion, and then kept up the flame, by the conſtant correſpondence between his court and them, of which he was the medium.

The hope of obtaining redreſs at Conſtantinople ſeemed ſmall indeed, when it was recollected that that government had neither influence or authority left in the country where the grievance ſubſiſted. The complaint ſerved, however, perhaps, to rivet the attention of the Porte more cloſely to the ſubject of Egypt; for it ſeems to have been almoſt immediately after that Haſſan Bey, the Captain Pacha, or Grand Admiral, laid the great deſign of recovering that rich kingdom. His ſcheme, which was worthy of the founder, was not confined merely to the immediate reduction of that country; it extended to its future eſtabliſhment; to the annihilation of the Mamuluck race, (if ſuch it might be called) by the total extinction of the order of the Beys, and by adopting thoſe means which would prevent the poſſibility of its revival; and when this eſſential buſineſs was performed, he intended to divide the country into five diſtinct governments, under the immediate authority of the Porte, and all the officers of its own appointment. Thus would he have provided immenſe reſources, not only of proviſions but of money, for the ſupport of the future war.

This buſineſs was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion was not entertained of the deſign, until it was revealed in the execution. Two fleets were equipped as uſual for the Archipelago and the Black Sea; the Captain Pacha commanded the former. A train of artillery, with all the ſtores and proviſions neceſſary for an army, were already on board the ſhips, and had been embarked with ſuch dexterity, as to be totally unknown at Conſtantinople. In the ſame manner he drew twenty thouſand troops on board, without obſervation or notice, part at the Dardanelles, part at Meteline, and part at Scio.

The Grand Admiral then proceeded directly for the Nile, and landed his forces at Roſetta, whither an army haſtily collected was ſent by the uſurper to attack him; but the enemy was totally routed, diſperſed, and a great carnage made of them. The victor, purſuing his blow, advanced towards Grand Cairo, where Murat Bey, with his aſſociate Ibrahim, at the head of a great army, compoſed of all the braveſt Mamalucks, and the beſt troops of Egypt, were waiting to receive him. The enemy were ſo vaſtly ſuperior in number, beſides poſſeſſing ſome excellent cavalry, and ſo confident in their own courage, that they deſpiſed the Turks, whom they conſidered as a deſtined prey.

The battle took place in the approaches to that great city, on the ſide of the ſuburb of Boulah. The Captain Pacha, who never ſeemed ſo much in his own element as in a field of battle, led the way to victory. At ſeventy years of age that illuſtrious veteran threw himſelf into the front of the battle, and with all the ardour of youth ruſhed ſabre in hand amidſt the thickeſt ranks of the enemy. His officers and troops, fired by the example, fell on with ſuch fury, that nothing could withſtand their impetuoſity. To whatever ſide the general directed his courſe, rout and diſmay were immediately ſpread around. No victory could be more complete. A prodigious ſlaughter was made, the fugitives totally diſperſed, and every thing belonging to the enemy's camp became a ſpoil. Grand Cairo became the immediate prize of victory; and the enemy had been ſo confident of ſucceſs, that conſiderable treaſures were obtained.

Murat and Ibrahim Bey had the fortune, through the excellency of their Arabian horſes, to eſcape to the Upper Egypt, after a long and ſevere chace, in which they had more than once been in the utmoſt danger, and obliged to ſhift their courſe from one ſide to the other of the river. The ſurviving Arabians who adhered to them had probably a principal ſhare in this good fortune. Their eſcape, however, prevented the Captain Pacha's triumph from being complete, his deſign of eſtabliſhing a new government from being carried into execution; and the rebel Beys again recovered in ſuch a degree, that they were enabled to ſupport a long, bloody, and dangerous war.

The joy and even tranſport which theſe victories excited at Conſtantinople, after ſo long and gloomy an age of degradation and calamity, could not be eaſily deſcribed. Spoils and trophies were ſuch new things, that the people could ſcarcely believe their eyes, and were nearly beſide themſelves when they did; even the Porte could not conceal its triumph, and ſeemed to recover ſome part of its antient countenance. The apprehenſion and diſmay which had long been prevalent ſeemed to wear off, and an appearance of firmneſs and dignity to take place. Nor was the effect leſs upon its dangerous rivals, who were obſerved to fall off conſiderably from that haughty tone and authoritative language, which had been every day growing more familiar; and there ſeemed to be ſome inſtant recollection, that the manner of dictating to a vaſſal, and of converſing with an equal, was in ſome reſpects different. Indeed this alteration in language and manner was ſo obſervable, that it was popularly received as an evidence that all differences and jealouſies had been done away, and that concord and harmony were now to take place.

In all the turmoils and dangers of their ſituation, the Porte did not relax in the deſign of encouraging arts, ſciences, and learning, among the people, and of opening a new day of knowledge to the Ottoman nation. Of this diſpoſition a ſtriking inſtance was given, in their going to the pains and expence of procuring proper perſons to undertake the great and very difficult taſk, of tranſlating the voluminous French Encyclopediæ into the Turkiſh language. And though the mufti and clergy made a violent oppoſition to this meaſure, as a kind of ſacrilege with reſpect to their prophet and religion, yet the court ſeemed ſo determined in its deſign, as to employ agents both in France and

Italy, who were to ſtand at no price in purchaſing the old plates of that work, in order to illuſtrate the tranſlation with copies of the original deſigns.

The emperor is ſo deeply engaged, or takes ſo great a concern in all the affairs of Ruſſia and the Porte, that any view of their political ſituation in which he was not included would ſeem extremely defective. His conduct in the preſent year ſeemed, however, to be ſo entirely regulated by that of the former, as to afford few marks of diſtinction, and to leave but little room for particular obſervation. The looſe unſpecific claims about limits, and a new demarcation of them, intermixed with continually varying demands of the ſurrender of Belgrade, and of different parts or the whole of the kingdom of Servia, and of Turkiſh Croatia and Boſnia, kept the ground open for conſtant altercation and threat, and could not fail, when the occaſion offered, to afford a colour for proceeding to any ſudden extremity that ſeemed to promiſe advantage. It was obſervable, through this courſe of vexatious brangling, that the voice of the court of Vienna was alternately raiſed or lowered, in direct uniſon with that of the court of Peterſburgh. It had been ſuppoſed by many, who did not conſider the little effect which ſuch circumſtances produce upon ambition, that the extraordinary perſonal attentions which the Turkiſh commanders and governors paid to the emperor, on his military tour this year along the frontiers, had greatly ſoftened if not entirely changed his diſpoſition with reſpect to the Ottomans. The Turks, indeed, wiſhed, endeavoured, and would have done any thing that was not in a great degree ruinous to themſelves, to prevent his becoming a declared enemy; as it was that apprehenſion which tied up their hands with reſpect to Ruſſia, or at leaſt that rendered her ſo terrible to them. But the means of attaining that favourite point were not (unfortunately to them) within their reach. Formidable armies, equal reſources, and a proſperous ſtate of public affairs, were not to be gained by a wiſh.

The emperor's attention was likewiſe, as uſual, engaged by a multiplicity of internal affairs. The completion, alteration, amendment, or retraction of his numberleſs projects, ſchemes of reform, inſtitutions, regulations, and eſtabliſhments, preſented ſo vaſt and ſo complex a maſs of matter, that its adjuſtment, and the endeavour to reconcile the heterogeneous and eternally claſhing parts, ſeemed to go beyond the comprehenſion of any ſingle mind. Yet the fertility of invention and genius that produced theſe, inſtead of being exhauſted, ſeemed to become more prolific, and was continually increaſing the magnitude of the maſs, and of courſe adding to the number and greatneſs of the difficulties. The articles of eccleſiaſtical reform and commercial regulation, branched out into the numberleſs ramifications that they were, ſeemed either of them ſeparately to require the labour of an age, along with all the experience to be acquired in that time, for their completion and final eſtabliſhment.

A greater and more difficult taſk even than theſe was, however, in hand. This was no leſs than the abrogation of the old laws, and the eſtabliſhment of an entire new code.

Legiſlation is now become an object of emulation and ambition, as much as conqueſt or victory. Frederic and Catharine opened the way; and there could be little doubt of their examples eſtabliſhing a faſhion. This code was at firſt greatly cried up for its humanity, from its having nearly or entirely excluded death from its ſyſtem of puniſhment; but it was ſoon found that the commutations were, in many inſtances, ſo exceedingly ſevere, that the moſt cruel death would have been, comparatively, an act of humanity and mercy. In ſmaller crimes too, the puniſhments are extremely ſevere, and in many caſes degrading to human nature. But though a cold, auſtere, and cruel principle ſeems to pervade the whole ſyſtem, its greateſt evil perhaps is, that the modes of trial are ſo defective, and the inflictions ſo arbitrary, that no innocency of life or character ſeem to afford a ſufficient ſecurity from the oppreſſion of power, or the malice even of its inferior miniſters.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs, notwithſtanding this great labour, continued ſtill to occupy no ſmall ſhare of the emperor's attention. After the numberleſs reforms already made, it was ſtill diſcovered that more was to be done; and new edicts and regulations were nearly as frequent as ever. One of theſe was an order in future for abridging the divine ſervice, and for the entire ſuppreſſion of vocal performers in choirs; the medical profeſſors having diſcovered that this meaſure would tend greatly to the health of the youth who were uſually employed as choriſters, and the political projectors, that it will afford them much time for application to uſeful ſcience. — We believe this edict relates only to convents and the regular clergy, at leaſt that it does not extend to cathedrals; although the wording of it renders the ſenſe in that reſpect doubtful.

An edict was likewiſe iſſued, commanding all rectors and pariſh prieſts to make uſe of the vernacular tongue, inſtead of the Latin language, in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. The chanting of hymns in private houſes was alſo thought an object of attention, and accordingly forbidden, as being introductory to innovations in religion, and likewiſe a check to induſtry. This order is probably levelled at ſome of the reformed congregations. Several proclamations were publiſhed, enforcing a former imperial decree for the aboliſhing of holidays; and to give them the more certain effect pecuniary mulcts were to be levied upon thoſe magiſtrates who neglected to exact a compliance with them.

The prevalent diſpoſition for the reduction of the religious orders ſeemed this year to loſe ſomewhat of its primary ſpirit; the ſuppreſſion of ſix or ſeven chapters, with the convents of the capuchins, recollects, and dominicans, in Styria and Carinthia, and of the Franciſcan friars at Vienna, being the only inſtances we know of; the monaſtery of the latter has been converted into a ſchool for ſoldiers children. It appeared, by an authenticated liſt publiſhed this year, that 413 monaſteries, and 211 nunneries, had been ſuppreſſed from the year 1782 to the preſent; and that the number of conventual clergy in the Auſtrian dominions, which, in the year 1779, amounted to 64,890, was reduced ſomething more than one-third.

But the court of Rome was deſtined to receive a greater ſhock to its power in Germany from another quarter, than all perhaps that it had yet ſuſtained from the emperor. The German prelacy, taking advantage of his diſpoſition, ſeem determined not to loſe the golden opportunity, which they ſo often before ſought in vain, of calling in the great official powers lodged in his hands, to act in concurrence with their own, in emancipating themſelves entirely from the Italian yoke in the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical affairs. The right aſſumed by the pope of interference in their metropolitan government had nearly at all times, as well long before, as at and ſince the period of the reformation, been conſidered, and even ſometimes ſtoutly reſiſted by the German biſhops, not only as an intolerable grievance, but as a groſs invaſion of their rights, and a badge of ſervitude which they very unwillingly wore.

The reſidence of nuncios, who were the pope's immediate inſtruments, and the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction which they aſſumed, were conſidered as ſumming up in themſelves the whole amount of the grievance, and as being the ſtanding monuments of the wrong and oppreſſion complained of. This was accordingly that part of the evil which it was in contemplation firſt to ſhake off. The emperor, notwithſtanding all his reforms, ſtill permitted the continuance of the nuncio at Vienna, which was probably in reverence to the memory and character of the late empreſs queen, whoſe attachment to the holy ſee was univerſally known; but he was not permitted at all to interfere in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and was conſidered and treated merely as a political agent or reſident from the pope. Another nuncio had been eſtabliſhed at Cologne, in the time of the late elector, and his continuance had hitherto been permitted by the preſent, although he aſſumed an authority, which only ſerved to revive and increaſe the diſlike to that character, both with the reigning prince and with his eccleſiaſtical neighbours.

In this ſtate of things, the bigotry of the ſecular court of Munich would go to counteract or overthrow the deſigns of the eccleſiaſtical princes, who were the only competent judges of their own rights and privileges, and of thoſe things which related to or affected their government, whether temporal or eccleſiaſtical, by officiouſly inviting a nuncio to reſide in that city, with a view to his aſſuming a ſupreme eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction over Bavaria and the Palatinate, under the immediate ſanction of the electoral power. Upon the firſt intelligence of this deſign, the elector of Mentz, and the archbiſhop of Saltzburg, took the alarm, and immediately applied to the emperor for his official interpoſition and protection in the preſervation of their rights.

That prince accordingly publiſhed throughout the empire a document under the title of a memorial, upon the ſubject; in which, after reciting the application, and the motives to it, he acknowledges it to be his duty, as the ſupreme patron of the Germanic conſtitution in church and ſtate, to grant the protection required; and that as he had never failed in any inſtance in giving the fulleſt proofs of his patriotic zeal for the welfare and ſupport of both, ſo it behoved him in the preſent, as a good friend to his moſt gracious brother and aſſociate, the elector of Mentz, not only to maintain the rights of biſhops within their reſpective dioceſes, but alſo to contribute, with all his might, to their recovering all ſuch rights as they had been originally entitled to, of which they have been diſpoſſeſſed for many centuries, and the loſs of which was occaſioned by temporary accidents, and unwarrantable encroachments.

That he was therefore reſolved to make known to the whole empire, in the cleareſt and moſt explicit manner, his way of thinking on that ſubject; and alſo to declare to the court of Rome, that he will never ſuffer any prelates of the empire to be any ways annoyed in the free exerciſe of their metropolitan rights, which they hold from God and the church; that he means to look on the nuncios as ſo many envoys from the pope, both in political matters, and in ſuch caſes as more immediately concern him as head of the church: that he abſolutely cannot permit their having in future any juriſdiction in eccleſiaſtical matters, nor can he allow them to preſide in any private court of judicature. He then earneſtly exhorts the prelates, in the terms of dearly beloved, that as he thus imparts to them his real ſentiments, they will, on their ſide, reſiſt all attempts upon their metropolitan rights, as well as thoſe of their ſuffragans, and ſternly to oppoſe all encroachments and uſurpations which the court of Rome might be guilty of againſt their rights and government: in doing which he gives them the moſt poſitive aſſurances of the imperial protection in its utmoſt extent.—He concludes by declaring, that he will be ſtrictly attentive to all queſtions concerning benefices, in order to keep up to the very letter the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions peculiar to the Germanic body.

It was not very long after the publication of this memorial, when, at a conference held by the eccleſiaſtical princes of the empire at Ratiſbon, the following reſolutions were debated, and (according to the moſt authentic information we are able to procure) received the aſſent of the convention.—To withdraw themſelves entirely from the juriſdiction of the pope in their eccleſiaſtical government.—To acknowledge no other ſupreme than the emperor.—To revive the antient complaints of the German nation againſt the encroachments of the holy ſee; and to claim his protection for the reſtoration of all their former rights to the German biſhops.—And, to eſtabliſh new regulations relative to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

Thus did the raſh and untimely interference of a miſguided prince in its favour accelerate that final overthrow to the power of the court of Rome, which might otherwiſe, perhaps, have been yet for ſome time longer evaded; and thus was an end put, in the year 1786, to that domination in Germany, which ſhe had for ſo many ages ſucceſſively maintained.

The emperor, notwithſtanding the multiplicity of his objects of reform, did not overlook even the ſocieties of free-maſons; upon thoſe in his German dominions he impoſed ſeveral reſtrictions which muſt to them be exceedingly grievous;

and though he acknowledged himſelf totally ignorant of their myſteries, (an ignorance which he declared his full determination of continuing in) and acknowledged his having known or heard of benefits ariſing from the inſtitution, yet the language of the regulations conveyed implications of an odious or degrading nature againſt them. Their ſocieties in Germany, beſides being very numerous, abounding with names of high rank and conſideration, great intereſt was uſed to prevent the obnoxious paſſages from making their way into the world, by propoſing to ſubſtitute other terms, which would produce the ſame effect, without the ſting of implication; but no relaxation whatever could be obtained, and the edict was publiſhed in its original form. Their brethren in the Netherlands were, however, ſtill leſs fortunate, the order there being entirely aboliſhed (ſo far as power could reach to do it) and their future aſſembling prohibited.

This prince, beſides the ſignal benefits which he had before conferred on the Jews, engaged ſo warmly this year in their favour, as to write letters himſelf to the different trading and handycraft corporations of Vienna, requeſting that their youth might be received as apprentices in the various trades and callings of that city.

The ruinous vice of gaming, ſo deſtructive in all places, and ſo difficult, if not impoſſible, to be entirely reſtrained in any, has, poſſibly from that very circumſtance, excited the indignation of Joſeph (who will not admit any difficulty to ſtand in the way of reform) in the higheſt degree. All games of chance are particularly prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties; and ſo rigidly is the law enforced, that eleven officers of grenadiers were, in a ſingle inſtance, not only deprived of their commiſſions, but degraded to the humiliating condition of ſerving in the ranks as common ſoldiers: a puniſhment which we hitherto conceived to have been peculiar to the Ruſſian ſervice.

It would have been more curious, if there had not been previous inſtances of it, that the emperor, who in the commencement of his reign held out ſuch unlimited freedom, as well as protection to the preſs, ſhould now iſſue an order totally forbidding any mention whatever of the Germanic league, or of the exchange of Bavaria, in any publication within his dominions. It was, however, rendered rather ſingular by the circumſtance that a celebrated court writer had juſt finiſhed and prepared for the preſs an elaborate treatiſe, intended to overthrow every thing that had ever been advanced, whether againſt the propoſed exchange, or in juſtification of the Germanic league.

The uſual diſpoſition to new arrangement, or perhaps, with more propriety, the uſual prevalent deſire of rendering every thing within his dominions perfectly Auſtrian, as well with reſpect to arrangement as government, the one habitually preparing the people by degrees to ſlide the more eaſily into the other, appeared this year in the Netherlands, as we have ſeen it before did in Hungary. Theſe confined provinces are to be apportioned into circles; but as Germany in its antient and moſt extended ſtate was circumſcribed within ten circles, in a corner of one of which theſe were then included, ſo, in due gradation, the Netherlands are now to be compriſed in nine. By this means the people in each circle will not only be admitted into the enjoyment of ſuch portion of ſplendour and happineſs as may be ſuppoſed incident to a diſtinct government, but they will likewiſe (as it is fondly conceived) by degrees loſe all vexatious recollection of their former governments and condition; for it cannot be forgotten, how great are the effects of terms, as diſtinguiſhed from ideas, both in facilitating the government of mankind, and in rendering them intractible to it. The Auſtrian Lombardy is to undergo a ſimilar arrangement, and to be tortured into eight diviſions; which will undoubtedly ſerve to increaſe the local ſelf-importance of the people, however deficient it may prove in extending their improvements, or in promoting their proſperity.

The ſpirit of innovation continues ſtill to ſhew itſelf in Hungary in ſmall matters as well as in great, of which a freſh inſtance was given in removing the courts of juſtice, and the ſeat of government, from Preſburgh back to Buda, the antient capital of that kingdom, from which they had been removed about two centuries ago, upon that city's falling into the hands of the Turks. It is, however, to be obſerved, that Buda ſeemed deſigned by nature for being the capital of that country; that its ſituation is much more centrical than that of Preſburg; and that the motive for a predilection for the latter could only proceed from its vicinity to Vienna, by which it was immediately under the eye of the court.

It was not to be expected that the ſame keen eye, from which no other object of regulation could eſcape, would ſuffer the numerous body of proſtitutes in Vienna to paſs unnoticed. They are now compelled to take up their reſidence in four large buildings aſſigned for the purpoſe, and are totally diſqualified from appearing in the ſtreets in their profeſſional character. A ſuppreſſed convent is ſaid to be one of the buildings aſſigned to this order of nuns.—Such is the mixture of burleſque which accompanies this activity of regulation, both civil and religious!

But notwithſtanding the multiplicity of domeſtic buſineſs in which the emperor ſeemed entirely immerſed, it did not prevent his paying the moſt watchful attention to the affairs and diſtractions of Holland. It was not, however, underſtood, that he ſurveyed the condition of that republic by any means with a friendly eye. On the contrary, diſputes were raiſed relative to the navigation of the Swin, and every petty occaſion ſeized which could afford room for diſpute. At the ſame time, a public requeſt made by the ſtates general to the government of the Auſtrian Netherlands, for liberty to export Dutch herrings to Oſtend, was rejected by the emperor himſelf, in terms the moſt peremptory as well as laconic that could be deviſed.

In defiance of the ſo lately concluded treaty of peace, and apparently of friendſhip, a new and ſerious claim was likewiſe prepared, and ready to be enforced when the proper ſeaſon arrived. This was a renewal of the claim upon the Eaſt India trade, which a Mr. Rancour was employed to juſtify in a treatiſe publiſhed for the purpoſe.

This writer was not content to reſt the juſtice of the claim upon the natural and inalienable rights of the Auſtrian Netherlands to a ſhare in that commerce, but he undertook to prove that thoſe rights had been confirmed and eſtabliſhed, not only by the treaty of Munſter and all former ones, but by the late treaty of 1785, one of whoſe principal objects, on one ſide, had been entirely to do away that claim, and thereby finally cloſe the diſpute.

CHAP. IX.

Death of the king of Pruſſia. Some account of that great prince. Hoſpitals for diſtreſſed old age of all nations endowed by him in Berlin. Temper and diſpoſition ſoftened and rendered more kindly by age. Leaves his ſucceſſor the beſt ſecurities to a kingdom, in a full treaſury, excellent armies, and ſubjects ſtrongly attached to the government. Popular meaſures purſued by the preſent king. Reſtores the German language to its proper place, in the room of the French, which had been uſed at court, and in all public tranſactions, during the late reign. Patronizes the native literature as well as language. Prohibits irreligious publications. Forbids duelling, and erects a court of honour.—Perſecution of the free-maſons by the Elector Palatine, occaſions M. de Born indignantly to return his diplomas, and to abandon the academy of ſciences at Munich.—Northern kingdoms. Dearth, and its conſequent diſtreſſes, continued in both. Diet held at Stockholm, after an intermiſſion of eight years. King of Sweden aboliſhes the torture. Daniſh Eaſt India company reſign their ſtock into the hands of the king. Junction between the Baltic and ocean, by a navigable canal drawn acroſs the peninſula of Jutland.—France. Commercial treaty with England. Attention to her marine and commerce. Stupendous works carrying on at Cherburgh, in order to render it a great naval arſenal. King viſits that place. Religious prejudices happily wearing away. Foreigners of all religious perſuaſions and countries invited to ſettle in the kingdom, with the privileges of purchaſing lands, and of enjoying the rights of citizens. Colony of quakers and baptiſts arrive from North America, to ſettle at Dunkirk. Great encouragement to foreign merchants, artiſts, and manufacturers to ſettle in France. Meaſures already adopted in favour of the native proteſtants, to be conſidered as a happy opening towards their reſtoration in a more perfect degree to the rights of citizens. Edict in favour of the peaſantry. Edict in favour of the ſubject with reſpect to perſonal arreſts, and the ſeizure or detainer of his property, under the local authority of cities and corporations in which he is not a reſident. Singular inſtance of a Free Black of the Iſle of France, being elected a correſponding member of the royal academy of ſciences.

THERE was no event that marked the year of which we treat in ſuch ſtriking and indelible colours, as the death of the great Frederick, the illuſtrious king of Pruſſia. If he was not the founder of an empire, he accompliſhed a more arduous taſk than even that, under its uſually concurrent circumſtances, has generally proved: for, ſurrounded as he was by great and jealous potentates, poſſeſſed of immenſe ſtanding armies, and at a time when diſcipline and the art of war were ſuppoſed to have been already carried to their ultimate point of perfection, he, merely by the powers of ſuperior genius and ability, raiſed a ſcattered, ill-ſorted, disjointed dominion, into the firſt rank of power, glory, and renown; and the newly-founded kingdom of Pruſſia ſoon became, under his auſpices, the terror or admiration of mankind.

But though he muſt always be conſidered as one of the greateſt captains and maſters of the art of war that ever lived, and as having carried military diſcipline and field evolution to a degree of perfection before unthought of, and which is now the great object of imitation with all martial nations; his mind was too comprehenſive, and his genius too vaſt, to be confined to tactics, or the buſineſs of the field; and he ſhone forth at the ſame time with no leſs ambition of fame, in all the different characters of legiſlator, hiſtorian, poet, and philoſopher.

In the courſe of his long and exceedingly hard fought wars, contending againſt a combination of power which has ſeldom been equalled, and with ſome of the firſt generals and greateſt nations, he ſuſtained with unfailing conſtancy, and an unconquerable fortitude, the moſt diſmal reverſes of fortune that perhaps have ever been experienced and recovered by any commander; he having been repeatedly and ſuddenly depreſſed from the higheſt pinnacle of ſucceſs to the loweſt extreme of diſtreſs and adverſity; inſomuch, that even the continuance of his exiſtence as a ſovereign was more than once a queſtion ſufficiently dubious. Through a noble perſeverance, and the ſtrenuous exertions of his admirable genius, he ſtill ſurmounted his difficulties and dangers: fortune again ſmiled, and ſeemed only to plunge him in adverſity, that he might riſe with brighter glory.

In eſtimates of real character we muſt neceſſarily take mankind ſuch as they are, compounds of good and of evil, of great and of little; we ſhould in vain look for reſemblances to thoſe imaginary heroes, who are repreſented as ſo bedizened with virtues, that nothing like nature or truth can be perceived about them; and the picture exhibits, as the poet happily obſerves, "thoſe faultleſs monſters which the world ne'er ſaw." On the contrary, the ſhades in Frederick's character were as ſtrongly marked as the bright parts, and we ſhall perhaps find that his great qualities had even more than their due proportion of alloy. There certainly have been great captains and conquerors, who afforded ſuperior inſtances of a noble and generous nature to any that he had the fortune of exhibiting; who were happily better calculated to excite the affection as well as the admiration of mankind; and who were free from many of the defects of his character.—To ſay that his ambition was boundleſs, would be no more than ſaying that he held the vice common to great ſituations; but his ambition aſſorted too much with rapacity to captivate the imagination, as it otherwiſe might have done; and he looked more to his intereſt than his fame in the means which he ſometimes uſed for the attainment of his objects. A ſtrict œconomy, indeed, was indiſpenſably neceſſary to the peculiarity of his ſituation, and to the ſupport of ſuch prodigious armies, with means which would have been totally inadequate in any other hands; but he puſhed this virtue too far towards the oppoſite extreme, ſo as to carry too much the appearance of a degrading parſimony; and it muſt be acknowledged, by thoſe who pay the greateſt reſpect to his eminent qualities, that he was more fond of gold than correſponds with the eſtabliſhed ideas of a great man.

Frederick could brook no oppoſition to his will either in word or in action; was to the laſt degree implacable in his reſentments; and inheriting from nature, as well as deriving from education and example, a diſpoſition extremely harſh, deſpotic, and occaſionally cruel, it could not be expected that it would have been leſſened by the horrors and carnage of war, any more than by the continual perſonal enforcement in peace of that auſtere military diſcipline eſtabliſhed by himſelf, which was as unequalled in its rigour and ſeverity, as in all other reſpects; and by which, man being reduced to the ſtate of a living machine, was conſidered and treated merely as ſuch.

But the latter part of his life ſeemed calculated to make amends to mankind for all the ravage and deſolation which his ambition had occaſioned in the foregoing; to give a new colour to his character; and to caſt a ſoftening ſhade of benignity over all its parts. He became the father as well as the legiſlator of his ſubjects; and to them the milk of human nature ſeemed overflowing in his compoſition. The extraordinary expences to which he went in peopling and cultivating the ſterile or deſart waſtes which extended over ſuch vaſt tracts of his dominions, were only limited by the extent and number of the objects to which they were applicable. For though his attention was in a conſiderable degree directed to almoſt every branch of improvement, yet agriculture was his great and favourite object; and he accordingly adopted every meaſure that could render the huſbandman eaſy and comfortable in his circumſtances, and ſecure in the poſſeſſion of his property. And if he deſerves praiſe for having attained theſe ends in the latter and more ſerene parts of his career, it muſt ſurely be conſidered as the greater glory of his reign, and one peculiar to himſelf, that when moſt unfortunate in war, and when moſt oppreſſed by an unequalled combination of hoſtile power, yet, that in all the ſingular diſtreſſes to which he was at thoſe ſeaſons reduced, his provident foreſight had provided ſuch ample reſources for every evil that could enſue, that he never burthened his ſubjects with the addition of a ſingle tax, or the demand of a benevolence; ſo that his dominions, if it had not been for the cruel depredations of his numerous enemies, would have borne the ſame appearance as in a ſeaſon of profound peace.

And when, latterly, the dreadful inundations and other calamitous effects of unuſual and untoward ſeaſons, had ſpread ruin and deſolation as well through his dominions, as all the regions of the north and center of Europe, the ſums of money which he beſtowed, not merely to relieve but to reſtore the numberleſs ſufferers, and, as it were, completely to remedy the evils of nature, were ſo immenſe, as nearly to exceed credibility; and perhaps exceeded any former known inſtance of royal benevolence. It ſeemed indeed ſcarcely credible, that the ſame hand which had ſo long been charged with a contracted parſimony, ſhould now, when the great occaſion offered, exceed all others in munificence and bounty. It muſt likewiſe ever be received as a ſtanding monument both of attention to the good of his ſubjects, and of the excellent principles of his adminiſtration, that notwithſtanding the length and peculiar circumſtances of his wars, the population of his dominions had been more than doubled in his reign, and that a far greater proportional increaſe took place in their foreign trade, and in the number and tonnage of their ſhipping.

As we never had before, and as our age will hardly again afford us an opportunity of deſcribing another ſuch man, we are the leſs apprehenſive of having dwelt too long upon ſo favourite a ſubject.

This great prince departed the preſent life on the 17th of Auguſt, 1786, in the 75th year of his age; a ſurpriſing age, whether we conſider it with reſpect to the greatneſs, number, and ſplendour of its actions, the dangers to which it had been expoſed, or the unequalled exertions of body and mind, by which, through a long reign of more than forty-ſix years, it had been continually exhauſted.

His decline had for ſome time been ſo rapid, that the event was eaſily foreſeen; yet, under the joint preſſure of an aſthma, dropſy, and lethargy, the former of which had for ſome time rendered him incapable of repoſe in a bed, he diſplayed in the intervals his priſtine vigour of mind, and all his uſual ſerenity and chearfulneſs in converſation; never uttering the leaſt complaint, nor ſhewing the ſmalleſt degree either of regret or impatience at his condition; and on the 15th, only two days before his death, he ſent for his cabinet ſecretaries at four o'clock in the morning, and tranſacted buſineſs for three hours with them; but in the evening of that day the ſomnolency returned, and he continued nearly in a ſtate of inſenſibility until his death.

It was a curious if not ſingular circumſtance, that as the king began himſelf perſonally to feel the infirmities and incommodities of age, it touched his ſympathy ſo ſtrongly for the diſtreſſes of the unprovided in that calamitous condition, that he immediately founded two hoſpitals in Berlin for the reception of helpleſs old age, in all caſes whatever, without regard to nation, religion, or ſex.

There were numerous other inſtances of his temper and diſpoſition being greatly ſoftened by age; a circumſtance very unuſual in mankind, and almoſt without example in conquerors; who ſo generally become more rigid, harſh, and oppreſſive, and too frequently degenerate into abſolute cruelty at that ſeaſon of life.

The attention of all Europe had been long drawn to the contemplation of this expected event, and of its probable or poſſible conſequences. Many apprehended that it would prove the ſignal for immediate war, and perhaps lead to great political revolution. The character of his nephew and ſucceſſor, the preſent king, was not yet much developed; and it was eaſily ſeen that a new kingdom which had riſen ſuddenly to ſuch unexampled power and greatneſs as ſerved to excite the jealouſy or apprehenſion of all its neighbours, merely through the abilities of one man, would require abilities not much inferior to withſtand the ſhocks, to which it might be liable upon the loſs of its tutelary guardian and genius. The danger appeared the greater, as its neareſt and moſt potent neighbour, beſides other great political differences, and his finding Pruſſia almoſt conſtantly in his way in the proſecution of his ambitious views, was himſelf the greateſt ſufferer by her greatneſs; and was well known to be of a character not much diſpoſed to forgive or forget ſo grievous a loſs as that of Sileſia.

The new government was, however, conducted with ſo much regularity and ſteadineſs, and retained ſo much of its ancient appearance and character, that no opening was made, nor encouragement given, for any of the apprehended dangers or evils to take place. Indeed the late king had bequeathed the moſt effectual ſecurities to his ſucceſſor for the preſervation of his dominions, which human wiſdom could provide or deviſe, by leaving him a full treaſury, the fineſt army, without exception, in the world, and a people enthuſiaſtically attached to his government and memory. A ſtriking inſtance of the latter was afforded in the diſpoſal of his old wardrobe, which was ſo meanly provided, that the whole, including ſtate clothes and linen, was ſold to the Jews for 400 rix-dollars *; but the eagerneſs of the people to poſſeſs any thing that had once belonged to their old hero was ſo great, that the Jews made more than as many thouſands of their purchaſe; and the ſmalleſt article of his wear was preſerved as an invaluable relick.

As novelty poſſeſſes charms that captivate all mankind, ſo innovations, in a certain degree, are perhaps adopted with propriety at the acceſſion of a new ſovereign, eſpecially after a long reign; and whatever the wiſdom of the preceding adminiſtration may be, there ever will be particular inſtances in which they may be neceſſary, and accordingly adopted with advantage. Popularity was likewiſe the more neceſſary in the preſent inſtance, not only from the predilection of the people for the late reign, but that the preſent ſovereign had hitherto no opportunity of diſcloſing his public diſpoſition and character.

No event or act of the late reign was ſo univerſally unpopular throughout Germany, as his predilection for the French language, and the decided preference which he upon all occaſions gave to the literature of that nation. The numerous German literati in particular could not but be grievouſly affected by it, and indeed every true patriot, from whatever part of that wide empire he derived his exiſtence, muſt have felt it ſenſibly, as an inſult offered, and a glaring contempt ſhewn to his language and country. This predilection the king derived from his early acquaintance and intercourſe with French poets and philoſophers of the modern ſtamp, to whom he was likewiſe indebted for other prejudices and principles

---

* The rix-dollar is about 3s. 6d. Engliſh.

ciples ſtill more injurious and unfortunate; particularly that indifference (to call it by the ſofteſt name) with reſpect to religion, which ſtuck to him through life, and was the great blemiſh of his character.

It muſt, however, be remembered, that the German writers in the late king's earlier days, were of a very different caſt and character from thoſe who have ſince ſo far advanced literature and ſcience, have done ſo much honour to their country by their genius and reſearches, and who by their ſucceſsful introduction of the poetic muſes have uſed the moſt effectual means for ſoftening and wearing down the roughneſs of their native tongue. On the contrary, at and for a conſiderable time after his acceſſion, laborioufneſs and fidelity were the chief praiſes that could be beſtowed on the German writers; their works were proverbially verboſe and heavy; they had not yet applied with any ſucceſs to the Belles Lettres; and their poetry, particularly the dramatic, was barbarous. Early prejudices are with difficulty ſhaken off, and as life advances, the diſpoſition to that endeavour generally leſſens. Frederick had early made himſelf a party in the affair, by criticiſms on, and himſelf writing againſt, the German ſtudies and literature. Having thus declared himſelf, he was too proud and too tenacious of his opinion ever to relinquiſh it, and would neither obſerve or examine the wonderful change and improvement which was taking place in both. And ſo far was he from affording favour or encouragement to the writers who were thus reforming the language and taſte of their country, that it is ſaid, he would not even read their productions if in the vernacular tongue.

Nothing then could be more popular, or more generally gratifying, than the new king's declaration in council, that "Germans we are, and Germans I mean we ſhall continue;" at the ſame time giving directions that their native language ſhould reſume its natural rank and ſtation, from which it had been for near half a century degraded by the uſurping French; the latter only having been during that time ſpoken at court, addreſſed in letters to the king, uſed in all public offices and tranſactions, and even in the academies. Of theſe, the royal academy of ſciences was compoſed almoſt entirely of Frenchmen; but the king now ordered three Germans to be received in it, and public diſcourſes to be occaſionally delivered in the Teutonic. To ſhew his attention to the native literature, he ſettled a handſome penſion for life upon Mr. Ramler, the celebrated German lyric poet; and received in the moſt favourable manner the congratulatory verſes which were addreſſed to him by profeſſor Gleim, and other men of learning, who all made it a point to write them in the native language. The late king had likewiſe placed the collection of the taxes and duties, particularly thoſe on tobacco, almoſt excluſively in the hands of Frenchmen; but they were now generally, if not univerſally, replaced by Germans, and the foreigners humanely allowed penſions.

The new king ſtrictly prohibited all publications tending to excite a contempt or indifference for religion: obſerving that he had marked with great concern the progreſs of impiety and prophaneneſs on the one hand, and of enthuſiaſm on the other, which were making ſuch rapid advances among the people; and which he attributed in a great degree to the multiplicity of theſe publications. He declared that he would not have his ſubjects corrupted either by fanatics or atheiſts; nor madmen to enrich themſelves and the bookſellers at the expence of religion. He likewiſe paſſed a ſevere law againſt duelling in all caſes whatever; and erected a court or tribunal of honour to take cognizance of thoſe diſputes or differences which might lead to that reſort.

Upon the whole, every thing that has yet appeared ſerves to indicate a happy and proſperous reign to that kingdom; and as the monarchy is now thoroughly formed and eſtabliſhed, if it ſhould not prove ſo ſplendid as the foregoing, it will be ſo much the better for the people.

So happy a tranquillity prevails in the other parts of Germany, that the perſecution of the free-maſons by the elector palatine became an object of notice. That prince, who ſeems in many reſpects to have departed ſtrangely from that conduct and character which gained him ſo much applauſe during his reſidence at Manheim, adopted, towards the cloſe of the preceding year, a determination to exterminate free-maſonry entirely from his dominions; nor could even the protection of the muſes ſave the academy of ſciences at Munich from this ſpirit of barbarous perſecution.

The celebrated M. de Born of Vienna, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed literary characters in Germany, was a reſident member of that academy, and had a principal ſhare in retrieving it from that ſtate of degradation in which it had fallen, during that long night of ignorance and bigotry, which ſo peculiarly overſpreads Bavaria. That gentleman was a known and avowed free-maſon; and the preſident was obliged to write to him, deſiring peremptorily that he ſhould within eight days declare, whether he would renounce and withdraw himſelf from the pernicious myſteries of that fraternity. To this M. de Born returned an immediate anſwer, "That ſo far from relinquiſhing the principles, he ſhould "ever glory in the name of free-"maſon: a name that ſhould mark "every man that bears it with ſu-"perior probity; for its principles "enjoin a more vigilant diſcharge "of the duties we owe to our Crea-"tor, a more ſtrict fidelity to the "ſovereign, and a more enlarged "and active benevolence to our "fellow creatures, in ſquaring our "conduct thereby. However, to "free myſelf at once from your "juriſdiction, I herewith return "you all my diplomas, and deſire "you may ſtrike out my name from "the liſt of your academicians." Thus has the acadamy loſt its principal ornament and honour, and Bavaria may again enjoy its uſual darkneſs and proverbial ſtupidity.

The two northern kingdoms have not preſented much matter of political obſervation in the courſe of the year of which we treat. The famine and other calamities which ſo much afflicted the people in both kingdoms, were rather increaſed than diminiſhed in this year; and though every where grievous, were in the more remote or detached provinces of either dreadful to contemplate. Even in thoſe parts of Denmark, which were the beſt ſituated for receiving foreign aid and ſupply, and in the very ſeat of government, which afforded the beſt means for procuring it, the wants of the people were, notwithſtanding, ſo extreme, that it was eſtimated, that above a thouſand artificers emigrated from the city of Copenhagen only in the courſe of the year. And the emigration from other parts of the kingdom was ſo great, that not leſs than ſeven or eight thouſand of the moſt laborious and uſeful part of the people applied to the Ruſſian miniſter, within only the firſt three months of the year, for thoſe encouragements and means of tranſportation which were allotted to thoſe who would proceed to people Cherſon, and other of the new colonies and ſettlements in thoſe quarters. If ſuch was the condition in the heart of Denmark, how muſt it have been in the remote provinces, and ſtill more in thoſe of Sweden, which are farther from relief, and more ſhut in from the world?

The refuſal of the cuſtomary ſupplies of grain from Livonia, which ſo dreadfully and irremediably increaſed the diſtreſſes of the people, could not but ſink deeply into the mind of the court of Stockholm. A viſible coolneſs and jealouſy had for ſome time been growing, and ſeemed much increaſing, between Sweden and the court of Peterſburgh. Beſides any other cauſes of coolneſs, jealouſy, or ſuſpicion, the king kept his army in better condition, and went greater lengths in improving and increaſing his naval force, than could at all be pleaſing to his great and ambitious neighbour. Indeed, however, ſhe may be ſuppoſed to conſider abſolute power, when veſted in her own hands, ſhe was little ſatisfied with that revolution which placed ſo great a ſhare of it in his; and however neceſſary it was to conform outwardly to an evil which was not apprehended until it was too late for a remedy, it was not to be ſuppoſed that ſo unthought of and eminent a diſplay of dexterity and dangerous ambition, ſhould at all leſſen her watchfulneſs of his future conduct, or in any degree diſpoſe her to regard him with the leſs jealous eye.

May 1786.

Whether it proceeded from an apprehenſion of any approaching foreign danger, from the diſtreſſes of the people, or from a complication of theſe with other cauſes, is uncertain, but a diet was this year held at Stockholm, being the firſt that had taken place ſince that which confirmed the late revolution in the government eight years before.—The greateſt apparent cordiality prevailed between the king and the ſtates at this meeting. In his ſpeech to them ſome oblique hints were thrown out, in treating of the ſtate of the army and navy, of the propriety and neceſſity of being in ſuch a ſtate of preparation and defence, as would afford ſecurity againſt any ſiniſter events that might occur, which could only be underſtood as alluding to one of his neighbours, the greateſt harmony having been already declared to ſubſiſt with Denmark.

The ſtates were not, however, ſo compliant as might have been expected; and it was not a little pleaſing to ſee, that the ſpirit of liberty which ſo much diſtinguiſhed their antient conſtitution was not yet entirely extinct, for as where that ſpirit is wanting no ſyſtem of laws or conſtitution of polity, however excellent, will make a nation free, ſo while it ſubſiſts with any vigour, no form or power of government can at all times be able to withſtand its ſucceſsful exertion; eſpecially if the former, according to the nature of abſolute or ill-reſtrained ſovereignty, ſhould, under a weak or profligate prince, degenerate into tyranny. The ſtates at this time ſeemed to recall and recover their conſtitutional importance, by refuſing abſolutely to comply with ſome of the not numerous propoſals which the king made to them, and on which he had particularly fixed his mind. Theſe were for the eſtabliſhment of ſome funds, the nature of which we are not informed of, and conſequently can give no opinion of the propriety of the refuſal, but merely give the fact as an inſtance of the power or ſpirit which the ſtates of Sweden ſtill retain. The ſmalleſt diſſatisfaction was not, however, viſible on either ſide; and the king and the ſtates parted, after a very ſhort ſeſſion, with as much apparent cordiality as they had ſhewn at their firſt meeting.

To the numerous inſtances of improvements in legiſlation, or the adminiſtration of juſtice in different parts of the weſtern world, which we have already had the ſatisfaction of taking notice, and which will ſo happily diſtinguiſh the preſent from all former ages, the king of Sweden has added another, by totally aboliſhing within his dominions that inhuman relick of antient barbarity and cruelty, the puniſhment by torture; or, what was ſtill worſe, its horrible and fruitleſs application for the diſcovery of truth, by compelling ſuſpected delinquents, through an extremity of pain, which human nature is not capable of withſtanding to condemn themſelves, by the acknowledgment of a guilt of which they have frequently been entirely innocent. The king, in his edict, aſſigns motives pretty much of this nature for its aboliſhment; and to ſupply the ſuppoſed neceſſity for putting the queſtion, as it was called, he ordains, that the confeſſion of guilt in a malefactor ſhall not at all be deemed neceſſary for his puniſhment, where the legal proofs of his guilt are ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

The repeated failures, or diſtreſſes approaching cloſely to what is underſtood by mercantile *failure*, which the European companies trading to the Eaſt Indies have of late years ſo particularly experienced, ſeem to bear a doubtful if not ominous aſpect with reſpect to the future exiſtence of that commerce, which has ſo long been the great object of avidity to trading communities, and of rivalſhip and contention among ſtates; and which has likewiſe afforded the means of producing the moſt deplorable calamities among the remoteſt nations in the world, and with whom Europe ſeemed to have the leaſt poſſible concern. The ſhocks which the Engliſh company had received, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of its territorial poſſeſſions and revenues, are too well known to require obſervation. The Dutch Eaſt India Company, which had for ages held unexampled wealth and power, and ſeemed rather a great independent ſovereign, than a member of a ſmall republic, has now of late been more than once reduced to the very extremity of diſtreſs, and has only been held together by the great loans which the ſtate has advanced to ſave it from abſolute and impending ruin. France has already, in the ſhort interval ſince the peace, twice or thrice altered her plan for conducting that commerce, and does not yet ſeem by any means fixed in her ſyſtem. The Daniſh company, being entirely commercial, and conducting its affairs upon a narrower ſcale, ſeemed free from many of thoſe dangers to which the more potent and adventurous companies were neceſſarily expoſed. Yet neither the prudence of their conduct, nor the moderation of their purſuits, could preſerve them from the common fatality; and they found their affairs this year in ſo untoward a ſtate, that they were under a neceſſity of ſurrendering their charter, privileges, and ſtock, into the hands of the king, who they requeſted to accept of them on ſuch terms as he ſhould preſcribe. The king has accordingly complied with their requeſt, and agreed to purchaſe their reſpective ſhares of ſtock at a given price, and in a ſtipulated manner.

With reſpect to other matters, nothing of any conſequence has taken place in the affairs of Denmark. The prince royal retains his popularity, and ſeems to deſerve it; and the people (which is the beſt of all teſts) appear to be ſatisfied with their government. The prince ſeems much diſpoſed to conſult their inclinations in his conduct; and lately rejected a propoſal that was made to him for laying ſome new reſtraints on the preſs; obſerving, that as it was impoſſible to prevent men from thinking, ſo, in defiance of all reſtrictions and laws, they would ever find ſome means of communicating their ſentiments, and the more publicly that was done, the leſs pernicious or dangerous would be the effect. The prince had the ſatisfaction this year of ſeeing his ſiſter, the princeſs royal, married at an early age to the prince of Sleſwic Holſtein.

The hereditary prejudices and animoſities which have ſo long operated, with all the force of a natural antipathy, upon the people and even the ſovereigns of the northern kingdoms, ſeems to be wearing faſt away. Indeed, as a clearer view of their mutual and reſpective intereſts, as well as of their common danger, takes place, theſe prejudices, which had been formed upon a totally different ſcale of things, and under cauſes and impreſſions which no longer exiſt, muſt of neceſſity decline. The greateſt harmony accordingly ſubſiſts, and if true policy prevails muſt continue and increaſe, between the northern crowns and kingdoms.

We omitted in its proper place to take notice of a great and royal work executed in Denmark, being no leſs than the forming of a ſhort and direct junction between the Baltic and the German ocean. This was done by drawing a navigable canal from weſt to eaſt acroſs the peninſula of Jutland, the ancient Cimbrian Cherſoneſe. This canal was opened in the month of May 1785, and accompanied with an edict, by which a paſſage through it was granted to all nations (on the payment of certain ſpecified tolls or duties) for ſix years; a limitation as to time for which we do not pretend to ſee the motive. Neither can we, as we have ſeen no ſcale of this canal, nor any account of its dimenſions with reſpect to breadth or depth, form any accurate eſtimate of its probable utility; which, from its nature, ſhould be great indeed.

The new treaty of navigation and commerce between France and England, which was concluded at Verſailles on the 20th of September 1786, may be juſtly conſidered among the moſt important political events of the preſent year. It ſeemed almoſt ſingular, that this treaty was far from affording general ſatisfaction to the people on either ſide of the water; and that each nation appeared to think that it had granted too much to the other, or had even been overreached by it in ſome parts of the compact, and particularly in the rating and adjuſtment of the equivalents: a circumſtance, however, which may be conſidered as affording no ſlight indication of its being founded on liberal and equitable principles, eſpecially taking the numerous and deeply-rooted prejudices which it had on both ſides to encounter into the eſtimate.

In fact, the multiplicity of objects which it embraced, of intereſts which it might affect, its relation to the general ſyſtem of navigation and trade eſtabliſhed in Europe, its interference with the letter or ſpirit of treaties already exiſting between the parties and other powers, and the uncertainty of its future operation in all or many of theſe reſpects, preſented altogether ſuch a face of doubt and difficulty, that the moſt intelligent in mercantile affairs were either at a loſs to form, or unwilling to hazard a decided opinion, while men in general were either bewildered in the magnitude of the ſubject, or involved in the apprehenſion of the manner in which it might affect their own peculiar intereſts.

It is to be obſerved, that this was not a novel idea with either of the parties; and that the general principles of the preſent treaty were the ſame with thoſe of a former one which had been rejected by the Engliſh parliament in the year 1713. The courts of London and Verſailles had then abſolutely agreed upon the conditions; it was a part of the ſyſtem of the tory miniſtry who concluded the peace; and it only wanted the ſanction of parliament for its final completion. But all the weight and influence of the court, with that of the ſtrong party which then predominated, notwithſtanding their utmoſt exertions to carry it through, were foiled in the attempt. It ſhould, however, be remembered, that the violent prejudices which were then entertained by the ſtrongeſt partiſans of the revolution againſt France, againſt the peace, againſt the queen herſelf, and againſt her miniſters, who they conſidered as the open betrayers of their country to her greateſt enemy, and as harbouring deſigns directly ſubverſive of the conſtitution, could not but operate greatly to the rejection of this treaty, independently of its real merits or faults.

Without attempting at this time to enter into any particular diſcuſſion of thoſe which may be diſcovered in the preſent, we ſhall only obſerve in general, that an apparent fairneſs, a deſire to bury ancient animoſities, to cure national prejudices, and to remove the partialities incident to jarring intereſts, ſeem to pervade the whole, and to have been the leading objects of the parties. Reciprocity is the grand principle of the treaty; and it ſeems to have been intended on both ſides, that no conceſſion ſhould be made on either, which was not balanced by a ſuppoſed equivalent on the other. It is ſcarcely within the verge of poſſibility, that men ſhould not differ in their eſtimate of theſe equivalents. A vaſt reduction was made on the duties laid on the wines, brandies, and vinegars of France, upon their importation into England; oil, and ſome other ſtaple commodities, were to be admitted upon the ſame footing with thoſe of the moſt favoured nations. Similar conceſſions were made by France, with reſpect to the hardware, and other great manufactures of England; reciprocality, and a free and eaſy intercourſe between the parties, being the ground-work of all theſe arrangements.

What is more particularly intereſting to humanity in general than mere commercial regulations, which always look to intereſt as their object, is, that France has upon this occaſion freely ſacrificed her ancient civil and religious prejudices, which ſeemed ſo cloſely interwoven in her nature and conſtitution as to appear almoſt inſeparable. She allows the Engliſh reſiding in her dominions the moſt perfect liberty in religious matters; inſtead of being compellable to attend the public ſervice or worſhip of the country, they are authorized in the full exerciſe of their own religious rites, only ſubject to the reaſonable condition of their being performed privately, and within their own houſes. The ſhameful, odious, and inhuman practice, of refuſing the rites of ſepulture to the bodies of ſuppoſed hereticks, is likewiſe done away by this treaty. Several other wiſe and humane regulations, tending to the eaſe, advantage, and ſecurity of individuals, and to the promoting of the moſt free and friendly intercourſe and connection between the nations, are alſo contained in it. Though theſe were apparently mutual and reciprocal, yet their benefits reſted almoſt entirely with the Engliſh: the free laws and government of that people, with the equal and liberal courſe of their juſtice, not admitting of thoſe reſtrictions to the perſons or property of foreigners, to which they had been themſelves ſubjected in France. Thus the property of Britiſh ſubjects who die in France is now ſecured to their heirs, without lett or moleſtation, directly contrary to former uſage. Upon the breaking out of a war between the two nations, it was cuſtomary for the Engliſh in France to be obliged to quit the country at a very ſhort notice, and frequently to the great detriment of their affairs; but now they are permitted to reſide in it, and to purſue their reſpective avocations with the ſame freedom as at home, under the ſimple and equitable condition of conforming to its laws. It was likewiſe cuſtomary to commit them to the Baſtile, upon even ſlight ſuſpicions of their public conduct; but now, in that caſe, they are allowed twelve months to remove their perſons and property out of the kingdom. It was hitherto the cuſtom that they could not quit Paris without a licence from government; they are now to have the ſame liberty of free egreſs and regreſs through and from every part of the kingdom that they could enjoy in their own country. The examination of letters, and other difficulties attending a correſpondence in France, were a great grievance not only to merchants, whoſe private and moſt ſecret affairs were thus expoſed, but to literary men, and even to common friends. This evil is now removed, and the moſt perfect ſecurity afforded, particularly to merchants, who are admitted to carry on their correſpondence in any language or idiom they ſhall think proper, without any moleſtation or ſearch whatſoever.

We ſhall reſerve any farther obſervations on this treaty to another ſeaſon, when its diſcuſſion will appear in the proper place.

France through the courſe of this year paid the moſt marked attention to every department of her marine, and to the promotion of every part of her commerce both foreign and domeſtic. With a view to future wars, ſhe likewiſe endeavoured to increaſe the number of her naval arſenals and ports on the ocean (in which ſhe is by nature ſo defective) for the reception of ſhips of the line, and the ſtation of warlike fleets.

The port of Cherburgh, on the coaſt of Normandy, from its vicinity to England, and lying directly oppoſite to the coaſt of Hampſhire, ſeemed directly calculated for this purpoſe; and undoubtedly, if its natural defects could be remedied by art, it would prove a moſt advantageous ſtation to the French fleets in a war with England, and could not fail to become an exceedingly painful and dangerous thorn in the ſide of that power. The ſcheme was accordingly adopted with great ſpirit, and carried on at an immenſe expence. For the road being about a league and a half in length from eaſt to weſt, notwithſtanding the cover in part of a low iſland, which conſiderably ſerves to break the violence of the waves, is ſtill much expoſed to the north and north-weſt winds; to remedy which it was propoſed to cover the road entirely by a ſucceſſion of moles on that ſide, leaving only two ſufficient openings, one for the paſſage of ſhips of the largeſt ſize, and the other for trading veſſels. One of theſe moles was to be carried through the iſland (which was moſtly overflown in ſpring tides) and the others were to have their foundations laid, and ſuperſtructure raiſed, in a deep and boiſterous ſea. The labour was vaſt, but the object was highly inviting; for if the fences could be compleated, large fleets, compoſed of the moſt capital ſhips, might lie ſecurely at anchor within them in all weather. Forts, with batteries of the heavieſt cannon, were to be erected on the different moles in ſuch ſituations as to be themſelves impregnable, and to render the approach of an enemy utterly impracticable. A capacious baſon, with docks, and all the other appendages to a great naval arſenal, were to be conſtructed in and adjoining to the harbour and town. The number of hands employed in this mighty deſign were ſuited to its magnitude and importance; and the removal and placing, by any number, of thoſe immenſe maſſes of ſolid rock, which, in ſo turbulent a ſea, could alone lay the foundations of ſuch ſtupendous piles of building, would have appeared impoſſible to any, who had not before ſeen or heard of ſimilar grand exertions of human labour and art.

This Herculean labour was deemed of ſuch national importance, that the king, who had never before been at any conſiderable diſtance from Paris, took a journey on purpoſe to behold its progreſs. Even now, as it might be ſaid in its infant ſtate, he could not behold without ſurprize the ſtupendous parts of that future giant which were already in proſpect. The ſupporters of the mole were to be in the form of cones, and were of ſo prodigious a bulk, that the timber caſſoons in which they were encloſed were ſixty French fathoms in diameter at the bottom. One of theſe was ſucceſsfully launched in the king's preſence, an event which perhaps ſcarcely afforded greater joy to the architect, than ſatisfaction to the monarch, who did not endeavour to conceal his aſtoniſhment at this incredible exertion of human power.

June 22d, 1786.

While the king was at this place he was ſeized with a ſtrong deſire of ſeeing thoſe ancient domains of the dukedom of Normandy, the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey; and actually embarked in a frigate, with a view of viſiting the former; but a ſudden ſquall ariſing when he was about half way over, ſome of the nobility in his train diſſuaded him from proceeding any farther.

Religious prejudices are happily wearing faſt away in France, and without ſome extraordinary and unfortunate intervention, it may be hoped that it will not require a very long ſucceſſion of years for their entire exhauſture. Inſtead of the crown iſſuing perſecuting edicts againſt its own ſubjects, as formerly, on that account, this year has been ſignalized by an arret, inviting ſtrangers of all chriſtian nations and religious perſuaſions whatever to ſettle in the country, enabling them to purchaſe lands, and to enjoy all the common rights of citizens.

It afforded a ſingular object of moral and political conſideration, to behold fourteen veſſels from North America arrive together in the harbour of Dunkirk, freighted with the families, goods, and property of a colony of quakers and baptiſts, (the moſt rigid, perhaps, in their religious principles of any among the reformed) who are come to ſettle at that place, in a Roman catholic country, and under the government of the French monarch; two circumſtances the moſt directly oppoſite to their ancient ſentiments, whether political or religious. Theſe people amounted to about a hundred families, and are deſtined to the proſecution of the whale and other fiſheries, in which they had long been ſuperiorly eminent at home. M. de Calonne had the honour of forming the ſcheme, of inviting them, and of giving them every encouragement they could deſire; particularly in every poſſible ſecurity for the preſervation of their civil rights and religious freedom. The ruin which befel the American oil trade, and conſequently fiſheries, through their unhappy ſeparation from England, afforded the occaſion on one ſide, and laid the neceſſity on the other.

Another arret was iſſued about the ſame time as the former, for the encouragement of artiſts and manufacturers of all nations to ſettle in France, by allowing them the ſame privileges which they enjoyed in their native countries, with exemptions from all duties, for a limited time, on the importation of the raw materials uſed in their manufactures, as well as from the payment of taxes, and all perſonal duties to themſelves and their workmen; on theſe conditions they were bound to continue for a given number of years in the kingdom, and for the greater ſecurity were not to form their ſettlements within ſeven leagues of the frontier; but at the expiration of the preſcribed term they were to be at full liberty to depart, when, and in whatever manner was moſt convenient to them, and to remove their property as well as their perſons wherever they ſhould think proper; the king giving up the *droit d'aubaine* entirely in their favour.

It would have been a ſtrange ſolecîſm in policy to encourage and allure foreign proteſtants to ſettle in the kingdom, without reſtoring the numerous natives of that profeſſion in ſome conſiderable degree to the rights of citizens. Indeed the king and the government ſeem to hold diſpoſitions very favourable to the granting of every indulgence to the native proteſtants, which they could well with propriety expect. But there are great and numerous difficulties in the way to their full eſtabliſhment in all thoſe rights, which they would have poſſeſſed if they had adhered to the public religion of their country. The clergy in France are a very great and powerful body, and beſides their uſual influence upon the people, are ſo interwoven with the nobility, as not, in the preſent order of things, to be ſeparable. Such an union muſt be treated with great tenderneſs and caution by the crown, even in France.

The Gallican church, by ever keeping itſelf diſtinct, and nobly ſupporting its rights againſt the encroachments of the ſee of Rome, has thereby acquired a degree of weight, dignity, and character, which no other of the ſame perſuaſion poſſeſſes. The pariſh prieſts likewiſe in France have long been celebrated for general humanity and benevolence, care of, and tenderneſs to, their flocks, irreproachable lives, and the general excellency of their character. All theſe concurrent circumſtances ſerve to give ſuch a firmneſs to the whole eſtabliſhment, that it could not without great difficulty be ſhaken.

Indeed it never will be found eaſy to draw ſo ſtrait and equal a line between the public religious eſtabliſhment of any country, and that which is only tolerated, as can afford full ſatisfaction to both the parties. The one will ever regard whatever is granted either as an encroachment on, or as endangering its own rights, while the other is apt, on every new indulgence or favour, to grow the more impatient for greater, and even to long for the forbidden fruits of church emolument, in proportion as they become nearer in view.

Something was, however, done in favour of the native proteſtants in France, though probably not ſo much as was wiſhed, or even intended. The legitimacy of their marriages is to be admitted, and the rights of inheritance conſequently eſtabliſhed, under the condition of the former being regiſtered in an office appointed for the purpoſe at the Hotel de Ville. They are likewiſe to be admitted to inſtitute places of public worſhip, but they muſt bear only the outward appearance of private houſes; in theſe they will be entitled to the free exerciſe of their religious rites, ſubject to the ſingle reſtriction of keeping the doors ſhut during the ſervice. Their paſtors are of courſe exonerated from all the penalties preſcribed by former laws.

Thus has ſome conſiderable opening been made towards affording relief to ſo numerous a body of the people, who after all the loſſes they had ſuſtained by wars, emigrations, and puniſhments, and the long and continued oppreſſions they have endured, ſtill amount to a fifth or ſixth of the whole inhabitants of the kingdom, the loweſt eſtimates rating their numbers at four millions.

Some indulgences have been extended to the peaſantry this year in France; that moſt valuable order of men, who are the foundation of ſtrength, wealth, and power in every community that poſſeſſes them, and who have been too long moſt ſhamefully and unwiſely deſpiſed and oppreſſed, not only in France, but in moſt other countries. They are now relieved from that intolerable bondage and continued oppreſſion to which they had ſo long been ſubjected, under the arbitrary domination of inferior mercenary officers, with reſpect to the heavy labour to which they were bound in the repair and conſtruction of the roads; theſe petty miniſters of the civil power, either grinding them by the moſt ſhameleſs extortion of money, which their poverty could ſo ill ſpare, or tyranically compelling them to attend with their carts and draught cattle to the duty of the roads, at the moſt diſtreſſing and critical ſeaſons of their agriculture. A new ſyſtem is adopted with reſpect to the roads; the farmers are to be diſcharged from the duty, and the work to be done by labourers hired at the public expence.

An edict was likewiſe paſſed this year which affords a ſecurity that was greatly wanting to the community in general, but more particularly to the trading and manufacturing part, with reſpect both to their perſons and property. Many cities and corporations poſſeſſed the municipal authority of arreſting the perſons and detaining the property of ſtrangers who came tranſiently within their juriſdiction, for real or pretended charges of debt laid againſt them by perſons at any diſtance, and ſometimes in the remoteſt provinces. The moſt doubtful documents were received as ſufficient grounds for theſe actions; and the general neceſſary conſequence was, that the defendant, if far from home, and no powerful connection within reach, was totally ruined, at the ſuit perhaps of an unknown and unheard of plaintiff, before he could find means to extricate his perſon or property. The enormity was ſo glaring, that its exiſtence for any length of time would appear almoſt incredible, if ſimilar inſtances of the long ſufferance of evil, through the ſupineneſs of rulers, and the defect of ſpirit or power in the injured, had not been obſervable in all countries: it is now, however, aboliſhed, and this crying grievance effectually redreſſed.

If it may not be conſidered as a revolution in the hiſtory of mankind, it may however be admitted as a ſingular and unexampled inſtance of change in the ſentiments of the weſtern world, that the royal academy of ſciences at Paris this year elected, as one of their foreign correſpondents, a Mr. Liſtel, a Free Black, of the iſle of France, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſeries of curious and extremely well-calculated meteorological obſervations; thus breaking down in ſome degree the ſtrong and long-eſtabliſhed line of diſtinction between colours, and holding out encouragement to future Africans to cultivate the ſciences and philoſophy, by ſhewing them that the way is opened to academical honours, wherever they are merited, without any regard to the country or natural hue of the ingenious proficient.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1ſt. ACCOUNTS received from all quarters, of the effects of the weather, at the beginning of the new year, are dreadful; thunder, lightning, intenſe froſt, and deep ſnow, characteriſe the commencement of the preſent year.

Naples. On the morning of the 12th of November laſt, at leaſt one hundred ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in the environs of Veſuvius. This mountain, which has been for ſome time in convulſions, continues to vomit forth a prodigious quantity of inflammable matter, which terrifies the inhabitants, leſt the lava ſhould take a new courſe, and overflow the country.

11th. The Swallow packet, from Bengal, arrived in the Downs, on the 9th inſtant, on board of which lord Macartney came paſſenger. His lordſhip was ſeveral days in Calcutta, previous to the arrival of the diſpatches of the Court of Directors containing his appointment of governor-general of Bengal. This packet brought over a copy of the ſentence of the court-martial on major-general ſir John Burgoyne, bart. which honourably acquits him of every part of the charge againſt him.

16. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, which began upon Wedneſday the 11th, ended, when 7 convicts received ſentence of death, 20 were ſentenced to be tranſported, 14 to be impriſoned, and kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction, 6 to be whipped, 2 impriſoned in Newgate, and 16 diſcharged by proclamation.

At the above ſeſſions, among others, came on the trial of John Hogan, a Mulatto, for the murder of the ſervant of Mr. Orrell, of Charlotte-ſtreet. The following circumſtances appeared—That the deceaſed had her head-dreſs torn off, and thrown on the ground, covered with blood, as were her handkerchief, gown, &c. Her ſkull was fractured; her left eye beaten almoſt out of its ſocket; her cheek-bones both broken; her chin cut; her neck and throat both cut; ſeveral wounds in her breaſt, particularly a large circular one; her left arm broke; and her right arm and wriſt both cut. The inſtrument with which the wounds had been made was a razor; and notwithſtanding it had been thrown into a fire, the ſpots of blood were not eraſed.

She was alive, but ſpeechleſs, and died the ſame night at twelve o'clock. The priſoner having brought home ſome chairs, a ſhort time before, to Mr. Orrell's, and a perſon anſwering his deſcription having been ſeen in the neighbourhood that day, ſuſpicion fell on him, and he was twice taken up, and twice diſcharged for want of evidence.

The priſoner had been tried for a larceny, and Mr. Orrell reading his trial in the ſeſſions-paper, it occurred to him to ſearch at the pawnbroker's, where he had pawned the property ſtolen, for which he was ſo tried, to ſee if any of his property, which was ſtolen at the time of the murder, had been lodged with that pawnbroker; there he found a cloak of his wife's, pawned the morning after the murder, by the woman with whom he cohabited.

On the priſoner's being taken to the body of the deceaſed, he appeared not in the leaſt agitated; but, putting his hand on her breaſt, he ſaid, "My dear Nancy, I do "remember you well; I never did "you any harm in my life!"—Theſe expreſſions very forcibly added to the ſuſpicions of his guilt, becauſe her face was ſo exceedingly cut and mangled, that Mr. Orrell declared he could not poſſibly have known her. Two other circumſtances, which tended to criminate him, were a ſpot of blood on a waiſtcoat which he wore, and ſome ſlight marks of blood on one of the ſleeves of his coat; which coat had been waſhed, though the blood on the ſleeve remained; and an effort ſeemed to have been made, but in vain, to rub out the ſpot of blood from the waiſtcoat.

The principal evidence againſt him was the woman with whom he cohabited; who depoſed, that he brought her home a cloak, which he ſaid he had bought, on condition of paying for it at the rate of ſo much a week. The cloak was produced in court, and Mrs. Orrell ſwore to it as her property. The deponent further ſaid, that after Hogan had been twice taken before a magiſtrate, he, at intervals, appeared to be very uneaſy; that particularly he could not ſleep in bed; that ſhe ſaid to him one night, "For "God's ſake what is the matter "with you? ſurely you are not "guilty of what you have been taken up for:" that his anſwer was, "Yes, I am:—I am guilty:—"I did it."—She then was much troubled in mind, and apprehended fatal conſequences to herſelf, particularly, as he ſaid to her, "You muſt ſay nothing; you muſt be quiet, for if I be hanged, you will be hanged with me:" and on her aſking him, why he had murdered the young woman, he anſwered, becauſe he wanted to be great with her, and ſhe reſiſted him.

The priſoner being called on for his defence, ſaid, "I am innocent; "and if any body takes away my "life, I will never forgive them."

The recorder ſummed up the trial with great impartiality, and the jury inſtantly found him guilty; he was then ſentenced to be executed on Monday morning, and his body to be diſſected and anatomized. He was accordingly taken from Newgate in a cart on Monday, and executed on a gibbet oppoſite Mr. Orrell's houſe. A great concourſe of people attended the execution, but never died a malefactor with leſs pity. Juſt before being turned off, he bowed four times to the populace, and, in an audible voice, confeſſed himſelf guilty of the murder, for which he had been juſtly condemned to die.

25th. This morning Mr. Price, who was committed on ſuſpicion of forgery on the bank, and was to have been examined as this day at eleven, hanged himſelf in his room in Tothill-fields bridewell. From a variety of circumſtances, there remains no doubt but that he is the perſon ſo frequently advertiſed for forgeries on the bank for ſeveral years paſt, and who has had the addreſs to elude the ſtricteſt ſearch, though long known and ſuſpected. It was his cuſtom, at times, to give entertainments to a ſelect party, and, to evade the plate-tax, to borrow the ſplendid articles of the ſideboard at a pawn-broker's, depoſiting bank-notes as a ſecurity. The pawn-broker happening to offer one at the bank, was ſtopped, and, on relating how he came by it, with all the circumſtances, proper people were ſent to the ſhop, who, when he came to return the plate, immediately took him into cuſtody.

31ſt. The laſt accounts from North America are full of the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the heavy falls of rain in September and October laſt.

At Portſmouth, in New Hampſhire, the waters roſe to an alarming height.

At Dover the waters roſe about 15 feet perpendicular above the uſual flowing of the tide, and carried off ſeveral hundred thouſand lumber. It deſtroyed ſome valuable ſtores, ſeven mills, end two bridges.

At Portſmouth, in Virginia, a moſt tremendous gale, added to the freſhes, carried ſeveral veſſels into the fields and woods, where ſome of them never can be got off. The damage is eſtimated at 30,000l.

The long conteſted cauſe between the vicar of Odiham, plaintiff, and the chancellor of Sarum, and others, defendants, was lately ſettled by the judges of the Exchequer, in favour of the plaintiff, by his having a preſcriptive right to all ſmall tithes, though he could not produce an endowment. By this deciſion that right of the inferior clergy to the tithes of clover-ſeed, turnip-ſeed, and all ſmall tithes whatever, is finally ſettled.

DIED. Lately, at Gartſhore, in the pariſh of Kirkintillock, eight miles from Glaſgow, Anne Horne, aged 49. She was 44 times tapped for a dropſy, and 286 Scots pints of water taken from her. For half a year before her death a Scots pint was collected every day.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. On the 27th of January, the brig Baſel, Capt. Raphael, arrived at Liverpool from Dominica. In her paſſage ſhe picked up the crew of the Charming Molly, bound from Bermudas to Turk's-iſland, which veſſel had foundered three days before, when the crew, ten in number, took to their boat, to the ſtern of which they tied a log of wood, to keep her head to the ſea. In this ſituation they remained almoſt without hope of relief. When Capt. Raphael diſcovered them, they had about a pound of bread, and two gallons of water left; of the latter of which they gave to each other a wine-glaſs full, thickened with a mouthful of bread, once in 12 hours. The boat being only 12 feet in length, one half of the crew were obliged to lie down in her bottom alternately, while the other half ſat along the ſides, as in any other ſituation the boat muſt have been top-heavy. In this ſituation, expecting every moment to be their laſt, they were providentially preſerved by the humanity of Capt. Raphael, who brought them home.

Out of a fleet of 13 ſail of Swediſh merchant-ſhips, laden with naval ſtores, conſigned for l'Orient, in France, two only have reached their deſtined port, the other eleven having been wrecked in that heavy gale of wind in which the Halſewell periſhed. The coaſt of Eſſex has been covered with the ſpoils of this unfortunate fleet.

On account of the league, offenſive and defenſive, between France and Holland, the following medal has been ſtruck.

A woman repreſenting Holland, ſeated on a throne, the Batavian lion by her ſide, armed with *ſeven* arrows, a ſymbol of the Belgic Union, alluding to the peace concluded with the Emperor; Holland offering the olive to a nymph of the *Eſcaut*; Renown appears in the air, blowing a trumpet, with a ſtreamer ornamented with the *fleur de lis*. In the centre is a garland, forming a civic crown, ſupported by two hands, with ſeveral other ſymbolical figures. On the exergue is,

Duplice fœdere ſalva.

The LEGEND.

8 *Nov. pace cum Romano Imperatore.*
10 *ejuſd. fœdere cum Rege Galliæ initis.*

On the reverſe is a Mercury, with his attributes, and the following inſcription:

Grati animi monumentum illuſtriſſimis hujus difficilimi negotii præfectis dicatum, quibuſdam civibus mercatoribus Amſtelodamenſibus.

MDCCLXXXVI.

The number of veſſels that have paſſed the ſound the laſt year, amounts to 10,268, of which 2535 were Engliſh; 2136 Swedes; 1789 Danes; 1571 Dutch; 114 Ruſſians; 176 Bremens; 161 Dantzickers; 1358 Pruſſians; 110 of Roſtock; 79 Lubeckers; 66 Imperialiſts; 61 Hamburghers; 28 Portugueſe; 25 Courlanders; 20 French; 20 Americans; 15 Spaniſh; and 4 Venetians.

The number of veſſels that entered the port of Dantzick in 1785, was 684, and 837 ſailed out; 57 wintered there. Of thoſe who ſailed out, 76 were Dutch, 59 Pruſſian, 153 Engliſh, 153 Daniſh, 239 Swediſh, and 162 Dantzickers.

10th. Came on in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Mansfield, and a very crowded court, the trial of 13 priſoners for debt in the King's Bench priſon, who ſome months ſince were committed to the New Gaol, for attempting to blow up the walls of the ſaid priſon. The indictment was laid againſt them for a conſpiracy and miſdemeanour; and, after a very long trial, they were all found guilty. They have all, ſince, received ſentence: the four principal ringleaders to be confined in Newgate three years; three of them to find ſecurity for the ſame term, after the expiration of their impriſonment; ſix to be confined in Surrey bridewell for two years; and three in the houſe of correction for the ſame term, and to find ſecurity for their good behaviour for two years.

11th. About one in the morning a moſt barbarous and extraordinary murder was attempted on the body of Mr. Walter Horſeman, milk-ſeller at Kentiſh Town. While aſleep in his bed, with his little girl of four years old by his ſide, his ſkull was ſplit aſunder with an iron window-bar, and one of his eyes beat out: in this diſmal ſtate he continued to breathe eight days, though without the leaſt hope of recovery.—A wretch of about 18, who from motives of humanity had been brought up in the family from a child, but who lately had been turned off for idleneſs and ill behaviour, is taken up on ſuſpicion, and very ſtrong circumſtances ſeem to put it beyond all doubt that he was the culprit.—The wife of Mr. Horſeman was on the next floor with a ſick child; and his ſon, two men, and a boy, were on the ſame floor.

DIED. Lately, at the extraordinary age of 110 years, 8 months, and 14 days, in the full enjoyment of every faculty, except ſtrength, and quickneſs of hearing, Cardinal de Salis, archbiſhop of Seville. He uſed to tell his friends, when aſked what regimen he obſerved, "By being old when I was young, I find myſelf young now I am old. I led a ſober, ſtudious, but not a lazy or ſedentary life. My diet was ſparing, though delicate; my liquors the beſt wines of Xerez and La Mancha, of which I never exceeded a pint at any meal, except in cold weather, when I allowed myſelf a third more. I rode or walked every day, except in rainy weather, when I exerciſed for a couple of hours. So far I took care for the body; and as to the mind, I endeavoured to preſerve it in due temper by a ſcrupulous obedience to the Divine commands, and keeping (as the Apoſtle directs) a conſcience void of offence towards God and man. By theſe innocent means I have arrived at the age of a patriarch with leſs injury to my health and conſtitution than many experience at forty. I am now, like the ripe corn, ready for the ſickle of death, and, by the mercy of my Redeemer, have ſtrong hopes of being tranſlated into his garner." "Glorious old age!" ſaid the king of Spain; "would to Heaven he had appointed a ſucceſſor; for the people of Seville have been ſo long uſed to excellence, they will never be ſatisfied with the beſt prelate I can ſend them."—The cardinal was of a noble houſe in the province of Andaluſia, and the laſt ſurviving ſon of Don Antonia de Salis, hiſtoriographer to Philip IV. and author of the Conqueſt of Mexico.

At Tetbury, aged 102, Anne Davis. This woman had the perfect uſe of her faculties till the laſt minute. She had not been out of her room for upwards of thirty years, nor ever during that period, even in the moſt extreme cold weather, would ſuffer any fire in her chamber.

MARCH.

Dublin, March 15. We juſt now hear, that the famous Connaught Chief, O'Connor, (who has been in arms, and ſet himſelf up as ſupreme magiſtrate, under a pretence of being deſcended ~~from~~ the ancient kings of that province, which is however far from the truth) is deſerted by the principal part of his followers, on the news that the dragoons were on their march for that part of the kingdom; ſo that we hope this threatening inſurgency will be quelled without bloodſhed.

At Plymouth, on the 9th inſtant, his Royal Highneſs Prince William Henry was initiated into the ancient and honourable ſociety of Free and Accepted Maſons.

Portſmouth, March 24. This morning the convicts on board the priſon-ſhip roſe upon their keepers, and were not ſubdued till eight were ſhot dead, and 36 wounded.

The San Pedro d'Alcantara, a Spaniſh galleon, from Lima to Cadiz, with eight millions of dollars on board, was ſtranded at Paniche, on the 17th of January: the wind blowing off the ſhore, 186 of the people were drowned. It is hoped that a great part of the money will be recovered, otherwiſe the loſs will be felt all over Europe. By accounts from the Havanna, they have diſcovered, about 50 miles from Arnpa, a northern city of Mexico, a vein of virgin gold, which proves to be 22½ carrats fine.

His Neapolitan Majeſty, about the middle of January, gave the diverſion of hunting to the Duke and Dutcheſs of Cumberland, to which the foreign miniſters, and the principal nobility about the court, were invited. Armed with ſpears only, the noble ſportſmen diſtinguiſhed their dexterity in the ſlaughter of the game. After which a magnificent entertainment was provided under tents for their Royal Highneſſes, at which their Neapolitan Majeſties preſided.

A literary eſtabliſhment has lately been opened at Paris, under the title of the Lyceum, where lectures are read by the following profeſſors —Hiſtory, M. de Marmontel—Literature, M. de la Harpe—Mathematics, M. Condorcet—Phyſics, M. Monges—Chemiſtry and Natural Hiſtory, M. Bourcroy—Anatomy and Phyſiology, M. Tue—and the Modern Languages by proper maſters.—The Lyceum is to open every day, morning and evening, and each profeſſor is to read two hours in each week.

31ſt. The gold medals given annually by his Grace the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of Cambridge, to thoſe who, after having taken their A. B. degree, paſs the beſt claſſical examination, were adjudged to Mr. Rd. Ramſden, and Mr. Ralph Leyceſter, both of Trinity college.

The Pope has formally ſuſpended Cardinal Rohan, now in the Baſtile, from all honours, rights, and privileges, pertaining to his dignity of Cardinal, till he appears before his Holineſs, and clears himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge.

An action upon the caſe was tried this month before Mr. Juſtice Buller, at Guildhall, London, in which Lord Loughborough was plaintiff, and John Walter, printer of the Univerſal Regiſter, defendant, for a libel, in propagating an infamous and injurious report, highly injurious to the honour and character of the plaintiff. The facts being fully proved, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 150l. damages.

Died. Feb. 2d, in the evening, at his houſe in Parliament-ſtreet, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, John Jebb, M. D. F. R. S. formerly fellow of St. Peter's college, Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Homersfield, and vicar of Flixton, in Suffolk, which he reſigned in 1775, becauſe he could no longer conform to the worſhip of the Church of England, for the reaſons which he publiſhed at the time.

APRIL.

Letters from Caſtlebar give an authentic account of one of the moſt ſhocking murders ever committed. A difference had for ſome time ſubſiſted between G. R. Fitzgerald and Patrick Randal M'Donald, Eſqrs. Mr. M'Donald kept much on his guard, as he received many informations, that ſeveral parties of Fitzgerald's men were looking out for him, with an avowed determination to deſtroy him. In the evening of the 20th of Feb. laſt Mr. M'Donald went for the greater ſecurity to the houſe of Mr. Martin, in the neighbourhood of Caſtlebar, in company with Mr. Gallagher and another gentleman. They had been there but a very few minutes, when the houſe was ſurrounded by a large party of armed men, who inſtantly broke in, bound Mr. M'Donald, Mr. Gallagher, and the other gentleman, and immediately carried them off to the houſe of Rockfield, where Fitzgerald as it is ſaid then was. After a ſhort ſtay an armed party led out the unfortunate gentlemen into the park. In a few ſeconds a platoon was fired, and laid one of the devoted victims dead on the ſpot. Mr. M'Donald and Mr. Gallagher were ordered to go about 50 yards farther, when a ſecond platoon was fired. Mr. M'Donald inſtantly fell dead, upwards of 50 ſlugs paſſing into his body. Mr. Gallagher received alſo ſeveral ſlugs, but, as Providence would have it, he was not mortally wounded. However, he thought it prudent, after ſtaggering a few yards, to fall and appear motionleſs, in order to deceive the murderers. In this wounded ſtate they brought him back to Fitzgerald's houſe, where they had returned but a few minutes, when the houſe was ſurrounded by the army from Caſtlebar, many of the volunteers, gentlemen, and crowds of people from that town and neighbourhood. They ſpeedily got into the houſe, delivered Mr. Gallagher in a moſt critical moment, ſeized ſeveral of the murderers, and after a very ſtrict and long ſearch found Fitzgerald locked up in a large cheſt, and hid under two blankets. He and ſeveral of his people were immediately conducted to Caſtlebar, and ſafely lodged in the gaol, which has been continually guarded both by the army and volunteers, to prevent any poſſibility of an eſcape.

Caſtlebar, April 12. Mr. Fitzgerald was brought upon a bed into court, when, upon affidavit ſtating his ill health, &c. the trial was poſtponed until Friday the 18th of this month.

At Godſtone, in Surrey, a murder was lately committed, attended with circumſtances of the moſt vindictive barbarity. An impoſtor, under pretence of being a cripple, had long been a charge upon the pariſh; but being detected by Mr. Burt, a ſurgeon of that town, the villain vowed revenge; and, on the 13th inſtant, ſeized the opportunity to put his diabolical purpoſe in execution. He had on that day, as uſual, taken his ſtand upon the road to beg alms, ſupported by crutches; and, on Mr. Burt's paſſing from his own houſe to the poor-houſe, accompanied by his ſon, a lad about ten years of age, after exclaiming, "There goes "that raſcal Burt," he threw a bill at his legs, which fortunately miſſed them, and then purſuing, and preſently overtaking him, by a blow from his crutch brought him to the ground; this was followed by a repetition of blows upon the head with his hand-bill, till he actually buried the bill in Mr. Burt's ſkull. Mr.

Burt's hand was ſevered from the arm in endeavouring to ſave his head, and a thumb was afterwards found at ſome diſtance, which had been chopt off, and had ſprung from the hand by the force with which the blows had been directed. At this horrible moment, the little boy, ſeizing the murderer's crutch, ſtruck him ſuch a blow as to ſtagger him; but, fearing his father's fate, ran to call aſſiſtance; and in the mean while the villain made off; but was ſoon after found hid in a copſe. On his being ſeized, he lamented that the overſeers had eſcaped his vengeance. Had he done for them, he ſhould have died contented. What he was not able to effect, his wife has threatened to perpetrate, if her huſband is hurt.

1ſt. At the aſſizes held at Kingſton, before Mr. Juſtice Gould, was decided the great cauſe which held three days, brought by way of indictment, at the ſuit of the corporation of London, as conſervators of the river Thames, againſt Mr. Watſon, a ſhipwright and wharfinger at Rotherhithe, for obſtructing the navigation of the ſaid river, by erecting a floating-dock. The jury, after five hours deliberation, found the defendant guilty.

4th. Came on the election of a governor and deputy governor of the bank of England for the year enſuing, when George Peters, Eſq. was choſen governor, and Edward Darell, Eſq. deputy governor.

And on Wedneſday came on the election of 24 directors, when the following gentlemen were choſen:

Samuel Beachcroft, Eſq. Daniel Booth, Eſq. T. Boddington, Eſq. Roger Boehm, Eſq. Samuel Boſanquet, Eſq. Lyde Browne, Eſq. Richard Clay, Eſq. William Cooke, Eſq. Bignel Coney, Eſq. Thomas Dea, Eſq. William Ewer, Eſq. Peter Gauſſen, Eſq. Daniel Giles, Eſq. John Harriſon, Eſq. T. Scott Jackſon, Eſq. Richard Neave, Eſq. Edward Payne, Eſq. Chriſtopher Puller, Eſq. Thomas Raikes, Eſq. Godf. Thornton, Eſq. Samuel Thornton, Eſq. Mark Weyland, Eſq. Benjamin Winthrop, Eſq. Benjamin Whitmore, jun. Eſq.

Mr. Burke preſented, in the moſt ſolemn manner, nine articles of impeachment againſt Warren Haſtings, late Gov. Gen. of Bengal, which were ordered to be printed, and taken into conſideration on the 26th inſtant.

11th. The Court of Directors of the India Company made the following arrangement of their ſervants at Bengal and Madras in conſequence of the new India bill having received the royal aſſent, viz. Earl Cornwallis is appointed governor-general and commander in chief; Gen. Sloper recalled, and to receive an annuity of 1500l. a year for life; the Bengal council to conſiſt of Earl Cornwallis, Meſſ. Macpherſon, Stables, and Stuart; and Mr. John Shore to ſucceed to the firſt vacancy in the ſupreme council; the ſyſtem of uniting the chief, civil, and military authority to take place at each preſidency; of courſe, Governor Sir Archibald Campbell is appointed governor and commander in chief at Madras; Gen. Dalling alſo recalled, with an annuity of 1000l. a year for life. The Madras council to conſiſt of Sir Archibald Campbell, Meſſ. Daniel, Davidſon, and Caſſamajor.

12th. Came on the ballot for ſix Directors of the Eaſt-India Company, at the cloſe of which the numbers were, for Joſeph Sparkes, Eſq. 755; Richard Hall, Eſq. 754; William Benſley, Eſq. 746; John

Hunter, Eſq. 648; John Smith, Eſq. 647; John Travers, Eſq, 628; George Tatem, Eſq. 444; John Lewis, Eſq. 417: whereupon the firſt ſix were declared duly elected.

The Court of Directors granted an annuity of 1500l. per annum to Lord Macartney, as a conſideration for the unexampled integrity and ability diſplayed by that nobleman during his adminiſtration at Fort St. George.

13th. The Norriſian prize for 1786 was aſſigned to the Rev. Mr. Pearſon, A. M. Fellow of Sydney college, for his Eſſay on the Goodneſs of God, as manifeſted in the miſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.

17th. At half paſt ſix in the evening, the weſt tower of Hereford cathedral, erected with the nave, in the reign of William Rufus, by Robert de Lozinga, the ſecond biſhop of that ſee, unfortunately fell down. This accident had been expected ſome days, from the gradual dropping of mortar and ſmall ſtones from it, and from the ſettling of the walls and arches from their perpendicular for two or three years before, to which very little attention had been paid, or the aſſiſtance given by filling up arches of the nave been ineffectual. Fortunately no lives were loſt, though numbers of people were walking in the church-yard. This front was one of our fineſt remains of Norman architecture.

Died. At his ſeat in the New Foreſt, Hants, Charles Studwick, Eſq. aged 101. He acquired a conſiderable fortune in being an agent for priſoners in the wars of Q. Anne and Geo. I.

At Scarborough, in her 106th year, Mrs. Hunter, who retained her faculties to the laſt. An hour before ſhe expired, ſhe deſired her maiden name (Noel) might be put upon her tomb-ſtone, being a deſcendant of that family, alſo third couſin to the preſent Duke of Rutland, and third couſin to the Earl of Gainſborough.

MAY.

On the 11th of laſt month [April] Blanchard performed his 27th aerial excurſion. He took his departure from Doway in Flanders, and deſcended near l'Etoile, a village in Picardy, a voyage of 90 miles (as the papers ſay) in as many minutes.

3d. The ancient and honourable ſociety of Free and Accepted Maſons held their anniverſary feaſt at their elegant hall in Great Queen-ſtreet, when his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland was unanimouſly re-elected grand maſter of the ſociety; and the earl of Effingham acting grand maſter; Rowland Holt, eſq. deputy grand maſter; Sir Nich. Nugent, bart. and N. Newnham, eſq. alderman, grand wardens; James Heſeltine, eſq. grand treaſurer; Mr. Wm. White, grand ſecretary; Rev. A. H. Eccles, grand chaplain; and Mr. John Paiba, grand ſword-bearer.

4th. Lord Geo. Gordon was excommunicated from the pariſh church of St. Mary le-bonne.

11th. The celebrated cauſe between Miſs Melliſh and Miſs Rankin was re-heard before lord Loughborough, in the court of common pleas, when, after a trial of eleven hours, the jury brought in a verdict for Miſs Rankin.

The Rodney Indiaman brought the following account of the loſs of the Montague Indiaman, written by Mr James Elliot, who belonged to that unfortunate ſhip.

“ *December* 6, 1785, As we lay at Diamond Point, about ſeventy miles below Calcutta, we had taken in 4100 bags of ſalt-petre, and were ſtowing them; the caulker's mate was going to heat pitch upon the upper deck to pay his work: he called down the fore hatch-way to the gunner's boy, to hand him up ſome fire, upon a ſmall ſhovel of the armourer's, to make a fire in the forge, to heat his pitch; the boy handing the fire up the fore-hatchway (the fore-hatches being unlaid) let a piece of the fire fall down upon the ſalt-petre (one of the bags having burſt); there was looſe ſalt-petre in the ſquare of the hatchway, which immediately caught fire. We attempted to ſmother it; but the flames increaſed ſo faſt, that we could not ſtay above three minutes in the hold after ſhe firſt took fire. Mr. Benger, the chief officer, came down into the hold, but was forced to go up again immediately. Our cutter and yawl were hauled on ſhore, and the long-boat was aground in Diamond Creek. I came out of the hold with the chief officer, and went into the ſtern-gallery to look for a boat. The third officer was then almoſt along-ſide the Dutton, with ſome men in the jolly-boat. Perceiving there was no aſſiſtance near, I left Mr. Benger in the ſtern-gallery, and got out of one of the quarter-ports into the mizen-chain, and jumped overboard; when I ſwam under the ſtern, Mr. Benger was hanging by a rope, which he quitted, and immediately the ſhip blew up. I never ſaw any more of Mr. Benger. Mr. Williams, the third officer, picked me up in the jolly-boat, with a great many more. I was not above twenty yards from the ſhip when ſhe blew up. From the firſt of her taking fire till her exploſion, did not exceed five minutes. We loſt Mr. Benger, the chief officer; Mr. M'Intoſh, the fifth officer; Mr. Sampſon, ſurgeon's mate; Mr. Wier, Mr. Vincent Williams, Mr. Collins; Mr. Chamberland, midſhipman; Mr. Sangſter, gunner; and twenty-five foremaſt men.”

18th. Was held the anniverſary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, at which were preſent the lord mayor of London, the two archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, ſeveral peers and gentlemen of diſtinction, (amongſt them Lord Monboddo and Sir J. Reynolds) with many dignified and other clergy. The ſermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Horſley, LL.D. archdeacon of St. Alban's, from Deut. xv. 12.

The collection at the Rehearſal on Tueſday was - - -	201	9	0
At St. Paul's on Thurſday - -	209	8	7
At Merchant Taylor's Hall - - -	568	11	7
Total	£. 976	8	7

DIED. Lately, in Fionia, aged 114 years, Chriſtian Souſhen. In his youth he was in the ſervice, and preſent at the battles of Gadebuſche, Wiſmar, Strailſund, and at Tendern, where the celebrated Gen. Steenborch was taken priſoner.

JUNE.

1ſt. On the 31ſt of May the parliament of Paris publiſhed an arrêt relative to the famous affair of the necklace, of which the following is the ſubſtance, viz. the word *approuve*, and the ſignature

“ Marie Antoinette de France,” were fraudulently uſed in the bargain which took place relative to the diamonds, and thoſe words are falſely attributed to the Queen. The Comte de la Motte is fully convicted of contempt of court, and condemned, when taken, to be whipped, and marked with the letters G A L, and to be ſent to the galleys for life. Madame Jeanne Valois de la Motte to be whipped, and marked with the letter V upon the two ſhoulders, with a halter round the neck, and confined for life in the Salpetrierre. Villette is condemned to perpetual baniſhment from the kingdom. The Cardinal de Rohan, and M. de Caglioſtro, are diſcharged from all accuſation; and Mademoiſelle Oliva diſmiſſed the court.

Oxford. The chancellor's prizes for the preſent year are ſeverally adjudged to Mr. Abbot, A. B. of Corpus Chriſti College, for an Engliſh eſſay on the “ uſe and abuſe of ſatire:” and to Mr. Le Breton of Pembroke, for Latin verſe on “ painted glaſs.”

Yeſterday the grand muſical feſtival commenced at Weſtminſter Abbey with a miſcellaneous ſelection of ſome of the beſt works of Handel. By ten o'clock the aile and galleries were filled with a company the moſt numerous and elegant that ever were aſſembled on a ſimilar occaſion, which, with the preſence of the Royal Family and their attendants, and an orcheſtra conſiſting of 640 muſicians, formed a *coup d'œil*, the effect of which it is impoſſible to deſcribe. The diſpoſition of the church was moſt beautifully conceived in the manner of a grand ſaloon, with two riſing galleries. The nave of the church contained the platform, and the two ailes formed one gallery, which was continued in one range under the king's box to either ſide. The fronts were hung in feſtoons with rich crimſon ſilk furniture. That part which forms the front was variegated with white ſattin. The diſpoſition of the king's box was the ſame as laſt year.

8th. A duel was fought near Kenſington, between Lord Macartney and Major-general Stuart, of which the following is an authentic account:

“ The place and time of meeting having been previouſly fixed, the parties arrived about half paſt four o'clock in the morning, and took their ground at the diſtance of twelve ſhort paces, meaſured off by the ſeconds, who delivered to each one piſtol, keeping poſſeſſion of the remaining arms. General Stuart told Lord Macartney, he doubted, as his lordſhip was ſhort-ſighted, he would not be able to ſee him; his lordſhip replied, “ he did, perfectly well.” When the ſeconds had retired a little on one ſide, and as the parties were about to level, General Stuart obſerved to Lord Macartney, that his piſtol was not cocked; his lordſhip thanked him, and cocked. When they had levelled, General Stuart ſaid, he was ready; his lordſhip anſwered, he was likewiſe ready; and they both fired within a few inſtants of each other. The ſeconds, obſerving Lord Macartney wounded, ſtepped up to him, and declared the matter muſt reſt here; General Stuart ſaid, “ this is no ſatisfaction;” and aſked if his lordſhip was not able to fire another piſtol; his lordſhip replied, “ he would try with pleaſure,” and urged Colonel Fullarton to permit him to proceed. The ſeconds, however, declared it was impoſſible, and they would on no account allow it. General Stuart ſaid, "Then I muſt defer it till another occaſion!" on which his Lordſhip anſwered, "If that is the caſe, we had better proceed now. I am here in conſequence of a meſſage from General Stuart, who called upon me to give him ſatisfaction in my private capacity for offence taken at my public conduct; and, to evince that perſonal ſafety is no conſideration with me, I have nothing perſonal: the general may proceed as he thinks fit." General Stuart ſaid, "It was his lordſhip's perſonal conduct to him that he reſented." The ſeconds then put an end to all further converſation between the parties, neither of whom had quitted their ground; General Stuart, in conſequence of his ſituation, having been under the neceſſity from the firſt of putting his back to a tree.

The ſurgeons, Mr. Hunter and Mr. Home, and who were attending at a little diſtance, were brought up by Colonel Fullarton. Colonel Gordon, in the mean time, aſſiſted his lordſhip in taking off his coat, and requeſted him to ſit down, apprehending he might be faint through loſs of blood. Colonel Gordon then left the ground, in company with General Stuart; and an eaſy carriage was provided to convey his lordſhip home.

Signed, W. Fullarton,
A. Gordon."

19th. Came on to be tried before Lord Loughborough, in the court of Common Pleas, the action brought by the right honourable Charles James Fox, againſt Thomas Corbett, Eſq. high bailiff of Weſtminſter, for not returning him as a repreſentative for Weſtminſter, when duly elected by a legal majority of votes; the damages were laid at 100,000l. and the jury, after a few minutes conſultation, gave a verdict of 2000l. damages.

This ſum, Mr. Fox has declared, ſhall be diſtributed among the charities of Weſtminſter.

On the 21ſt of June the ſentence on Madame de la Motte was carried into execution. At a quarter after ſix in the morning, one of the turnkeys of the priſon went up to her ſleeping apartment, and, without any apology for diſturbing her at that early hour, told her, in a brutal manner, to "riſe and follow him." The affrighted lady refuſed to obey; but when ſhe was ſhewn a royal mandate, ſhe, though reluctantly, followed the turnkey, and was by him conducted to the inner gate. She no ſooner deſcended the laſt ſtep of the ſtairs, than ſhe was ſeized on by two ſatellites of the law, by them hand-cuffed, and inexorably embraced. When the counteſs appeared before the Greffier, and her ſentence was read to her, it threw her into the moſt frantic rage; ſhe uttered calumnious and unheard-of imprecations againſt the court, the parliament, and the cardinal; but this ſame great ſpirit deſerted her when ſhe felt the hangman putting the rope about her neck; ſhe was at that inſtant ſeen in tears. The inſtruments for her further puniſhment, the brand, ſome other tools, and a red-hot fire, called up all her former rage: ſhe then curſed and ſwore in the moſt unwoman-like manner, and uttered alternate cries of grief and deſpair. It was with difficulty that the hot iron could be applied to her ſhoulder; the executioner muſt have been an adept, to have ſucceeded in that part of his profeſſion. She rolled herſelf on the ground, and kicked at him with ſuch violence, that ſome ſtrength was required to perform the ignominious operation. The very inſtant the execution was over, ſhe was conducted to the Salpetrierre, where ſhe is deſtined to ſpend the remainder of her days. All Paris is incenſed at the barbarous conduct of the magiſtrates who preſided at the execution of Madame de la Motte; their inhumanity reflects the greateſt diſhonour on them. The unhappy comteſſe was burnt in three places, through the inattention of theſe guardians of our laws! She is now dangerouſly ill in the infirmary of the Salpetrierre; a burning fever deprives her of her reaſon; and in the height of her delirium ſhe utters the moſt out-of-the-way imprecations. The ſuperior of the houſe treats her with all poſſible humanity.

30th. A very intereſting cauſe was determined in the cockpit, by an appeal to the lords of the council from the court of admiralty. The queſtion related to the prize, or capture, made by Commodore Johnſtone laſt war. It was, Whether the capture was prize or booty; and then, conſequently, whether the property then taken by the fleet and land forces under his command came within the prize act. As the deſtination of the armament was againſt the Cape of Good Hope, and as a conſiderable land force, under the command of General Meadows, was aboard, and ſhared in the action, their lordſhips determined that the caſe in queſtion did not come within the prize act. The conſequence is, that the whole property is claimed by the crown, and the captors muſt relinquiſh their hopes of prize-money, and depend on the royal bounty for whatever compenſation his majeſty may think proper.

DIED. Lately, at Woolwich, aged 105, Iſabella Dryden. She had been twice in America ſince ſhe was 85 years of age, and retained her ſenſes to the day of her death.

At Dunbar, aged 114, Magnus Reid. He was born at Polmaiſe, near Stirling, and was bred a huſbandman near Dunblain, and continued in that profeſſion till about thirty years ago, when he commenced travelling chapman, which he practiſed till within eight weeks of his death.

JULY.

1ſt. An action of treſpaſs was lately tried in the court of King's Bench, by which the right of following hounds in purſuit of game, by qualified perſons, was clearly aſcertained.

5th. Came on before the lords commiſſioners of appeals, two cauſes againſt Lord Rodney, General Vaughan, and the other captors of Euſtatia.—Mr. Lindo and Mr. Ingram, appellants—the firſt to the amount of about 12,000l. the latter 1000l. Upon both theſe appeals the captors were caſt in damages, and full coſts. The lords who attended were Camden, Grantley, and Mulgrave.

6th. Aylett's (the attorney convicted for perjury) writ of error was ſolemnly argued before the Houſe of Lords. There were nine aſſignments of error, all which their lordſhips were pleaſed to ſet aſide by the unanimous opinion of the judges preſent. Earl Bathurſt then moved, That the judgment be affirmed. Agreed.

Berlin, June 8. The king has paſſed ſentence upon a counſellor of the regency, which makes a great ſtir here. Mr. Glave, counſellor at Konigſberg, being accuſed of corruption, his majeſty charged the preſident of the chamber of that place to make the neceſſary judicial enquiries into the affair, and the delinquent was condemned to two years impriſonment in a fortreſs; the counſellor, not ſatisfied with the deciſion, made another appeal; the king, after a mature examination, not only confirmed the above ſentence, but ordered that the delinquent ſhould work at the barrow during the two years of his impriſonment.

Vienna, June 12. The emperor has ſuppreſſed the chapters of Wigthrengen and Trelergen, in Carinthia; and thoſe of Lambrecht, Neuberg, Stanz, Croatman, and Pallau, in Styria. The convents of capuchins, recollets, and dominicans, are alſo aboliſhed.

Oxford, July 29. At our aſſizes came on to be tried before Mr Baron Eyre, a cauſe of great importance to the public in general, on a queſtion, Whether a farmer who occaſionally dealt in horſes was ſubject to the bankrupt laws, as a trader? It was an action of trover, brought on the aſſignees of John Davis, a farmer of Whitchurch, in this county, againſt Mr. John Sherwood, of Purley, in the county of Berks, to recover back 249 l. 18 s. which he had received under an execution levied on the bankrupt's effects; when the jury, after an hour's conſultation, brought in a verdict for the plaintiffs, whereby they eſtabliſhed the trading, and gave the above ſum in damages, together with full coſts of ſuit.

Gottingen, July 25. The three youngeſt princes of Great Britain were entered of this univerſity on the 6th of this month, each of them accompanied by a governor, a preceptor, and a gentleman; their royal highneſſes are lodged in one houſe, and the expences of their table fixed at 600 crowns per week, including two grand inſtitution dinners, to which the profeſſors and ſome ſtudents are invited. Profeſſor Mayer teaches the princes the German language; Mr. Heyne inſtructs them in Latin; the eccleſiaſtic counſellor Leſs teaches them religion; and the counſellor Feder inſtructs them in morality; theſe maſters are rewarded by an extraordinary appointment of 1000 crowns per annum each.

26th. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 19th, ended, when twelve convicts received ſentence of death; among whom was Samuel Burt, for forgery. This man, when he was aſked, what he had to ſay why judgment to die ſhould not be paſſed, according to law? addreſſed the court as follows: "My lord, I am too ſenſible of the crime which I have committed, and for which I juſtly deſerve to ſuffer; my life I have forfeited, and wiſh to reſign it into the hands of Him who gave it me. To give my reaſons for this, would only ſatisfy an idle curioſity; no one can feel a more ſenſible, heartfelt ſatisfaction in the hopes of ſhortly paſſing into eternity; wherein, I truſt, I ſhall meet with great felicity. I have not the leaſt deſire to live; and, as the jury and the court on my trial thought proper to recommend me to mercy, if his majeſty ſhould, in conſequence thereof, grant me a reſpite, I here vow, in the face of Heaven, that I will put an end to my own exiſtence as ſoon as I can. It is death that I wiſh for, becauſe nothing but death can extricate me from the troubles which my follies have involved me in."

DIED. Lately, at Paris, of an apoplexy, in his 114th year, Joſeph Buller, a native of Savoy. He ſerved ſeveral years under Prince Eugene, and had worked near 60 years on the quays at Paris. The only illneſs he ever experienced was a diſtemper in his eyes, occaſioned by a fall from a pile of wood when about 50 years of age. He had lived 57 years with one wife, and renewed his marriage at St. Etrenne du Mont. He followed his buſineſs to the age of 105, and would not then have left it off, had not the charitable contributions raiſed for him enabled him to ſubſiſt without it. A print of him was publiſhed ſome years ago, at the bottom of which it is ſaid, that his father died aged 123 years 10 months.

At Ottery, in the county of Devon, aged 119, Mrs. Heath. This lady perfectly recollected the landing of King William at Torbay.

AUGUST.

Dublin, Auguſt 1ſt. On the 21ſt of July the lord mayor, ſheriff, and commons and citizens of Dublin, ordered, that the freedom of their city be granted to the right honourable John Earl of Chatham, and that the ſame be preſented to the ſaid earl by the lord mayor and ſheriffs; and the ſame was preſented accordingly, and thankfully received.

Caſſel, Auguſt 8. The king of Great Britain, ſovereign of the moſt noble order of the Garter, having been pleaſed to appoint the Lord Viſcount Dalrymple, his majeſty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, and Sir Iſaac Heard, knt. garter principal at arms, plenipotentiary, for inveſting his ſerene highneſs the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel with the habit and enſigns of the moſt noble order of the Garter; they met here the 5th inſtant.

Kelſo, Aug. 11. About two this morning a ſhock of an earthquake was felt here; its motion was from weſt to eaſt. The motion was ſucceeded by a noiſe as if the tiles had been tumbling from the roof.

Cockermouth, Aug. 11. About five minutes before two this morning we had a ſmart ſhock of an earthquake, which continued three or four ſeconds, attended with a noiſe as if a well-packed hogſhead had been thrown with violence on a boarded floor. The ſtrings of a ſpinnet were heard to vibrate; others thought thieves had broken in.

Whitehaven, Aug. 11. A few minutes before two this morning the ſhock of an earthquake was very ſenſibly felt in this town and neighbourhood; its continuance from three to five ſeconds. The barometer at twenty-nine degrees, the weather cloſe and ſultry. Its direction ſuppoſed from ſouth to eaſt, accompanied with a rumbling noiſe in the air. There was not ſufficient light to make farther obſervations: the conſternation it cauſed was inexpreſſible. A chimney was thrown down in Tangren-ſtreet; three people, in different parts of the town, were thrown off their feet, and one conſiderably hurt.

16th. His majeſty, the queen, and their royal highneſſes the princeſs royal, princeſs Auguſta, and princeſs Elizabeth, ſet out from Earl Harcourt's ſeat at Nuneham Court, after divine ſervice on Sunday morning laſt, and arrived at the Eaſtern gate of the public ſchools at Oxford ſoon after one o'clock. They were conducted through the Divinity School to the Sheldonian Theatre, where their majeſties and the princeſſes being ſeated, the vice-chancellor preſented an addreſs from himſelf, and the maſters and ſcholars of the univerſity, which his majeſty was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly, and to return a moſt gracious anſwer.

Their majeſties from thence proceeded to viſit the chapel at New College, the colleges of Wadham, Trinity, Lincoln, and Brazen Noſe. They then went to the Council Chamber, where an addreſs was preſented from the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, and moſt graciouſly received by his majeſty, who was at the ſame time pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on Richard Tawney, eſq. ſenior alderman of the city of Oxford. Their majeſties, with the princeſſes, then viſited Chriſt Church College, and retured to Nuneham the ſame evening, at about half an hour after ſix o'clock.

Their majeſties and the princeſſes ſet out again from Nuneham between nine and ten o'clock on Monday morning, and arrived at Blenheim between eleven and twelve, having been met, and attended thither, by the inhabitants of Woodſtock. Their majeſties were received at Blenheim by the duke and ducheſs of Marlborough, with every mark of attention and reſpect. After having viewed the houſe, and as much of the park as the time would admit of, they returned to Nuneham about eight o'clock.

On Tueſday morning, at Nuneham, his majeſty was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on Charles Nourſe, eſq. of Oxford; and an addreſs was there preſented to the king from the gentlemen, clergy, and other inhabitants of the town of Witney, and its neighbourhood, which his majeſty was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly.

Their majeſties and the princeſſes left Nuneham a little after one o'clock, and arrived at Windſor a little before ſix o'clock on Tueſday evening.

DIED. Lately, at Smalley, Mary Bailey, aged 106.

SEPTEMBER.

Oxford, Sept. 16. On Tueſday evening arrived here the archduke and archducheſs of Auſtria, under the titles of count and counteſs of Nellembourg; prince Charles Albani, firſt couſin to the archducheſs, and his conſort; prince Rezzonico, ſenator of Rome; count Soderini, the Venetian reſident, prince Lichtenſtein; and count Rezvieſki, the Imperial ambaſſador. Theſe illuſtrious viſitors, with their ſuite, were next morning conducted to ſeveral of the public buildings and colleges; and on Wedneſday went to Blenheim, the ſeat of the duke of Marlborough. On Thurſday they made the tour of Stowe, the ſeat of the marquis of Buckingham; and yeſterday morning ſet out for Nuneham, the ſeat of the

Earl of Harcourt. Returning about one o'clock, their royal highneſſes viſited the reſt of the colleges, obſervatory, &c.

18th. In compliment to the archduke of Auſtria, his majeſty this day commenced the hunting ſport on Windſor-foreſt. He was accompanied by his highneſs during the chace.

The royal obſequies of the late king of Pruſſia were performed on the 9th inſtant, with the greateſt pomp. The affluent diſplay on this occaſion was truly aſtoniſhing. The church was hung in all parts with paintings repreſenting, 1ſt, the conqueſt of Sileſia. 2dly, The war ſuſtained by his late majeſty againſt ſix ſovereigns, from 1756 to 1763. 3dly, The embelliſhments of the towns, and the cultivation of waſte lands throughout the Pruſſian dominions. 4thly, The taking poſſeſſion of Weſtern Pruſſia. 5thly, The late German confederacy.—6thly, The protection granted during the late reign to the arts and ſciences. Six trophies were alſo erected within the church, on which were inſcribed the names of the twelve principal battles during the life of Frederic II, viz, Mollwitz, Czaſlau, Sorr, Hohenfriedberg, Keſſelsdorff, Lowozits, Prague, Roſbach, Leuther, Zorndorff, Leignitz, and Torgau. The whole ceremony did not laſt above two hours, after which a dinner of 600 covers was ſerved in different apartments. On riſing from table, his majeſty retired to Sans Souci, and in the evening to Charlottenburgh. The chamberlains, General Rohdich and Vander Reck, who had the direction of the funeral pomp, were each preſented by the king with an elegant gold box, richly ſet with brilliants, in token of his ſatisfaction.

On Monday, October 2, the new monarch received the homage of his ſubjects at Berlin. This ceremony is obſerved in Pruſſia inſtead of a coronation, and is no leſs magnificent.

Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Sept. 20.

Lunardi's attempt to aſcend yeſterday from the Spital ground was productive of a very melancholy accident. The balloon was about one-third full, and a great many gentlemen were holding it by the netting, when Lunardi went to pour into the ciſtern the reſt of the oil of vitriol deſtined for the purpoſe. This having cauſed a ſtrong efferveſcence, generated inflammable air with ſuch rapidity, that ſome of it eſcaped from two different parts of the lower end of the apparatus, and ſpread among the feet of ſeveral gentlemen who were holding the balloon, and who were ſo alarmed, that leaving it at liberty, they ran from the ſpot. The balloon now roſe with great velocity, carrying up with it Mr. Ralph Heron, a gentleman of this town, about twenty-two years of age, ſon of Mr. Heron, under-ſheriff of Northumberland.

This unhappy victim held a ſtrong rope which was faſtened to the crown of the balloon, twiſted about his hand, and could not diſengage himſelf when the other gentlemen fled; he was of courſe elevated about the height of St. Paul's cupola, when the balloon turned downward, the crown divided from it, and the unfortunate gentleman fell to the ground.

He did not expire immediately, having fallen upon very ſoft ground; he ſpoke for ſome time to his unhappy

happy parents, and to the ſurgeons who came to aſſiſt him; but his internal veſſels being broken, he died about an hour and an half after the fall.

18th. The Lady Catherine Boccabadati, wife of the Marquis Senator Albergati Capacelli, aged 38 years, ended her life at Bologna in the moſt tragical manner. Having had a diſpute at dinner, about an object of ſmall importance, which ſhe defended with ſome heat, and being contradicted by her huſband, ſhe left the room, taking with her a child of eight years old, with whom ſhe went up ſtairs, and after tenderly embracing the child, ſhe took out of a caſe a Venetian dagger, which ſhe inſtantly ran into her body. The child immediately crying out, alarmed the family, and the Marquis running up ſtairs, the enraged lady with redoubled fury, on ſeeing him, plunged the dagger through her heart; by which ſecond thruſt ſhe inſtantly fell dead at his feet.

On Wedneſday, Auguſt the 3d, about four in the afternoon, as Cardinal Turlone, High Inquiſitor of the Holy Office, was coming from the Vatican, he was ſet upon by an incenſed multitude, who forced his eminence out of the carriage, and after cutting off his noſe and ears, and mangling him in a moſt ſhocking manner, dragged the butchered carcaſe to Monte Tiburno, where they hung it on a gibbet 50 feet high, which they erected for that purpoſe. The reaſons aſſigned for this popular execution are various; but that, which ſeems to have wrought moſt powerfully on the minds of the populace, was the cruelty of his diſpoſition, which exceeded even that of Nero; for when, by the rigour with which he had exerciſed the office of inquiſitor, he had filled the gaols throughout the Pope's dominions with induſtrious artificers and others, on ſlight pretences, and a motion was made in the Vatican for an act of grace, inſtead of giving that motion his ſuffrage, he ſent an expreſs order to the ſeveral gaolers to keep their priſoners double-ironed, leſt an eſcape ſhould be attempted. He was originally a Black-friar; but for ſome time was a pleader at the bar, and raiſed to the purple, to the amazement of the people, by a concatenation of crafty and iniquitous intrigues.

29th. This day Thomas Sainſbury, Eſq. alderman of Billingſgate Ward, was elected lord mayor of London for the year enſuing.

DIED. Lately, at Paris, M. Beaujon, the rich financier, the king's banker, &c. ſaid to be worth two millions ſterling.

5th. At his houſe in Red-Lion-ſquare, Jonas Hanway, Eſq. celebrated for his numerous acts of humanity and benevolence.

OCTOBER.

Weſt-Indies. About the beginning of Auguſt, a moſt violent ſtorm laid almoſt waſte the ſouthern coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and had driven out to ſea all the ſhipping from the port of St. Euſtatius, and deſtroyed moſt of the ſmall craft in that harbour.

And by advices from Guadeloupe a moſt terrible hurricane deſtroyed a great part of the plantations on that iſland, and three ſhips that lay in the harbour were totally loſt. This hurricane happened on the 10th of September, and it is feared has done a great deal of damage on other iſlands.

On Saturday the ſecond of September a moſt alarming hurricane threw the whole iſland of Barbadoes into the utmoſt conſternation. About eleven at night, when the ſtorm was at its height, a ball of fire, of a very terrifying and luminous appearance, was obſerved in the S. E. iſſuing from a dark cloud, and ſpreading its diverging rays to a vaſt circumference, and continuing with unabated ſplendor near 40 minutes. In the morning of the 3d, Carliſle-bay exhibited the moſt ſhocking picture of deſolation that could be conceived, not a veſſel having rode out the ſtorm. And in the country, had the hurricane continued a little longer, it is thought that univerſal deſolation muſt have enſued. The buildings on many eſtates have ſuffered, and great damage has been done to the fruits of the earth, plantane-walks, corn, cotton, and canes. The negro-houſes are moſtly blown down, and many of their inhabitants killed. In ſhort, nothing can be repreſented more deplorable.

Paris, Oct. 3. They write from Beſiers, that ſome workmen employed in digging a well at Antignac, a village three miles from thence, got to the depth of about ſix toiſes the third of laſt month, when, obſerving water to riſe, they redoubled their activity, and were preſently aſtoniſhed by a moſt violent ſubterraneous exploſion. Having recovered from their ſurprize, they again approached the pit, at the bottom of which they perceived one of their comrades, to whom they called, but received no anſwer. One of his brothers being apprehenſive for his ſafety, deſcended in a bucket, in order to yield him aſſiſtance; but this man ſhewed no ſigns of life after he had reached the bottom. He was followed by a third, who experienced the ſame fate. A fourth had the courage to deſcend, his companions taking the precaution of faſtening a rope to him; and following him with the eye, as he was gently lowered, they ſoon perceived his head to droop, and his whole frame to be violently agitated. Being immediately drawn up, he continued without motion for two hours.—Recourſe was now had to experiments which ought to have been firſt adopted. They let down a cock in a bucket, and on being drawn up it was found on the point of expiring, with its feathers burnt. The ſame was done with a cat, which was almoſt dead when drawn up. By means of hooks and other implements the three perſons were raiſed out of the pit, being quite lifeleſs, and all their ſkin appearing to be calcined. The letters farther ſay, that the ſubterraneous noiſe ſtill continues, and that chemiſts are endeavouring to diſcover the cauſe of the exploſion, and of the vaporous gas, which has proved ſo fatal in its effects. It is added, that vitrified matter has been taken from the pit, which, it is ſuppoſed, muſt have been in a ſtate of fuſion.

About the 15th inſt. a perſon who had the appearance of a drover went into York caſtle, and told the turnkey he wanted to give a little money among the felons. On being aſked how much? he put his hand in his pocket, and pulled out a handful of ſilver with ſome gold, and gave it the turnkey to be diſtributed among the moſt neceſſitous. Being aſked who had ſent it? he ſaid it was his own gift. Being further preſſed to tell his name, he took his leave as if in haſte, and ſaid, he was going to Northampton. The ſame perſon has ſince viſited ſeveral other priſons, and given money to poor objects that he has met on the road.

An inhuman murder was lately committed at Lampeter in Cardiganſhire, on a poor woman who by induſtry and care had got together a little money, and lived in a little cot by herſelf, which was broke open in the night, her money carried off, and herſelf left a dreadful ſpectacle of ſavage cruelty, being ſtabbed in ſeveral parts of her body; her dead corpſe half broiled on a heap of turfs, which it is ſuppoſed had been ſet on fire to burn her cot, and her in it, to prevent ſuſpicion.

Died. Lately, in Portugal, in the pariſh of St. Joannes de Godini, in the dioceſe of Oporto, aged 117, Vereſimo Nogueira. He ſerved as a ſoldier from the age of 17 till he was 37, and was at the battle of Almanza: after he had obtained his diſcharge, he married, had ſeveral children, and maintained his family by his own labour and ſome little independency which he poſſeſſed. He always enjoyed the beſt ſtate of health, and it is not unlikely that he might have lived ſome years longer, had it not been for a fall, in which one of his legs was broken in three places, which occaſioned his death. He had all his teeth, and all his hair, a few of which only were grown grey; and he enjoyed all his faculties to the laſt. This old man is a proof that an advanced age is not confined to the northern climates.

NOVEMBER.

4th. Came on before lord Mansfield and lord Loughborough, at Serjeant's Inn-hall, the ſecond argument in error brought by Governor Johnſtone againſt Captain Sutton, when Mr. Erſkine was heard at full length for the defendant; and Mr. Scott, the governor's counſel, riſing to anſwer, was told it was quite unneceſſary, as nothing had been ſaid which could induce their lordſhips to alter their opinion, that the judgment obtained by Capt. Sutton in the court of Exchequer ſhould be reverſed.—The caſe was ſimply this:—Capt. Sutton obtained a verdict for 5,000l. againſt Commodore Johnſtone. A new trial was granted by the court of Exchequer: a ſecond trial had—a ſecond verdict for 6,000l.—A motion was then made, grounded on ſeveral points of law, to arreſt judgment. The court confirmed the verdict. The Commodore brings a writ of error on the ſame points his motion in arreſt of judgment was founded on. This writ of error, by act of parliament, is in the judgment of the Lord Chancellor; but his lordſhip referred the argument to the two chief juſtices, who have reverſed the judgment of the court of Exchequer.—At preſent, therefore, the matter ſtands thus: four judges have decided for Capt. Sutton, and two for Commodore Johnſtone. The queſtion, it was well known, would eventually go into the houſe of lords: it remains, therefore, to be known, what the Lord Chancellor and the other judges think on the ſubject. The *facts* of the caſe are totally unaltered and unalterable. The queſtion is reduced to a point of law; but though their lordſhips reaſons are not yet public, it is ſuppoſed to be, whether a common-law action will lie at the ſuit of an inferior officer againſt a commander in chief, though it be grounded on *expreſs malice?* The cauſe will certainly go to the houſe of lords, being of no leſs importance to the parties, than to the navy of Great Britain.

10th. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Counteſs of Strathmore was taken from the houſe of Mr. Forſter in Oxford-ſtreet, under pretence of a warrant to take her before lord Mansfield; but in fact to carry her off by a company of armed ruffians. She was forcibly thruſt into her own carriage, her own coachman taken from the box, and a ſtranger put in his place, who drove off at a moſt furious rate, and did not ſtop till he arrived at Barnet, where the carriage was met by a company of armed men: that in paſſing through one of the turnpikes, the lady was ſeen to ſtruggle much, apparently gagged, and in great diſtreſs: but no farther intelligence could then be obtained.

11th. Came on in the court of King's Bench a trial at bar, in the remarkable cauſe between the natural daughter of the late Ch. Melliſh, eſq. and his niece. The cauſe had already been tried, when a verdict was obtained by the daughter, which was ſet aſide by a ſubſequent one in the Common Pleas. The deceaſed made two wills, one in 1774, which gave place to one in 1780. There was alſo a codicil in 1781; and the conteſt was, to which of the wills it applied. The will in 1780 being eſtabliſhed by weight of evidences, the codicil of courſe muſt refer to that, and ſo it was determined.

22d. Yeſterday, Edward Aylette, the attorney, ſtood in the pillory in New Palace Yard, Weſtminſter, for wilful and corrupt perjury.

23d. This day, juſt before the ſitting of the court of King's Bench, Lady Strathmore was brought into Weſtminſter-hall; and immediately on the arrival of the Judges, Mr. Law, her counſel, moved, that ſhe might be permitted to exhibit articles of the peace againſt Mr. Bowes, and ſeveral others; which being granted, he then moved for an attachment againſt Mr. Bowes, and ſeveral of his accomplices, which was likewiſe granted.

27th. Mr. Bowes appeared in the court of King's Bench, when his counſel moved, that he ſhould be diſcharged, on the ground that he had not been *legally* ſerved with the habeas corpus; but the court rejected this motion, conſidering the ſervice as good. A ſimilar motion was likewiſe made, on the ground that Mr. Bowes was actually haſtening to town to make a return to the habeas corpus, but was prevented by the attack upon his perſon, and other unavoidable circumſtances; but the court conſidering this aſſertion as contradicted by the affidavits of other perſons, rejected this motion alſo; and Mr. Bowes was finally committed to the King's Bench priſon till the judges determine what ſecurity he ſhall be obliged to find to keep the peace.

DECEMBER.

4th. John Adams, eſq. the American plenipotentiary, preſented the Rev. Dr. White, of Pennſylvania, and the Rev. Dr. Provoſt, of New York, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be conſecrated biſhops,

ſhops for the United States. The Rev. Dr. Griffith, of Virginia, is to be made a third, to complete the government of the epiſcopal church in thoſe States.

9th. On Wedneſday morning, the St. Auſtle, Capt. Colmer, from Eaſt Loo, was driven on ſhore about a mile to the weſtward of Newhaven pier, and daſhed to pieces. The captain and crew, four in number, quitted the wreck in time to ſave themſelves; but Mr. and Mrs. Giles, a young couple, paſſengers, who could not be prevailed on to leave the veſſel, periſhed. The captain ſays, ſo averſe was Mr. Giles to leave the wreck, that after he (the captain) had got ſafe to land, he laſhed himſelf to a rope, ſwam again to the wreck, and having boarded her, faſtened a rope round Mrs. Giles, for the purpoſe of having her hauled on ſhore; but her huſband immediately caſt it off again, and exclaimed, "My dear Bella, don't leave me!" She ſtaid!—This unfortunate lady was a diſtant relation of Lord Courtney's. The ſailors were treated with the greateſt humanity at Newhaven.

A remarkable inſtance of preſcience lately happened at Naples: an eminent phyſician in that metropolis one evening called up all his domeſtics, and informed them he had provided for them all in his will; after which he took his laſt farewel, telling them, that though he felt himſelf in as good a ſtate of health as he could wiſh, he was certain that the next morning, preciſely at ten o'clock, an apoplectic ſtroke would occaſion his diſſolution, which the event verified in every particular.

19th. The Montego Bay paper. of October 28, mentions a dreadful hurricane at Jamaica, in the night of the 19th, which has done great miſchief in many parts of the iſland. In Weſtmoreland, in particular, the appearance every where denoted the ſuperior violence of this guſt over all that had been experienced ſince 1780. The trees, ſtripped of their leaves, exhibited an appearance as if fire had devoured their verdure; the ſhores were covered with duck, teal, and other aquatic birds, that had been driven with irreſiſtible impetuoſity againſt the trunks of the mangroves, and daſhed to pieces.

Vienna, Nov. 20. An emir of the Turkiſh empire, eſcorted by 12 ſpahis (or Turkiſh horſe) has juſt arrived in this capital from Conſtantinople, with preſents of conſiderable value and magnificence to his Imperial majeſty. Among the preſents are ſome fine Greek urns of the ancient ſculpture, and a large marble ſtatue of Jupiter Tonans, lately found in digging the ruins of an old temple near Adrianople. To this figure are appended four ſilver labels, one on each ſhoulder, and two on the head; on each the word "DIOS" is ſtrongly marked, and the other parts of the inſcription are now under the inveſtigation of a prieſt of Buda, in Hungary, who is eminently ſkilled in antiquities. The tenor of this ambaſſage from the Ottoman Porte is to eſtabliſh a poſitive and ſpecific boundary between the Imperial and the Turkiſh provinces, particularly on the confines of Hungary, where much diſagreement has lately ariſen on the building of ſome forts by the Emperor's governors on the Ottoman territories. It is, however, certain that affairs will be amicably ſettled, and that the agreements between the two empires will be ſo firmly made, as to render permanent and full advantages to both.

With the eſcort have arrived four French prieſts, who had been captured in a veſſel from Marſeilles by a Tuniſian xebeck, claimed there by the French conſul, and ſent from Tunis to Conſtantinople.

DIED. Lately, at Old Conſtantinow, in Volhyrica, in his 124th year, a gentleman named Hodol. When he was twenty-one, he ſerved under Sobieſki, before Vienna: he was never married, nor felt ſickneſs. At 108 he became a Capuchin, and died in that order.

BIRTHS for the year 1786.

Jan. 8. Lady Georgiana Smyth, daughter of the Duke of Grafton, a ſon and heir.

Feb. 14. The lady of Alexander Lord Macdonald, a ſon.

Counteſs of Lincoln, a ſon.

6. Lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, bart. a ſon.

Mar. 21. The Counteſs of Saliſbury, a daughter.

Lady Cadogan, a daughter.

8. Counteſs of Abingdon, a daughter.

9. Counteſs of Balcarras, two ſons.

17. Counteſs of Weſtmoreland, a daughter.

22. Lady of Sir H. Gough, Bart. a ſon.

Apr. 25. Counteſs of Aylesford, a ſon.

28. Lady of the Right Hon. William Eden, a ſon, at Paris.

May 1. Counteſs Fitzwilliam, a ſon and heir.

7. Lady of Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart. a daughter.

14. Lady of the Hon. George Rodney, eldeſt ſon of Lord Rodney, a daughter.

29. Ducheſs of Beaufort, a daughter.

Viſcounteſs Hinton, a ſon.

14. Lady Margaret Beckford, a daughter.

June 15. Lady of Sir John Lake, Bart. a ſon.

17. The Infanta Donna Mariana Victoria, of Portugal, conſort of the Infant Don Gabriel of Spain, a prince.

July 9. Her moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, a princeſs, named Sophia.

12. The lady of Col. George Auguſtus North, a ſon.

14. Lady Catharine Graham, wife of Sir John Graham, Bart. a daughter.

20. Lady of Sir William Maxwell, Bart. a daughter.

Aug. 22. Lady of Sir John Borlace Warren, Bart. a daughter.

Sept. 5. Counteſs of Sutherland, lady of Earl Gower, a ſon and heir.

Lady Clive, a ſon.

6. Marchioneſs of Graham, a ſon and heir.

16. Lady of Lord St. Aſaph, ſon of the Earl of Aſhburnham, a ſon.

20. Lady Harriet Elliot, wife of the Hon. Edward James Elliot, a daughter.

Oct. Lady of Viſcount Maitland, ſon of the Earl of Lauderdale, a ſon.

28. Lady St. John, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Carnaby Haggerſtone,

gerſtone, Bart. a daughter.

Nov. 13. Lady of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a daughter.

Lady of Lord Napier, a ſon.

17. Ducheſs of Grafton, a daughter.

8. Lady of Richard Pepper Arden, Eſq. attorney-general, a ſon.

10. Viſcounteſs Hereford, a daughter.

11. Lady of Lord Balgonie, ſon of the Earl of Leven, a ſon.

21. Counteſs of Abergavenny, a ſon.

MARRIAGES in the year 1786.

Dec. 31. 1785. The Hon. Mr. Pratt, (ſince Lord Viſcount Bayham) to Miſs Moleſworth, daughter and heireſs of the late W. Moleſworth, Eſq.

Feb. 4. 1786. Lieut. Col. Paulus Irvin, to Lady Elizabeth St. Laurence, daughter of the Earl of Howth.

13. Henry Drummond, Eſq. to Miſs Dundas, daughter of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Treaſurer of the Navy.

21. Hon. Frederick Lumley, to Miſs Boddington.

Hon. Mr. Petre, ſon of Lord Petre, to Miſs Howard, niece of the earl of Surrey.

March 8. Earl of Haddington, to Miſs Gaſcoigne.

14. Sir Bourchier Wray, Bart. to Miſs Palk, daughter of Sir Robert Palk.

21. At Bruſſels, Lord John Ruſſell, to the Honourable Georgiana Elizabeth Byng, ſecond daughter of Lord Torrington, miniſter plenipotentiary at that court.

28. Richard Long, jun. Eſq, to Miſs Florentina Wray, ſiſter to Sir Bourchier Wray, Bart.

April 2. Lady Horatio Waldegrave, ſecond daughter of the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, to the Hon. Capt. Conway, ſon of the Earl of Hertford.

8. William Boſcawen, Eſq. of Buſhey, in Hertfordſhire, ſecond ſon of the late Gen. Geo. Boſcawen, and nephew to the late Viſcount Falmouth, to Miſs Charlotte Ibbetſon, daughter of the late Dr. Ibbetſon, Archdeacon of St. Alban's.

May 7. Sir William Twyſden, Bart. to Miſs Fanny Wynch.

9. Walter Sneyd, Eſq. to the Hon. Miſs Bagot, daughter of Lord Bagot.

27. Princeſs Louiſa Auguſta of Denmark, to the Prince of Sleſwick Holſtein.

Sir William Moleſworth, Bart. to Miſs Ourry.

6. Lord Malden, ſon of the Earl of Eſſex, to Mrs. Stephenſon, of Harley-ſtreet.

17. Earl of Cork and Orrery, to the Hon. Miſs Monckton, daughter of the late Lord Galway.

27. Sir Godfrey Webſter, Bart. to Miſs Vaſſall.

June 22. Sir H. P. St. John, Bart. to Miſs Mildmay, of Shanford.

29. Lord Fairford, to Miſs Sandys, niece to Lord Sandys.

July 1. Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Attorney-general of Ireland, to Miſs Whalley, daughter of the late Chapel Whalley, Eſq.

17. Edward Thurlow, Eſq. nephew of the Lord Chancellor, to Miſs Thompſon, of Norwich.

The Earl of Shafteſbury, to Miſs Webb, daughter of Sir John Webb, Bart.

29. William Champian Creſpigny, Eſq. to Lady Sarah Windſor.

Aug. 14. Sir Thomas Moncrieffe, Bart. to Lady Elizabeth Ramſay, daughter of the Earl of Dalhouſie.

29. Sir George Ramſay, Bart. to the Hon. Miſs Eleanor Fraſer, daughter of the late George Lord Saltoun.

Oct. 5. Sir Samuel Fludyer, Bart. to Miſs Weſton, niece to the Duke of Montague.

E. Briſco, Eſq. to Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen.

6. The Hon. Captain de Courcy, brother of Lord Kinſale, to Miſs Blennerhaſſet, niece to Major Poole.

9. Sir James Hall, Bart. to Lady Helen Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Selkirk.

22. Robert Covile, Eſq. of Hemingſtone Hall, in Suffolk, to Miſs Aſgill, daughter of Sir Charles Aſgill, Bart.

14. Hon. Col. Henry Fox, brother to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, to Miſs Clayton, ſiſter to Lady Howard de Walden.

29. Lady Anne Maria Arundel, youngeſt daughter of Lord Arundel of Wardour, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, to the Hon. Charles Clifford, brother to Lord Clifford, of Chudleigh.

Dec. 1. Lord Henry Murray, brother to the Duke of Athol, to Miſs Kent, daughter of Richard Kent, Eſq. of Liverpool.

8. James Henry Leigh, Eſq. nephew to the Duke of Chandos, to the Hon. Miſs Twiſleton, daughter of Lord Say and Sele.

Principal PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1786, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

Jan. 7. George Baldwyn, Eſq. to be conſul general in Egypt.

— 24. Sir John Parnell, Bart. to be privy counſellor in Ireland.

Feb. 4. John Sinclair, Eſq. of Ulbſter, to be a baronet.

— 24. William, Lord Craven, to be lord lieutenant of Berks.

— 28. Granville Leveſon, earl Gower, to be marquis of the county of Stafford.

March 3. Douglas, Duke of Hamilton, to be knight of the Thiſtle.

— 25. John Elliot, rear-admiral, to be governor of Newfoundland.

Hon. Ariana Margaret Egerton,

to be one of her majeſty's bedchamber women.

April 11. Sir Guy Carleton, knight of the Bath, to be governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunſwick.

Francis, Marquis of Carmarthen, to be high-ſteward of Kingſton upon Hull.

— 13. Randal William, earl of Antrim, to be privy counſellor of Ireland.

— 18. Earl of Leven to be high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

May 13. Charles, Lord Camden, to be earl Camden, and viſc. Bayham.

Earl Beaulieu, to be capital and high ſteward of New Windſor.

— 30. Prince Edward to be colonel in the army, by brevet.

June 3. Prince Edward, Prince Erneſt Auguſtus, Prince Auguſtus Frederick, Prince Adolphus Frederick, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, the Duke of Beaufort, the Marquis of Buckingham, and Earl Cornwallis, to be knights of the Garter.

Major-general the Hon. Thomas Bruce, to be reſident major-general on the ſtaff of Ireland.

— 10. The dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, to the following gentlemen, viz. To

James Macpherſon, of Calcutta, Eſq.

James Colquhoun, of Luſs, Eſq.

Sir James Douglas, knight, admiral of the White.

Thomas Shirley, of Oat Hall, in Suſſex, Eſq. governor of the Leeward Caribbee iſlands.

William Green, Eſq. chief engineer at Gibraltar.

Joſhua Rowley, Eſq. rear-admiral of the Red.

Corbet Corbet (late Devenant) of Stoke upon Tern and Adderley, in the county of Salop, Eſq.

Lyonel Wright Vane Fletcher, of Hutton in the Foreſt, in Cumberland, Eſq.

Richard Hoare, of Barn Elms, in Surry, Eſq.

James Hunter Blair, lord provoſt of Edinburgh.

William Charles Farrell Skeffington, Eſq. of Skeffington Hall, in Leiceſterſhire.

— 17. Richard Lord Milford, to be lord lieut. of Pembrokeſhire.

— 15. The Right Hon. Charles Jenkinſon, to be lord Hawkeſbury.

Auguſt 8. John, Duke of Athol, to be Baron Murray of Stanley, in the county of Glouceſter, and Earl Strange.

James, Earl of Abercorn, to be Viſcount Hamilton, of Leiceſterſhire.

George Montague, Duke of Montroſe, to be Baron Montague, of Boughton, in Northamptonſhire, remainder to his grandſon Lord Henry James Montague, ſecond ſon of the Duke of Buccleugh.

William, Duke of Queenſberry to be Baron Douglas of Ameſbury, in Wiltſhire.

George, Earl of Tyrone, in Irelend, to be Baron Tyrone, of Haverfordweſt, in Pembrokeſhire.

Richard, Earl of Shannon, in Ireland, to be Baron Carleton, of Yorkſhire.

John Huſſey, Lord Delaval, of Ireland, to be Lord Delaval, in Northumberland.

Sir Harbord Harbord, bart. to be Lord Suffield, in Norfolk.

Sir Guy Carleton, knight of the Bath, to be Lord Dorcheſter, in Oxfordſhire.

Sept. 2. Hugh, Duke of Northumberland,

thumberland, to be lord lieutenant of that county.

— 5. Right Hon. John Foſter, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in Ireland, to be a privy counſellor in Great Britain.

Right Hon. John Beresford, firſt commiſſioner of the revenue in Ireland, to be a privy-counſellor in Great Brirain.

Charles, Lord Hawkeſbury, to be chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter.

His majeſty having thought fit to revoke his order in council, bearing date the 5th day of March, 1784, appointing a committee of privy council for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, and to declare the ſaid committee diſſolved, has been pleaſed to appoint a new committee of privy council for the buſineſs above mentioned, to conſiſt of the following members, viz.

The lord archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The firſt lord commiſſioner of the Treaſury.

The firſt lord commiſſioner of the Admiralty.

His majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

The chancellor and under treaſurer of the Exchequer, and

The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

And alſo of ſuch of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council as ſhall hold any of the following offices, viz.

The chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter.

The paymaſter or paymaſters general of his majeſty's forces.

The treaſurer of his majeſty's navy.

The maſter of his majeſty's mint.

And his majeſty was at the ſame time pleaſed to order, That

The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons of Ireland, and ſuch perſons as ſhall hold office, in his majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, and ſhall be members of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council in this kingdom, ſhould be members of the ſaid committee.

And alſo that Lord Frederick Campbell,

Robert, lord biſhop of London,

Lord Grantley,

Sir Lloyd Kenyon, maſter of the rolls,

The Right Honourable Thomas Harley,

The Honourable Sir Joſeph Yorke, K. B.

Sir John Goodricke, Bart.

William Eden, Eſq.

James Grenville, Eſq. and

Thomas Orde, Eſq.

ſhould be members of the ſaid committee:

And that the Right Honourable Lord Hawkeſbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and in his abſence the Right Honourable William Grenville, be preſident of the ſaid committee.

— 9. Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Carteret, to be poſt-maſters general.

Phineas Bond, Eſq. to be conſul in the ſtates of New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and commiſſary for commercial affairs in the United States of America.

— 16. The Right Hon. William Pitt, James marquis of Graham, the Hon. Edward James Elliot, Sir John Aubrey, bart. and Richard earl of Mornington, to be commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

Grey Elliot, Eſq. to be an additional clerk of the privy council, for the particular ſervice of the committee of privy council, appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

— 23. Joſeph Smith, Eſq. to be comptroller of the mint.

Oct. 4. William Fawkener, Eſq. to be envoy extraordinary, and miniſter plenipotentiary to Portugal, for negociating commercial arrangements, in conjunction with the Hon. Robert Walpole.

— 17. John Palmer, Eſq. to be ſurveyor and comptroller-general of the poſt-office.

— 28. Right Hon. Sir John Parnell, Bart. chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, to be a privy counſellor in Great Britain.

Nov. 1. Dr. Robert Halifax, to be phyſician in ordinary to the Prince of Wales.

— 15. John Wilſon, Eſq. to be one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas.

— 21. Sir Alexander Monro, knight, and Richard Frewin, Eſq. to be commiſſioners of the cuſtoms.

— 29. Earl of Aileſbury to be knight of the Thiſtle.

Dec. 5. Sir Clifton Wintringham, Bart. to be phyſician general to his majeſty's forces.

— 16. Sir Richard Jebb, Bart. to be phyſician in ordinary to his majeſty.

— 20. Lieut. General William Fawcett, and Robert viſcount Galway, to be knights of the Bath.

DEATHS, 1786.

Dec. 17, 1785. In the ſouth of France, the Hon. Miſs Louiſa Vernon, only daughter of Lord Vernon.

Jan. 2, 1786. John Bartholomew Radclyffe, Earl of Newburgh.

3. Hon. Mrs. Montgomery, aunt to the preſent Duke of Argyle.

4. Lady Fleetwood, mother of Sir Thomas Fleetwood, Bart.

Sir Edward Every, Bart.

12. Anne, Lady Brudenell, wife of James Lord Brudenell.

John Luther, Eſq. late member of parliament for Eſſex.

13. The Hon. Mrs. Anne Hervey, relict of the Hon. Thomas Hervey, ſecond ſon of John, firſt Earl of Briſtol.

The Right Hon. Thomas Barret Lennard, Lord Dacre.

16. Sir Hugh Owen, Bart. lord lieut. and member of parliament for Pembrokeſhire.

30. Henry Rawlinſon, Eſq. late member of parliament for Liverpool.

Feb. 1. At Bruſſels, George Beauclerk, Duke of St. Alban's.

6. The lady of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, Bart.

8. The lady of Sir Thomas Gaſcoigne, Bart.

10. Lieut. Gen. Theodore Day.

18. Hon. James John Colvill, eldeſt ſon of Lord Colvill, of Culroſs.

March 2. John Jebb, M. D. and F. R. S.

5. Lady Penelope Cholmondeley, relict of the late Gen. Cholmondeley.

6. James Phipps, eſq. member of parliament for Peterborough.

7. Philip, Earl Stanhope.

9. Sir Chriſtopher Whichcote, Bart.

15. Jane, viſcounteſs Arbuthnot.

17. Catherine, counteſs Ferrers.

19. Hon. Jane Walter, daughter, and at length heireſs of George Lord Abergavenny, and relict of Abel Walter, Eſq.

24. James, Earl of Loudon.

27. Sackville, Earl of Thanet.

April 3. Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley, brother to Robert, Earl Ferrers.

7. George Roſs, Eſq. member of parliament for Kirkwall.

10. The Hon. Admiral John Byron.

12. Lady Henrietta Vernon, relict of Henry Vernon, Eſq.

May. Hon. George Fitzwilliam, brother of the preſent earl.

2. George Lord Brook, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Warwick.

5. Major-gen. Auguſtine Prevoſt, colonel of the 60th regiment.

25. Lady Margaret Compton, daughter of George, 4th earl of Northampton.

26. Edward, Lord Leigh; the title is extinct.

Peter III. king of Portugal.

27. Mrs. Anne Berkeley, relict of the celebrated biſhop of Cloyne.

June 6. Hugh, duke of Northumberland.

14. Adam Drummond, Eſq. member of parliament for Shafteſbury.

Lady Ducie, relict of Lord Ducie.

The earl of Northington; the title is extinct.

July 1. The Hon. William Tufton, brother to the earl of Thanet. He was drowned in the Thames.

4. Lady Elizabeth Villiers. She was daughter and ſole heireſs to John Villiers, viſcount Purbeck, who ſucceeded to the titles of earl of Buckingham, viſcount Villiers, baron of Whaddon, on the death of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham. His lordſhip died in 1723, leaving this daughter only, his heireſs; by whoſe death the family of the Villiers, of the Buckingham line, is extinct.

10. The lady of George Edward Stanley, Eſq. ſiſter to Sir Michael le Fleming, Bart.

20. Sir George Nares, one of the judges of the Common Pleas.

Thomas, lord Grantham.

26. John Buller, Eſq. a lord of the Treaſury, and member of parliament for Eaſt Looe.

29. Hon. Miſs Iſabella Hawke, daughter of Lord Hawke.

Aug. 12. Mary, viſcounteſs Kilmorey, third daughter of Waſhington, earl Ferrers.

17. Frederick III. king of Pruſſia.

29. Hon. Auguſtus William Fitzroy, third ſon of Lord Southampton.

31. Charles Howard, duke of Norfolk.

Sept. 4. Sir Thomas Aubrey, Bart. father of John Aubrey, eſq. member of parliament for Bucks.

Mrs. Byng, mother of George Byng, Eſq. of Wrotham Park.

17. Jemima Elizabeth, marchioneſs of Graham, third daughter to the earl of Aſhburnham.

Miſs Cavendiſh, only daughter of Lord George Henry Cavendiſh.

18. Hon. Charles Hamilton, uncle to the earl of Abercorn.

25. Lady Harriet Elliot, ſecond daughter of the late earl of Chatham, and wife of the Hon. Edward James Elliot.

Oct. 2. Admiral Auguſtus viſcount Keppel.

20. The Hon. Charles Phipps, brother to Lord Mulgrave, and member of parliament for Minehead.

Humphrey Sturt, eſq. late member of parliament for Dorſetſhire.

31. The Princeſs Amelia Sophia Eleonora, ſecond daughter of his late Majeſty King George II.

Nov. 2. Sir Edward Swinburne, Bart.

6. Sir Horace Mann, Knt. Bart. 46 years miniſter at Florence.

7. Sir John Elliot, Bart. phyſician to the prince of Wales.

Viſcounteſs Grimſton.

11. Major-gen. James Bramham, chief engineer of Great Britain.

15. Sir Richard Temple, Bart.

General John Parſlow, colonel of the 30th regiment.

21. Sir Edward Wilmot, Bart. phyſician to the king, in his 93d year.

23. Hannah Catharina Maria, dowager viſcounteſs Falmouth.

28. Anne, dowager lady Ruthven.

Dec. 9. Henry Roper, 11th lord Teynham.

5. Alexander, earl of Home.

11. Thomas, earl of Clarendon.

20. Iſabella, ducheſs dowager of Mancheſter, wife of Edward, earl Beaulieu.

25. Charles, lord Gray.

28. Hon. Capt Murray, brother to the Earl of Dunmore.

Lately, Sir John Burgoyne, Bart. in the Eaſt Indies.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for* 1786.

Bedfordſhire. Matthew Rugely, of Potton.

Berkſhire. Wm. Poyntz, of Midgham.

Bucks. Thomas Wilkinſon, of Weſthorpe.

Cambridge and *Huntingdon.* John Drage, of Soham.

Cheſhire. Hon. Cornwal Legh, of High Legh.

Cornwall. Michael Nowell, of Falmouth.

Cumberland. William Wilſon, of Brackenban.

Derbyſhire. Robert Dale, of Aſhborne.

Devonſhire. Alexander Hamilton, of Topſham.

Dorſetſhire. Henry William Portman, of Bryanſtone.

Eſſex. John Jolliffe Tuffnall, of Great Waltham.

Glouceſterſhire. Charles Cox, of Bath.

Hants. Thomas Clarke Jervoiſe, of Belmont.

Herefordſhire. Sir Edward Boughton, of Vowchurch, Bart.

Hertfordſhire. Jeremiah Mills, of Piſhiobury.

Kent. Thomas Hallet Hodges, of Hemſted.

Leiceſterſhire. William Herrick, of Beaumanoir.

Lincolnſhire. Daniel Douglas, of Fokingham.

Monmouthſhire. Robert Saluſbury, of Lanwern.

Norfolk. Francis Long, of Spixworth.

Northamptonſhire. Iſaac Pocock, of Biggin.

Northumberland. James Algood, of Nunwick.

Nottinghamſhire. Anthony Hartſhorne, of Hayton.

Oxfordſhire. Joſeph Grote, of Badgmore.

Rutlandſhire. Thomas Baines, of Uppingham.

Shropſhire. Sir Robert Leighton, of Loton, Bart.

Somerſetſhire. James Stephen, of Camerton.

Staffordſhire. Thomas Parker, of Park-hall.

Suffolk. James Sewell, of Strutton.

Surry. Theodore Henry Broadhead, of Carſhalton.

Suſſex. Francis Sergiſon, of Cuckfield.

Warwickſhire. John Taylor, of Borderſley.

Wiltſhire. Seymour Wroughton, of Eaſtcott.

Worceſterſhire. George Perrott, of Perſhore.

Yorkſhire. Richard Langley, of Wikeham Abbey.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Edward Watkin, of Landilorvane.

Cardiganſhire. Edward Pryſe Lloyd, of Llanarth.

Carmarthenſhire. John Lewis, of Llwynyfortune.

Glamorganſhire. Thomas Drafte Tyrwhit, St. Donatt's Caſtle.

Pembrokeſhire. William Knox, of Slebetch.

Radnorſhire. Bridgwater Meredith, of Cliraw.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea. William Pritchard, of Fretſcawen.

Carnarvonſhire. John Griffith, of Tryſan.

Denbighſhire. Philip Yorke, of Erthig.

Flintſhire. John Edwards, of Kelſterton.

Merionethſhire. Griffith Price, of Briach y ceunant.

Montgomeryſhire. Richard Rocke, of Treſnauney.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

An Abſtract of the Narrative of the Loſs of the Halſewell Eaſt-India-man, *Capt.* R. Pierce, *which was unfortunately wrecked at* Sea-combe *in the* Iſle *of* Purbeck, *on the Coaſt of* Dorſetſhire, *on the Morning of Friday the 6th of January,* 1786. *Compiled from the Communications, and under the Authorities, of Mr.* Henry Meriton *and Mr.* John Rogers, *the two chief Officers who happily eſcaped the dreadful cataſtrophe.*

" THE Halſewell Eaſt-India-man, of 758 tons burthen, commanded by Richard Pierce, eſq. having been taken up by the directors of the Eaſt-India Company, to make her third voyage to Coaſt and Bay, on the 16th day of November, 1785, fell down to Graveſend, where ſhe completed her lading; and taking the ladies and other paſſengers on board at the Hope, ſhe failed through the Downs on Sunday the 1ſt of January, 1786, and the next morning being a-breaſt of Dunnoſe, it fell calm.

" The ſhip, one of the fineſt in the ſervice, and ſuppoſed to be in the moſt perfect condition for her voyage; the commander of diſtinguiſhed ability, and exemplary character; his officers, men of unqueſtioned knowledge in their profeſſion, and of approved fidelity; the crew, the beſt ſeamen that could be collected, and as numerous as the eſtabliſhment admits; to whom were added a conſiderable body of ſoldiers, deſtined to recruit the forces of the Company in Aſia.

The reſpectable paſſengers were: Miſs Eliza Pierce, Miſs Mary Anne Pierce, daughters of the commander; Miſs Amy Paul, Miſs Mary Paul, daughters of Mr. Paul of Somerſetſhire, and relations to Capt. Pierce; Miſs Elizabeth Blackburne, daughter of Capt. Blackburne, of the ſame ſervice; Miſs Mary Haggard, ſiſter to an officer on the Madras eſtabliſhment; and Miſs Anne Manſell, a native of Madras, but of European parents, returning from receiving her education in England; John George Schutz, eſq. returning to Aſia, where he had long reſided, to collect a part of his fortune which he had left there.

" Monday the 2d of January, at three in the afternoon, a breeze ſprung up from the ſouth, when they ran in ſhore to land the pilot, but very thick weather coming on in the evening, and the wind baffling, at nine in the evening they were obliged to anchor in eighteen fathom water, furled their top-ſails, but could not furl their courſes, the ſnow falling thick, and freezing as it fell.

"Tueſday the 3d, at four in the morning, a ſtrong gale came on from eaſt-north-eaſt, and the ſhip driving, they were obliged to cut their cables, and run off to ſea. At noon, they ſpoke with a brig bound to Dublin, and having put their pilot on board her, bore down Channel immediately. At eight in the evening, the wind freſhening and coming to the ſouthward, they reefed ſuch ſails as were judged neceſſary. At ten at night it blew a violent gale of wind at ſouth, and they were obliged to carry a preſs of ſail to keep the ſhip off ſhore, in doing which the hawſe-plugs, which according to a new improvement were put inſide, were waſhed in, and the hawſe-bags waſhed away; in conſequence of which they ſhipped a large quantity of water on the gun-deck.

"On ſounding the well, and finding the ſhip had ſprung a leak, and had five feet water in her hold, they clued the main top-ſail up, hauled up the main-ſail, and immediately endeavoured to furl both, but could not effect it.—All the pumps were ſet to work on diſcovering the leak.

"Wedneſday the 4th, at two in the morning, they endeavoured to wear the ſhip, but without ſucceſs; and judging it neceſſary to cut away the mizen-maſt, it was immediately done, and a ſecond attempt made to wear the ſhip, which ſucceeded no better than the former; and the ſhip having now ſeven feet water in her hold, and gaining faſt on the pumps, it was thought expedient, for the preſervation of the ſhip, to cut away the main-maſt, the ſhip appearing to be in immediate danger of foundering; in the fall of the maſt, Jonathan Moreton, cockſwain, and four men, either fell or were drawn by the wreck overboard and drowned, and by eight in the morning the wreck was cleared, and the ſhip got before the wind, in which poſition ſhe was kept about two hours, in which time the pumps cleared the ſhip of two feet of water in the hold: At this time the ſhip's head was brought to the eaſtward with the fore-ſail only.

"At ten in the morning the wind abated conſiderably, and the ſhip labouring extremely, rolled the fore top-maſt over on the larboard ſide; in the fall the wreck went through the fore-ſail, and tore it to pieces. At eleven in the forenoon, the wind came to the weſtward, and the weather clearing up, the Berry-head was diſtinguiſhable bearing north and by eaſt, diſtant four or five leagues; they now immediately bent another fore-ſail, erected a jury main-maſt, and ſet a top-gallant-ſail for a main-ſail, under which ſail they bore up for Portſmouth, and employed the remainder of the day in getting up a jury mizen-maſt.

"Thurſday the 5th, at two in the morning, the wind came to the ſouthward, blew freſh, and the weather was very thick; at noon Portland was ſeen bearing north and by eaſt, diſtant two or three leagues. At eight at night it blew a ſtrong gale at ſouth, and at this time the Portland lights were ſeen bearing north-weſt, diſtant four or five leagues, when they wore the ſhip, and got her head to the weſtward, but finding they loſt ground on that tack, they wore her again, and kept ſtretching on to the eaſtward, in hopes to have weathered Peverel-point, in which caſe they intended to have anchored in Studland-bay. At eleven at night it cleared, and they ſaw St. Alban's-head a mile and half to the leeward of them, upon on which they took in ſail immediately, and let go the ſmall bower anchor, which brought up the ſhip at a whole cable, and ſhe rode for about an hour, but then drove; they now let go the ſheet-anchor, and wore away a whole cable, and the ſhip rode for about two hours longer, when ſhe drove again.

" Whilſt they were in this ſituation, the captain ſent for Mr. Henry Meriton, the chief officer who ſurvives, and aſked his opinion as to the probability of ſaving their lives; to which he replied with equal calmneſs and candour, that he apprehended there was very little hope, as they were then driving faſt on the ſhore, and might expect every moment to ſtrike; the boats were then mentioned, but it was agreed that at that time they could be of no uſe, yet in caſe an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf of making them ſerviceable, it was propoſed that the officers ſhould be confidentially requeſted to reſerve the long-boat for the ladies and themſelves; and this precaution was immediately taken.

" About two in the morning of Friday the 6th, the ſhip ſtill driving, and approaching very faſt to the ſhore, the ſame officer again went into the cuddy, where the captain then was, and another converſation took place, Captain Pierce expreſſing extreme anxiety for the preſervation of his beloved daughters, and earneſtly aſking the officer if he could deviſe any means of ſaving them; and on his anſwering with great concern that he feared it would be impoſſible, but that their only chance would be to wait for the morning, the captain lifted up his hands in ſilent and diſtreſsful ejaculation.

" At this dreadful moment the ſhip ſtruck with ſuch violence as to daſh the heads of thoſe who were ſtanding in the cuddy againſt the deck above them; and the fatal blow was accompanied by a ſhriek of horror, which burſt at one inſtant from every quarter of the ſhip.

" The ſeamen, many of whom had been remarkably inattentive and remiſs in their duty during great part of the ſtorm, and had actually ſkulked in their hammocks, and left the exertions of the pump, and the other labours attending their ſituation, to the officers of the ſhip, and the ſoldiers, (who had been uncommonly active and aſſiduous during the whole tremendous conflict) rouzed by the deſtructive blow to a ſenſe of their danger, now poured upon the deck, to which no endeavours of their officers could keep them whilſt their aſſiſtance might have been uſeful, and in frantic exclamations demanded of heaven and their fellow-ſufferers, that ſuccour, which their timely efforts might poſſibly have ſucceeded in procuring; but it was now too late, the ſhip continued to beat on the rocks, and ſoon bulged, and fell with her broadſide towards the ſhore: When the ſhip ſtruck, a number of the men climbed up the enſign-ſtaff, under an apprehenſion of her going to pieces immediately.

" Mr. Meriton, the officer whom we have already mentioned, at this criſis of horror, offered to theſe unhappy beings the beſt advice which could poſſibly be given to them; he recommended their coming all to that ſide of the ſhip which lay loweſt on the rocks, and ſingly to take the opportunities which might then offer of eſcaping to the ſhore. And having thus provided to the utmoſt of his power for the ſafety of the deſponding crew, he returned to the round-houſe, where by this time all the paſſengers, and moſt of the officers, were aſſembled, the latter employed in offering conſolation to the unfortunate ladies, and with unparalelled magnanimity ſuffering their compaſſion for the fair and amiable companions of their miſfortunes to get the better of the ſenſe of their own danger, and the dread of almoſt inevitable annihilation. At this moment, what muſt be the feelings of a father—of ſuch a father as Captain Pierce!

" In this charitable work of offering comfort to the fair ſufferers, Mr. Meriton now joined, by aſſurances of his opinion, that the ſhip would hold together till the morning, when they would all be ſafe: and Captain Pierce obſerving one of the young gentlemen loud in his expreſſions of terror, and hearing him frequently exclaim that the ſhip was going to pieces, he chearfully bid him hold his peace; obſerving to him, that though the ſhip ſhould go to pieces, he would not, but would be ſafe enough.

" It will now be neceſſary to deſcribe the ſituation of the place which proved fatal to ſo many valuable and reſpectable perſons, as without ſuch a deſcription it will be difficult to convey a proper idea of the melancholy, the deplorable ſcene.

" The ſhip ſtruck on the rocks at or near Seacombe, on the iſland of Purbeck, between Peverel Point, and St. Alban's-head, at a part of the ſhore where the cliff is of vaſt height, and riſes almoſt perpendicular from its baſe.

" But at this particular ſpot the cliff is excavated at the foot, and preſents a cavern of ten or twelve yards in depth, and of breadth equal to the length of a large ſhip, the ſides of the cavern ſo nearly upright as to be extremely difficult of acceſs, the roof formed of the ſtupendous cliff, and the bottom of it ſtrewed with ſharp and uneven rocks, which ſeem to have been rent from above by ſome convulſion of nature.

" It was at the mouth of this cavern that the unfortunate wreck lay ſtretched almoſt from ſide to ſide of it, and offering her broadſide to the horrid chaſm.

" But at the time the ſhip ſtruck, it was too dark to diſcover the extent of their danger, and the extreme horror of their ſituation; even Mr. Meriton himſelf conceived a hope that ſhe might keep together till day-light, and endeavoured to chear his drooping friends, and in particular the unhappy ladies, with this comfortable expectation, as an anſwer to the captain's enquiries, how they went on, or what he thought of their ſituation?

" In addition to the company already in the round-houſe, they had admitted three black women, and two ſoldiers wives, who with the huſband of one of them had been permitted to come in, though the ſeamen who had tumultuouſly demanded entrance, to get the lights, had been oppoſed, and kept out by Mr. Rogers, the third mate, and Mr. Brimer, the fifth, ſo that the numbers there were now increaſed to near fifty; Captain Pierce ſitting on a chair, cot, or ſome other moveable, with a daughter on each ſide of him, each of whom he alternately preſſed to his affectionate boſom; the reſt of the melancholy aſſembly were ſeated on the deck, which was ſtrewed with muſical inſtruments,

ſtruments, and the wreck of furniture, trunks, boxes, and packages.

"And here alſo Mr. Meriton, having previouſly cut ſeveral wax candles into pieces, and ſtuck them up in various parts of the round-houſe, and lighted up all the glaſs lanthorns he could find, took his ſeat, intending to wait the happy dawn, that might preſent to him the means of effecting his own eſcape, and afford him an opportunity of giving aſſiſtance to the partners of his danger; but obſerving that the poor ladies appeared parched and exhauſted, he fetched a baſket of oranges from ſome part of the round-houſe, and prevailed on ſome of them to refreſh themſelves by ſucking a little of the juice. At this time they were all tolerably compoſed, except Miſs Manſel, who was in hyſteric fits on the floor deck of the round-houſe.

"But on his return to the company, he perceived a conſiderable alteration in the appearance of the ſhip, the ſides were viſibly giving way, the deck ſeemed to be lifting, and he diſcovered other ſtrong ſymptoms that ſhe could not hold together much longer, he therefore attempted to go forward to look out, but immediately ſaw that the ſhip was ſeparated in the middle, and that the fore part had changed its poſition, and lay rather farther out towards the ſea; and in this emergency, when the next moment might be charged with his fate, he determined to ſeize the preſent, and to follow the example of the crew, and the ſoldiers, who were now quitting the ſhip in numbers, and making their way to a ſhore, of which they knew not yet the horrors.

"Among other meaſures adopted to favour theſe attempts, the enſign-ſtaff had been unſhipped, and attempted to be laid from the ſhip's ſide to ſome of the rocks, but without ſucceſs, for it ſnapped to pieces before it reached them; however, by the light of a lanthorn, which a ſeaman, of the name of Burmaſter, handed through the ſky-light of the round-houſe to the deck, Mr. Meriton diſcovered a ſpar, which appeared to be laid from the ſhip's ſide to the rocks, and on this ſpar he determined to attempt his eſcape.

"He accordingly laid himſelf down on it, and thruſt himſelf forward, but he ſoon found that the ſpar had no communication with the rock; he reached the end of it, and then ſlipped off, receiving a very violent bruiſe in his fall; and before he could recover his legs, he was waſhed off by the ſurge, in which he ſupported himſelf by ſwimming, till the returning wave daſhed him againſt the back part of the cavern, where he laid hold of a ſmall projecting piece of the rock, but was ſo benumbed, that he was on the point of quitting it, when a ſeaman who had already gained a footing, extended his hand, and aſſiſted him till he could ſecure himſelf on a little ſhelf of the rock, from which he clambered ſtill higher, till he was out of the reach of the ſurf.

"Mr. Rogers, the third mate, remained with the captain, and the unfortunate ladies, and their companions, near twenty minutes after Mr. Meriton had quitted the ſhip: Soon after the latter left the round-houſe, the captain aſked what was become of him? and Mr. Rogers replied that he was gone on the deck, to ſee what could be done.—After this a heavy ſea breaking over the ſhip, the ladies exclaimed, "Oh poor Meriton; he is drowned, had he ſtayed with us, he would have been ſafe;" and they all, and particulary Miſs Mary Peirce, expreſſed great concern at the apprehenſion of his loſs.—On this occaſion Mr. Rogers offered to go and call in Mr. Meriton; but this was oppoſed by the ladies, from an apprehenſion that he might ſhare the ſame fate.

"At this time the ſea was breaking in at the fore part of the ſhip, and reached as far as the main-maſt, and Captain Pierce gave Mr Rogers a nod, and they took a lamp, and went together into the ſtern-gallery, and after viewing the rocks for ſome time, Captain Pierce aſked Mr. Rogers if he thought there was any poſſibility of ſaving the girls; to which he replied, he feared there was not, for they could only diſcover the black face of the perpendicular rock, and not the cavern which afforded ſhelter to thoſe who eſcaped; they then returned to the round-houſe, and Mr. Rogers hung up the lamp, and Captain Pierce, with his great coat on, ſat down between his two daughters, and ſtruggled to ſuppreſs the parental tear which then burſt into his eye.

"The ſea continuing to break in very faſt, Mr. M'Manus, a midſhipman, and Mr. Schutz, a paſſenger, aſked Mr. Rogers, what they could do to eſcape; who replied, "Follow me," and they then all went into the ſtern-gallery, and from thence by the weather upper quarter gallery upon the poop, and whilſt they were there a very heavy ſea fell on board, and the round-houſe gave way, and he heard the ladies ſhriek at intervals, as if the water had reached them, the noiſe of the ſea at other times drowning their voices.

"Mr. Brimer had followed Mr. Rogers to the poop, where they had remained together about five minutes, when on the coming on of the laſt-mentioned ſea, they jointly ſeized a hen-coop, and the ſame wave which he apprehended proved fatal to ſome of thoſe who remained below, happily carried him and his companion to the rock, on which they were daſhed with ſuch violence as to be miſerably bruiſed and hurt.

"On this rock were twenty-ſeven men, but it was low water, and as they were convinced that upon the flowing of the tide they muſt all be waſhed off, many of them attempted to get to the back or ſides of the cavern, out of the reach of the returning ſea; in this attempt ſcarce more than ſix, beſides himſelf and Mr. Brimer, ſucceeded; of the remainder ſome ſhared the fate which they had apprehended, and the others periſhed in their efforts to get into the cavern.

"Mr. Rogers and Mr. Brimer both however reached the cavern, and ſcrambled up the rock, on narrow ſhelves of which they fixed themſelves: Mr. Rogers got ſo near to his friend Mr. Meriton as to exchange congratulations with him; but he was prevented from joining him by at leaſt twenty men who were between them, neither of whom could move without immediate peril of his life.—At the time Mr. Rogers reached this ſtation of poſſible ſafety his ſtrength was ſo nearly exhauſted, that had the ſtruggle continued a few minutes longer he muſt have been inevitably loſt.

" They now found that a very conſiderable number of the crew, ſeamen, ſoldiers, and ſome petty officers, were in the ſame ſituation with themſelves, though many who had reached the rocks below, had periſhed in attempting to aſcend; what that ſituation was they were ſtill to learn; at preſent they had eſcaped immediate death, but they were yet to encounter cold, nakedneſs, wind, rain, and the perpetual beating of the ſpray of the ſea, for a difficult, precarious, and doubtful chance of eſcape.

" They could yet diſcern ſome part of the ſhip, and ſolaced themſelves, in their dreary ſtations, with the hope of its remaining entire till day-break, for, in the midſt of their own misfortunes, the ſufferings of the females affected them with the moſt acute anguiſh, and every ſea that broke brought with it terror, for the fate of thoſe amiable and helpleſs beings.

" But, alas! their apprehenſions were too ſoon realized. In a very few minutes after Mr. Rogers had gained the rock, an univerſal ſhriek, which ſtill vibrates in their ears, and in which the voice of female diſtreſs was lamentably diſtinguiſhable, announced the dreadful cataſtrophe; in a few moments all was huſhed, except the warring winds and beating waves: the wreck was buried in the remorſeleſs deep, and not an atom of her was ever after diſcoverable.

" Thus periſhed the Halſewell, and with her worth, honour, ſkill, beauty, amiability, and bright accompliſhments.

" Many of thoſe who had gained the precarious ſtations which we have deſcribed, worn out with fatigue, weakened by bruiſes, battered by the tempeſt, and benumbed with the cold, quitted their holdfaſts, and tumbling headlong either on the rocks below, or in the ſurf, periſhed beneath the feet of their wretched aſſociates, and by their dying groans, and gulping exclamations for pity, awakened terrific apprehenſions in the ſurvivors, of their own approaching fate.

" At length, after the bittereſt three hours which miſery ever lengthened into ages, the day broke on them, but inſtead of bringing with it the relief with which they had flattered themſelves, ſerved to diſcover all the horrors of their ſituation; they now found that had the country been alarmed by the guns of diſtreſs which they had continued to fire for many hours before the ſhip ſtruck, but which from the violence of the ſtorm were unheard, they could neither be obſerved by the people from above, as they were completely ingulphed in the cavern, and over-hung by the cliff, nor did any part of the wreck remain to point out their probable place of refuge; below, no boat could live to ſearch them out; and had it been poſſible to have acquainted thoſe who would wiſh to aſſiſt them, with their exact ſituation, no ropes could be conveyed into the cavity to facilitate their eſcape.

" The only proſpect which offered, was to creep along the ſide of the cavern, to its outward extremity, and on a ledge ſcarcely as broad as a man's hand to turn the corner, and endeavour to clamber up the almoſt perpendicular precipice, whoſe ſummit was near two hundred feet from the baſe.

" And in this deſperate effort did

ſome ſucceed, whilſt others, trembling with terror, and their ſtrength exhauſted by mental and bodily fatigue, loſt their precarious footing, and periſhed in the attempt.

"The firſt men who gained the ſummit of the cliff, were the cook, and James Thompſon, a quarter-maſter; by their own exertions they made their way to the land, and the moment they reached it, haſtened to the neareſt houſe, and made known the ſituation of their fellow-ſufferers.

"The houſe at which they firſt arrived was *Eaſtington*, the preſent habitation of Mr. *Garland*, ſteward or agent to the proprietors of the Purbeck quarries, who immediately got together the workmen under his direction, and with the moſt zealous and animated humanity, exerted every effort for the preſervation of the ſurviving crew of this unfortunate ſhip; ropes were procured with all poſſible diſpatch, and every precaution taken that aſſiſtance ſhould be ſpeedily and effectually given; and we are happy in this opportunity of bearing teſtimony, under the authority of the principal ſurviving officers, to the kind, benevolent, and ſpirited behaviour of this gentleman, whoſe conduct on the melancholy occaſion, entitles him to univerſal reſpect and regard, as well as to the particular gratitude of thoſe who were the immediate objects of his philanthropy.

"Mr. Meriton made the attempt, and almoſt reached the edge of the precipice; a ſoldier who preceded him, had his feet on a ſmall projecting rock or ſtone, and on the ſame ſtone Mr. Meriton had faſtened his hands to help his progreſs; at this critical moment the quarry-men arrived, and ſeeing a man ſo nearly within their reach, they dropped a rope to him, of which he immediately laid hold, and in a vigorous effort to avail himſelf of this advantage, he looſened the ſtone on which he ſtood, which giving way, Mr. Meriton muſt have been precipitated to the bottom, but that a rope was providentially lowered to him at the inſtant, which he ſeized as he was in the act of falling, and was ſafely drawn to the ſummit.

"The fate of Mr. Brimer was peculiarly ſevere; this gentleman, who had only been married nine days before the ſhip failed to a beautiful lady, the daughter of Captain Norman, of the royal navy, in which ſervice Mr. Brimer was a lieutenant, but was now on a voyage to viſit an uncle at Madras, came on ſhore, as we have already obſerved, with Mr. Rogers, and like him got up the ſide of the cavern, where he remained till the morning, when he crawled out, and a rope being thrown to him, he was either ſo benumbed with the cold as to faſten it about him improperly, or ſo agitated, as to neglect making it faſt at all; but from which ever cauſe it aroſe, the effect was fatal to him; at the moment of his ſuppoſed preſervation he fell from his ſtand, and was unfortunately daſhed to pieces, in the preſence of thoſe who could only lament the deplorable fate of an amiable and worthy man, and an able and ſkilful officer.

"As the day advanced, more aſſiſtance was obtained; and as the life-preſerving efforts of the ſurvivors would admit, they crawled to the extremities of the cavern, and preſented themſelves to their preſervers above, who ſtood prepared with the means which the ſituation would permit them to exerciſe, to help them to the ſummit.

"The method of affording this help was ſingular, and does honour to the humanity and intrepidity of the quarry-men. The diſtance from the top of the rock to the cavern was at leaſt 100 feet, with a projection of the former of about 8 feet; ten of theſe formed a declivity to the edge, and the remainder of it was perpendicular. On the very brink of the precipice ſtood two daring fellows, a rope being tied round them, and faſtened above to a ſtrong iron bar fixed in the ground, behind them in like manner two more, and two more. A ſtrong rope alſo, properly ſecured, paſſed between them, by which they might hold and ſupport themſelves from falling; they then let down another rope, with a nooſe ready fixed, below the cavern; and the wind blowing hard, it was in ſome inſtances forced under the projecting rock ſufficiently for the ſufferers to reach it without crawling to the extremity; in either caſe, whoever laid hold of it, put the nooſe round his waiſt, and after eſcaping from one element, committed himſelf full ſwing to another, in which he dangled till he was drawn up with great care and caution.

"It is but juſtice in this place to ſay, that the ſurvivors received the friendly and humane aſſiſtance of Mr. Jones and Mr. Hawker, gentlemen reſident near the ſpot.

"But in this attempt many ſhared the fate of the unfortunate Mr. Brimer; and unable, through cold, weakneſs, perturbation of mind, or the incommodiouſneſs of the ſtations they occupied, to avail themſelves of the ſuccour which was offered them, were at laſt precipitated from the ſtupendous cliff, and were either daſhed to pieces on the rocks beneath, or falling into the ſurge, periſhed in the waves.

"Among theſe unhappy ſufferers, the deſtiny of a drummer belonging to the military on board the Halſewell, was attended with circumſtances of peculiar diſtreſs; being either waſhed off the rock by the ſeas, or falling into the ſurf from above, he was carried by the counter-ſeas or returning waves, beyond the breakers, within which his utmoſt efforts could never again bring him, but he was drawn further out to ſea; and as he ſwam remarkably well, continued to ſtruggle with the waves, in ſight of his pitying companions, till his ſtrength was exhauſted, and he ſunk, to riſe no more.

"It was not till late in the day that the ſurvivors were all conveyed to ſafety, one indeed, William Trenton, a ſoldier, remained on his perilous ſtand till the morning of Saturday the 7th of January, expoſed to the united horrors of the extremeſt perſonal danger, and the moſt acute diſquietude of mind; nor is it eaſy to conceive how his ſtrength and ſpirits could have ſupported him for ſuch a number of hours, under diſtreſs ſo poignant and complicated.

"Though the remains of the wreck were no longer diſcoverable among the rocks, yet the ſurface of the ſea was covered with the fragments as far almoſt as the eye could reach; and even ſo late as ten o'clock on the Friday morning, a ſheep, part of the live ſtock of the unfortunate officers, was obſerved buffeting the angry waves.

"The ſurviving officers, ſeamen, and ſoldiers, being now aſſembled at the houſe of their benevolent friend, Mr. Garland, they were muſtered, and found to amount to ſeventy-four, out of rather more than two hundred and forty, which was about the number of the crew and paſſengers in the ſhip when ſhe ſailed through the Downs; of the remainder, who unhappily loſt their lives, upwards of ſeventy are ſuppoſed to have reached the rocks, but to have been waſhed off, or to periſh in falling from the cliffs, and fifty or more to have ſunk with the captain and the ladies in the round-houſe, when the after-part of the ſhip went to pieces.

"All thoſe who reached the ſummit ſurvived, except two or three, who are ſuppoſed to have expired in drawing up, and a black, who died in a few hours after he was brought to the houſe, though many of them were ſo miſerably bruiſed that their lives were doubtful, and they are ſcarcely yet recovered."

On the 2d of Auguſt the following Article appeared in a London Gazette Extraordinary.

St. James's, Auguſt 2.

"THIS morning, as his majeſty was alighting from his carriage, at the gate of the palace, a woman who was waiting there, under pretence of preſenting a petition, ſtruck at his majeſty with a knife, but providentially his majeſty received no injury. The woman was immediately taken into cuſtody, and upon examination, appears to be inſane."

The circumſtances attending this alarming event are thus related: As the king was alighting from his poſt-chariot, at the garden entrance of St. James's, the woman, who appeared very decently dreſſed, in the act of preſenting a paper to his majeſty, which he was receiving with great condeſcenſion, ſtruck a concealed knife at his breaſt, which his majeſty happily avoided by drawing back. As ſhe was making a ſecond thruſt, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and, at the ſame inſtant, one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king, with great temper and fortitude exclaimed, "I am not hurt —take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her."

The ſame day ſhe underwent an examination before the privy council, when it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholſon, daughter of George Nicholſon, of Stockton-upon-Tees; and that ſhe had lived in ſeveral creditable ſervices. Being aſked where ſhe had lived ſince ſhe left her laſt place? ſhe anſwered franticly, "ſhe had been all abroad ſince that matter of the crown broke out."—Being aſked what matter? ſhe went on rambling, that the crown was her's—ſhe wanted nothing but her right—that ſhe had great property—that if ſhe had not her right, England would be drowned in blood for a thouſand generations. Being further aſked where ſhe now lived, ſhe anſwered rationally, "At Mr. Fiſk's, ſtationer, the corner of Wigmore-ſtreet, Marybone." On being queſtioned as to her right, ſhe would anſwer none but a judge, her rights were a myſtery. Being aſked, if ſhe had ever petitioned? ſhe ſaid, ſhe had, ten days ago. On looking back among the papers, ſuch petition was found, full of princely nonſenſe about tyrants, uſurpers, and pretenders to the throne, &c. &c.

Mr. Fiſk being ſent for and interrogated,

terrogated, ſaid ſhe had lodged with him about three years; that he had not obſerved any ſtriking marks of inſanity about her—ſhe was certainly very odd at times—frequently talking to herſelf—that ſhe lived by taking in plain work, &c. Others who knew her, ſaid, ſhe was very induſtrious, and they never ſuſpected her of inſanity.

Dr. Monro being ſent for, ſaid, it was impoſſible to diſcover with certainty immediately whether ſhe was inſane or not. It was propoſed to commit her for three or four days to Tothillfields Bridewell. This was objected to, becauſe it was ſaid ſhe was a ſtate-priſoner. At length it was agreed to commit her to the cuſtody of a meſſenger.

Her lodgings being examined, there were found three letters about her pretended right to the crown, one to Lord Mansfield, one to Lord Loughborough, and one to General Bramham.

Aug. 12. Between the 2d inſtant and this day, Margaret Nicholſon underwent ſome farther examination, the reſult of which appeared in the following article.

"*Whitehall, Aug.* 8, 1786.

PRESENT,

The Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

This day Margaret Nicholſon, in cuſtody for an attempt on his majeſty's perſon, was brought before the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and after a full examination of Dr. John and Dr. Thomas Monro, and ſeveral other witneſſes, concerning the ſtate of her mind, as well now as for ſome time paſt, and alſo after examining the ſaid Margaret Nicholſon in perſon, their lordſhips were clearly and unanimouſly of opinion, that ſhe was and is inſane.

W. Fawkener."

In conſequence of this determination, the unhappy woman was conveyed, on the 9th inſtant, to a cell prepared for her in Bethlehem Hoſpital.

The following Letters are ſaid to have been written by the late King of Pruſſia, *on the Death of Colonel* Vantroſcke, *a very valuable Officer in his Service, to the widow of that Officer.*

Letter I.

"THE death of Colonel Vantroſcke, your huſband, commanding the regiment of Old Waldeck, has affected me in a very particular manner. By his death I am deprived of a brave and good officer; ſuch was the reputation he enjoyed univerſally, and I know full well how to value the important ſervices he has rendered me. The inſignia of the order of Merit which he received from me, and which you return, with thanks to me for the favours I had conferred on him, will remain for you and your children everlaſting tokens of the well-earned diſtinction which he received at my hands. But I ſhall not ſtop here; you may, on the contrary, reſt aſſured, that I certainly will neither forget the widow of ſo deſerving an officer, nor the children that he has left behind. Let me know, without any reſerve, the real ſtate of your domeſtic concerns at the moment of his death, the number and age of your children. Communicate this matter to me, as to one ever diſpoſed to give you a proof of his benevolence."

Potſdam, Jan. 21.

In the king's own hand.

"P. S. I have honoured your huſband, as the model of an excellent officer; but ſince, alas! he is no more, I ſhall be to his children a father: I mean to do for them and his widow all that a parent could have done; let me have only the true ſtate of your means, and I engage to do the needful for the ſatisfaction of the family."

Letter II.

"I SHALL between this and next Trinity lay out 20,000 rixdollars in the purchaſe of an eſtate for your three children, the whole direction and management of which ſhall remain in your hands. You muſt apply to the eccleſiaſtical department, to ſee whether there be two vacancies in a nunnery within the county of Cleves, or the province of Weſtphalia, for your two young ladies; when marriageable, I ſhall take them away, and ſettle them in the world.

(Signed) FREDERIC."

An Account of the Trial of George Robert Fitzgerald, *Eſquire, and his Aſſociates, at* Caſtlebar, *in the County of* Mayo, (Ireland) *for the Murder of* Patrick Randal M'Donnell, *Eſq.*

MR. Fitzgerald was brought to the bar at half after eight o'clock in the morning of Friday, June 9, and given in charge to the jury, but not arraigned, he having pleaded *Not Guilty*, in April laſt. He challenged fifteen of the jury peremptorily, and the Right Hon. the Attorney General alſo challenged ſuch of the jury as he was informed ſtood in any degree of relationſhip to the deceaſed; an honourable and uncommon proof of the deſire to ſee juſtice adminiſtered, without the partiality of prejudice.

The jury being ſworn, and the Attorney General having opened the proſecution with great clearneſs, propriety, and ability, the following evidence was ſubmitted to the court.

[The firſt witneſs called upon was Mr. Gallagher; who, being firſt duly ſworn, was interrogated, and depoſed as follows:]

Q. Mr. Gallagher, do you remember the 20th of February?—A. I do, Sir, I have a very juſt right.

Q. Pray, Sir, did you know Mr. Patrick Randal M'Donnell?—A. I did, Sir.

Q. Is he living or dead?—A. He is dead, Sir.

Q. Will you pleaſe to relate to the court and the jury, from your own knowledge, how he came by his death, and keep your recital as diſtinct from Hipſon as you can, as the preſent indictment only concerns Mr. M'Donnell.—A. I will, Sir. Mr. M'Donnell, the deceaſed, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the priſoner at the bar, lived near each other; they had frequent bickerings and diſagreements; in conſequence whereof Mr. Fitzgerald made many attempts to be revenged on Mr. M'Donnell, for ſome ſuppoſed offence. Mr. M'Donnell, about eighteen months ago, was fired at from a window in Mr. Fitzgerald's houſe, which ſhot took place, and wounded Mr. M'Donnell in the leg; for this aſſault a man was indicted the aſſizes following at Caſtlebar, and acquitted; in conſequence of which, Mr. Fitgerald levelled his reſentment not only againſt

gainſt Mr. M'Donnell, but alſo againſt Mr. Charles Hipſon, who was murdered at the ſame time with Mr. M'Donnell, and againſt me; I ſuppoſe for our uſing our utmoſt endeavours to bring to juſtice the perſon who fired at Mr. M'Donnell, the deceaſed. On the 20th of February laſt, Mr. M'Donnell called upon me in the morning, in company with Mr. Hipſon, and requeſted I would go with them to Mr. M'Donnell's houſe, as he, Mr. M'Donnell, wiſhed to give ſome neceſſary directions to his ſervants, then at his houſe in the country; for Mr. M'Donnell declared to me he could not live in his houſe at Chancery-hall, in the county of Mayo, being in the neighbourhood of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he repreſented as a blood-thirſty, unforgiving man; and accordingly took lodgings in the town of Caſtlebar to avoid him. We rode off together, and, as we afterwards heard, about ten o'clock, Mr. Fitzgerald getting information of our being there, ſent out a party to apprehend us on a warrant, ſurreptitiouſly obtained from a Mr. O'-Meally (whom I ſince underſtand has been degraded from his commiſſion) for a ſuppoſed aſſault. On our receiving information that our enemy was in purſuit of us, we rode off from Mr. M'Donnell's, Chancery-hall, but finding ourſelves purſued, we ſtopped at a houſe on the road; and I knowing the reſentment was principally levelled at Mr. M'Donnell, perſuaded him to conceal himſelf under ſome malt, which he did; and in a ſhort time Mr. Fitzgerald's party came up to the houſe, and after firing ſeveral ſhot in at us, I went out, and demanded the reaſon that they behaved with ſuch outrage and violence? To which they replied (John Fulton and Craig) that they had warrants againſt Mr. M'Donnell, Mr. Hipſon, and myſelf, but vehemently demanded Mr. M'Donnell. I informed them that he had rode off, and demanded to ſee their warrants; which they refuſed, but burſt into the houſe, and after ſearching the houſe and out-houſes, they found Mr. M'Donnell, and dragged him out; they then tied and brought us bound to Mr. Fitzgerald's, at Rockfield; when we arrived there, we alledged, that the crime we were accuſed of was at any rate bailable, and demanded to be brought before a magiſtrate, which was refuſed, and we were kept at Mr. Fitzgerald's houſe that night, they pretending it was too late then to bring us before a magiſtrate.—We remained there that night, and were treated with the greateſt indignity and inſult. In carrying us priſoners to Mr. Fitzgerald's, they ſuffered Mr. M'Donnell to ride, on account of the wound in his leg, but tied Mr. Hipſon and me together. On the morning of the 21ſt of February, we were brought out from Mr. Fitzgerald's under a guard, which ſtood ready to receive us; and I heard Mr. Fitzgerald, the priſoner at the bar, tell Andrew Craig, who is commonly called Scotch Andrew, "to be ſure to ſecure his priſoners; and if there was a reſcue to ſhoot them."—We were then led about two or three hundred yards from the houſe, when Andrew Craig called out, "A reſcue! a reſcue!" on which a ſhot was immediately fired from the rear, which killed one of Mr. Fitzgerald's guard, and wounded three or four more; the fire then ſoon became general, and Mr. M'Donnell received a wound in the arm, and Mr. Hipſon and I received wounds, when we both fell, and I endeavoured to crawl into ſome fern that was near me, and to conceal myſelf. Mr. M'Donnell's horſe took fright after the rider had been ſhot in the arm, and carried him a few yards on; when, juſt at a bridge, he was ſeized by a perſon fixed there for the purpoſe, as there were guards fixed at all the paſſes, and Andrew Craig fired at him, and ſhot him through the body, on which he fell, and if any life remained in him, it was beat out by the butt end of a piſtol, and the butt end of muſkets: they then fired at and killed Hipſon, and coming up to where I was, they were going to ſhoot me, when one of them exclaimed, "We have no orders to kill him!" which ſaved my life. I was re-taken to Fitzgerald's houſe, where I was afterwards reſcued by my friends.

Q. Do you ſee any perſons now in court whom you can poſitively ſwear were preſent at this outrage?—A. I can poſitively ſwear that Mr. Fitzgerald was preſent at our ſetting out, and that I heard him give the directions I have mentioned to Andrew Craig; and that he had a blunderbuſs ſlung under his arm.

Croſs examined.

Q. Was Mr. Fitzgerald preſent when you were firſt apprehended under the warrant of Mr. O'Meally?—A. He was not that I ſaw; I did not ſee him till I was brought to his houſe.

Q. Did you ſee him fire at Mr. Mr. M'Donnell, Mr. Hipſon, or you?—A. No; I only ſaw him give the directions to Andrew Craig that I have mentioned.

[Next evidence produced was Andrew Craig, commonly called Scotch Andrew—who being duly ſworn and examined, depoſed as follows:]

Q. Where did you live in the month of February laſt?—A. With Mr. Fitzgerald, the priſoner at the bar.

Q. Did you get any directions from him on that day to do any thing particular?—A. I did.

Q. Now, Sir, relate to the court and the jury the particulars of thoſe directions, as you know from your own knowledge.—A. On the 20th of February laſt we received information that Mr. M'Donnell, the deceaſed, in company with Mr. Hipſon and Mr. Gallagher, were at Mr. M'Donnell's houſe; Mr. Fitzgerald then called to me, and, in in the preſence of John Fulton and —[Here he was interrupted by the counſel, who told him he was not to mention any perſon who was not then upon his trial.]—Mr. Fitzgerald deſired me to go and apprehend them on a warrant he had obtained from Mr. Juſtice O'Meally, and to bring them to Rockfield; I was employed by Mr. Fitzgerald, as he always employed me in all his enormities.—[Here he was interrupted, and deſired to confine himſelf to the queſtion now before the court, and not to enter into any extraneous matters.]—We then brought Mr. M'Donnell, Mr. Hipſon, and Mr. Gallagher (the gentleman that was examined here) priſoners to Rockfield. The next morning we ſettled about the plan of murdering them—[Here he was interrupted by the queſtion, Who ſettled it? and he continued:]—Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Timothy Brecknock, Mr. John Fulton, and myſelf;

ſelf; we determined upon the mock reſcue, and that my calling out "A reſcue!" ſhould be the word of command for thoſe in the rear to fire, which they accordingly did. We determined to place ſpies at the different paſſes to prevent an eſcape; and on Mr. M'Donnell's horſe running away with him after the firſt fire, when he was ſhot in the arm, I came up with him on his being ſtopped, and fired at him.

Q. Did you receive inſtructions from any in court, and whom, to perpetrate this horrid act?—A. I did, from Mr. Fitzgerald himſelf, both before we went off, and as we were going out. He ſaid to me, "Secure the priſoners; and if there ſhould be a reſcue, or an attempt to reſcue, ſhoot them."

Q. Was the ſcheme of the reſcue planned or not, and by whom?—A. It was planned by Mr. Fitzgerald and thoſe I have mentioned, and myſelf among the reſt; but thoſe were only privy to it; the reſt were to attend as a guard, to ſee them lodged ſafe.

Q. I now aſk you on your oath, was the reſcue a real one, or a fictitious one, planned as you ſay?——A. It was a fictitious one, planned to commit the murder.

Q. Was that the purpoſe of it, on your oath?—A. On my oath it was for no other purpoſe, but for an excuſe to murder Mr. M'Donnell; and it was pre-concerted before we went out, that a man ſhould be placed in an advantageous ſpot, to fire at Mr. Fitzgerald's own men, to make them imagine the reſcue was intended, except thoſe that were privy to the ſcheme.

Q. Was Mr. M'Donnell murdered in conſequence of the plan you have mentioned?—A. He was.

[Craig was then croſs-examined; ſimply, to whether Mr. Fitzgerald fired at any of the people murdered? To which he anſwered, he believed he did not; for it was before determined, that he (Craig) ſhould murder him, or ſee it done by others.]

Here cloſed the examination on the part of the crown; and on Mr. Fitzgerald being called upon, and told, then was the time for him to make his defence, he replied, he would leave every thing to his counſel employed for him.

His leading counſel then mentioned, that they would call a number of witneſſes to prove an *alibi* on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald.

Several witneſſes were then called on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald, and all tended to the ſame *alibi*, of his not being preſent *the time* the actual murders were committed; but proved nothing as to the directions and pre-concerted ſchemes laid for the deſtruction of Mr. M'Donnell.

THE CHARGE.

The preſent is one of the moſt momentous and important trials that ever came before a court; and through the whole of this melancholy buſineſs every feeling mind muſt be happy to perceive that impartiality and temperance which has diſtinguiſhed the conduct of thoſe who were appointed to bring to juſtice the authors of a deed not leſs horrible than degrading to human nature; and however inclinable I may be to lean to the ſide of mercy in all criminal caſes, yet in the preſent caſe, I muſt confeſs that ſuch aggravated guilt never appeared before me. It is far from my intention or wiſh that any thing I could this day

ſay

ſay to you ſhould bias your opinion; you are gentlemen of conſequence in this county, and I am firmly perſuaded of the ſtricteſt impartiality, and your verdict of conſequence muſt be the reſult of juſtice. You are in poſſeſſion of eſtabliſhed facts, from which you will doubtleſs draw fair inferences, untarniſhed with any unfavourable opinion which you may have previouſly received againſt the priſoner now upon his trial, and entirely uninfluenced by any impreſſion which an affair that has been repreſented in the moſt ſhocking colours, both in private converſations and in the public prints, muſt have made on you.

'Tis not my province to preſcribe the neceſſary verdict for you to bring in; you are as good judges of the facts which appear before you as I am, and by thoſe muſt be directed; if any doubt as to any point of law occurs to your mind, I will, with pleaſure, as will my brother, explain it, and give you every aſſiſtance; and from my knowledge of you, I again repeat, your determination will be the reſult of wiſdom, impartiality, and juſtice. The ſpirit of the laws may ſometimes be ſtretched to a miſtaken tenderneſs, and there are inſtances where lenity may be repugnant to juſtice.

The jury retired, after a ſitting of ſixteen hours, and in fourteen minutes brought in their verdict, guilty.

On Saturday the 10th, John Fulton, William Fulton, Archibald Newing, or Ewing, John Reheney, and David Simpſon, were alſo found guilty, upon two indictments, for the murder of Patrick Randal M'-Donnell and Charles Hipſon.

And, ſame day, James Foy, John Cox, James Maſterſon, David Saltry, otherwiſe Simpſon, Philip Cox, John Berney, Humphry George, Michael Bruen, William Robin, and Wallis Kelly, were ſeverally acquitted of the ſaid murder.

After which trials, the Right Hon. the Attorney General informed the court, that he was given to underſtand a motion was intended to be made in arreſt of judgment. He deſired that Mr. Fitzgerald might be brought up, and the motion gone into. Mr. Fitzgerald's leading counſel ſaid, they ſaw no defect in the indictment; but Mr. Stanley declared that he had warm hopes he could ſhew ground to arreſt judgment, if he were allowed time to conſider the ſubject till Monday. The Attorney General called upon him to ſtate his objections, which he, Mr. Stanley, declined.

The Attorney General informed Mr. Stanley, that it would probably aſſiſt him in the motion to arreſt judgment, if he was informed what the indictment was, as he never had hitherto called to have it read, but had relied on the ſhort abſtract of it in the crown-book; accordingly, at the deſire of the Attorney General, the indictment was read to him; and the court, with remarkable humanity, allowed Mr. Stanley till Monday to conſider his motion.

MONDAY, *June* 12.

This day Timothy Brecknock was called upon to take his trial, and given in charge to the jury upon two indictments, for conſpiring and procuring the death of Patrick Randal M'Donnell and Charles Hipſon. The evidence having fully eſtabliſhed the charges in the indictments, the jury found him guilty.

After Brecknock's conviction, the Chief Baron ordered the clerk of the crown to call up for ſentence thoſe perſons who had been convicted of actually perpetrating the murder; which ſentence he then paſſed upon John Fulton and his other aſſociates, in the moſt affecting manner.

The Chief Baron then deſired to know of Mr. Stanley, whether he meant to make his promiſed motion in arreſt of judgment? but at the ſame time warmly recommended to him, unleſs there was a ſolid ground of objection to the indictment, not to make his motion, as it muſt neceſſarily be made in Mr. Fitzgerald's preſence, and might poſſibly derange his feelings, which, he ſaid, he was happy to hear were calm and compoſed. Mr. Stanley, on conſideration, declined to make any motion in arreſt of judgment.

Mr. Fizgerald was then brought to the bar of the court, and the Chief Baron, after a preface which drew tears from almoſt all who heard him, on the enormity of the crime, paſſed ſentence of death upon George Robert Fitzgerald and Timothy Brecknock, with orders for their execution on that day.

Mr. Fitzgerald behaved with compoſure, and deſired a ſhort time to make his peace with Heaven. To this the Chief Baron anſwered, that the nature of his crime was ſo dreadful, and it had been ſo fully proved againſt him, that public juſtice required he ſhould be made an immediate example.

They were removed from the court to the gaol. At ſix o'clock in the evening George Robert Fitzgerald, Timothy Brecknock, and John Fulton, were conducted to the place of execution, on the hill near the Caſtle, at Caſtlebar, where they were ſeverally executed according to their ſentence.

On Mr. Fitzgerald's coming out of the priſon he ſeemed to be collected, but turning his eyes on the wonderful multitude which attended his execution, he loſt all his fortitude, and giving a ſort of a wild ſhriek, continued weeping during his way to the fatal ſpot; but Brecknock ſeemed at intervals devoted to prayer; his countenance bore ſtrong traits of philoſophy and innocence; he uttered ſome expreſſions which were thought incoherent by the multitude. Brecknock was firſt turned off, and met his fate with a fortitude and compoſure worthy a better cauſe. Fulton ſeemed penitent, and died with firmneſs.

After hanging the uſual time, they were ſeverally cut down, and their bodies cut or ſcarred.

The other four convicts, John Reheny, Archibald Newing, William Fulton, and David Simpſon, were ordered for execution on a future day.

After the verdict of the jury againſt Mr. Fitzgerald, he requeſted to have ſome private conference with Mr. Browne, the high ſheriff; the latter conſented, on condition of having a friend preſent. What paſſed on the occaſion did not tranſpire; but the ſheriff and his friend accompanied him to the priſon, where, having walked about his room in ſome perturbation, he threw himſelf on a bed, and continued lying on his face above three hours and a half without uttering a word. He wore a looſe great coat, and had his head bound round with a handkerchief.

Reſolutions

Reſolutions of the Britiſh *Inhabitants at* Calcutta, *relative to Mr.* Pitt's *Eaſt India Bill.*

AT a meeting of the Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta, held at the Theatre on Monday the 25th of July, in purſuance of a public ſummons by the high ſheriff, at the requeſt of the grand jury, on the 15th of June laſt, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the propriety and neceſſity of a petition on certain parts of an act of the 24th of his preſent majeſty, intituled, "An act for the better regulation of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, and of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, and for eſtabliſhing a Court of Judicature for the more ſpeedy and effectual trial of perſons accuſed of offences committed in the Eaſt Indies," the following reſolutions were propoſed, and unanimouſly agreed to:

I. Reſolved, That his majeſty's ſubjects in the Eaſt Indies are entitled to the protection and ſupport of the laws of England, in common with the other ſubjects of the realm.

II. Reſolved, that ſo much of the act of the 24th of his preſent majeſty, cap. xxv. intituled, "An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, and of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, and for eſtabliſhing a Court of Judicature for the more ſpeedy and effectual trial of perſons accuſed of offences committed in the Eaſt Indies," as compels the ſervants of the Eaſt India company, upon their return to Great Britain, to deliver in upon oath an inventory of their whole property, under penalties of exceſſive ſeverity, is grievous and oppreſſive to the ſervants of the ſaid company, and repugnant to the conſtitution of our country.

III. Reſolved, That the erection of a new tribunal by the ſaid act, for the ſpecial purpoſe of trying offences, charged to have been committed in the Eaſt Indies; a tribunal unreſtrained by the ſettled rules of law, and ſubject to no appeal, and the depriving them of their undoubted birthright, the trial by jury, are violations of the great charter of our liberties, and infringements of the moſt ſacred principles of the Britiſh conſtitution.

IV. Reſolved, That the ſaid act, by expoſing his majeſty's ſubjects reſiding under this preſidency, to be ſent forcibly to England, and there to be tried for offences committed, or charged to be committed by them within theſe provinces, is highly dangerous to the ſecurity of their perſons and fortunes.

V. Reſolved, That it is injurious to the ſervants of the United Company to be ſubject, by the ſaid act of parliament, to be diſmiſſed from their employments in the Eaſt Indies, or to be recalled at the pleaſure of the crown, which is, in other words, at the will of the miniſter.

VI. Reſolved, That the proviſion of the ſaid act of parliament, which enacts, That all writings, which ſhall have been tranſmitted from the Eaſt Indies to the court of directors, by their officers or ſervants reſident in the Eaſt Indies, in the uſual courſe of their correſpondence with the ſaid court of directors, may be admitted by the commiſſioners to be offered in evidence, and ſhall not be deemed inadmiſſible, or incompetent, is ſubverſive of the eſtabliſhed rules of evidence, and manifeſtly dangerous to his majeſty's ſubjects returning from this country to Great Britain.

VII. Reſolved, That it is therefore becoming, and highly expedient for his majeſty's ſubjects in theſe provinces to endeavour by all legal and conſtitutional means to obtain a repeal of ſuch clauſes in the ſaid act of parliament, as impoſe thoſe and other hardſhips upon them. And that for the purpoſe of obtaining ſuch repeal, petitions, humbly laying our grievances before his majeſty and the two houſes of parliament, are adviſeable, neceſſary, and proper.

VIII. Reſolved, That a committee of fifteen gentlemen, ſelected for the inhabitants of Calcutta, be appointed to prepare petitions to his majeſty and the two houſes of parliament, and to correſpond with the inland ſtations ſubordinate to this government, and with the other preſidencies in India: and that it be recommended to them to take all ſuch meaſures as they ſhall judge neceſſary for tranſmitting the ſaid petitions to Europe, and for promoting and obtaining an effectual redreſs to his majeſty's ſubjects in India. And that the ſaid committee be empowered to fill up vacancies, as they may happen in the courſe of time.

IX. Reſolved, That as conſiderable expence muſt be unavoidably incurred by our endeavours to obtain redreſs of our grievances, a ſubſcription ſhall be opened by the committee who ſhall be elected by this aſſembly; and that as ſoon as the petition ſhall be ready for ſignature, a book ſhall be produced for the ſaid ſubſcription, to the end that every man may have the opportunity of promoting, by a voluntary ſacrifice of a ſmall ſhare of his property, that ſecurity of the whole, which is the grand object of our petitions.

X. Reſolved, That all ſubſcriptions be received, whether in ſpecie, or in paper, and that the amount ſubſcribed ſhall be paid by each ſubſcriber to ſuch perſon or perſons as the ſaid committee, when elected, ſhall appoint to receive the ſame.

XI. Reſolved, That this aſſembly do authorize the ſaid committee to diſpoſe of and expend the whole, or any part of the ſums of money ſo paid, in ſuch manner as ſhall appear to them beſt calculated for the general benefit of the cauſe for which they were ſubſcribed.

XII. Reſolved, That Mr. Charles Purling be a member of the committee, and that he be requeſted to propoſe fourteen other gentlemen to the meeting for their approval.

XIII. Reſolved, That the following gentlemen are elected for the purpoſes mentioned in the foregoing reſolutions, viz.

Colonel Patrick Duff,
Captain John Murray,
Captain Peter Murray,
Captain William Scott,
Captain Herbert Lloyd,
Charles Purling,
John Briſtow,
Jeremiah Church,
William Cowper,
Henry Vanſittart,
John Evelyn,
Jonathan Duncan,
George Dallas,
Thomas Henry Davis,
and
Philip Yonge, Eſqrs.

XIV. Reſolved, That the aſſembly of the Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta, having the moſt perfect confidence and truſt in the uprightneſs, integrity, and abilities, of the committee choſen for the conduct and management of their intereſt, and for the protection and defence of their rights, as ſubjects of Great Britain, do, in order to give vigour and efficacy to their acts, and to free them from future trouble, embarraſſment, and obſtruction, delegate to them full authority; and do expreſs a plenary reliance on them for the exerciſe of it, and do pledge to them the concurrence and ſupport of the ſaid aſſembly, in the fulleſt manner poſſible, to all meaſures they ſhall legally adopt, for obtaining a repeal of the oppreſſive parts of the aforeſaid act of parliament.

XV. Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the grand jury, for having convened a legal and conſtitutional meeting of the Britiſh ſubjects in this ſettlement, for the purpoſe of petitioning his majeſty, and the two houſes of parliament, for redreſs of thoſe heavy grievances impoſed on them by the before-mentioned act of the legiſlature.

XVI. Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Philip Yonge, Eſq. the high ſheriff, for his patriotic conduct in calling the aſſembly at the requeſt of the grand jury.

XVII. Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Charles Purling, Eſq. for the great preciſion, candour, and regularity, with which he has conducted the buſineſs of the day.

XVIII. Reſolved, That the above reſolutions be printed and made public.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From December 13, 1785, to December 12, 1786.

Chriſtened	Males	9183	Buried	Males	10253	Increaſed in the Burials this Year 1535.
	Females	8936		Females	10201	

Died under Two Years	6693	—Fifty and Sixty	1675	A Hundred and One	3
Between Two and Five	2039	—Sixty and Seventy	1305	A Hundred and Two	1
—Five and Ten	906	—Seventy and Eighty	982	A Hundred and Three	
—Ten and Twenty	855	—Eighty and Ninety	437	A Hundred and Four	
—Twenty and Thirty	1612	—Ninety and a Hundred	68	A Hundred and Five	
—Thirty and Forty	1868	A Hundred	1	A Hundred and Six	2
Forty and Fifty	2007				

DISEASES.

Abortive and Stilborn	593
Abſceſs	8
Aged	1339
Ague	6
Apoplexy and Sudden	218
Aſthma and Phthiſic	335
Bed-ridden	13
Bleeding	10
Bloody Flux	
Burſten and Rupture	3
Cancer	51
Canker	1
Chicken Pox	1
Childbed	192
Cholic, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	18
Cold	8
Conſumption	4987
Convulſions	4981
Cough and Hooping-Cough	200
Diabetes	
Dropſy	828
Evil	17
Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2981
Fiſtula	4
Flux	12
French Pox	66
Gout	63
Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	52
Grief	1
Head-Ach	5
Healdmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	16
Jaundice	51
Impoſthume	5
Inflammation	264
Itch	1
Leproſy	1
Lethargy	1
Livergrown	2
Lunatick	34
Meaſles	793
Miſcarriage	6
Mortification	172
Palſy	80
Pleuriſy	13
Quinſy	4
Raſh	
Rheumatiſm	4
Rickets	
Riſing of the Lights	1
Scald Head	1
Scurvy	3
Small Pox	1210
Sore Throat	19
Sores and Ulcers	13
St. Anthony's Fire	4
Stoppage in the Stomach	9
Surfeit	1
Swelling	3
Teeth	457
Thruſh	40
Tympany	
Vomiting and Looſeneſs	3
Worms	13

CASUALTIES.

Bit by a mad dog	
Broken Limbs	
Bruiſed	1
Burnt	9
Choaked	
Drowned	112
Exceſſive Drinking	6
Executed	7
Found Dead	7
Frighted	
Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	58
Killed themſelves	22
Murdered	5
Overlaid	
Poiſoned	2
Scalded	1
Shot	
Smothered	
Starved	3
Suffocated	4
Total	237

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended 5th* January, 1787.

EXPORTED.

1786. ENGLAND.	Britiſh Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
			£. s. d.
Wheat	128,114	9,888	50,973 18 6¾ Bo.
Wheat Flour	64,855	1,303	
Rye	5,467	1,269	
Barley	14,973	1,423	
Malt	79,656		79 19 4 Dr.
Oats	12,215	1,324	
Oatmeal	1,147	194	
Beans	9,903	434	
Peaſe	5,354	140	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	507	- - - -	2,830 1 10 Bo.
Wheat Flour	798		
Barley	9,383		
Barley hulled	54		
Bear	10,137		
Bear Meal	98		
Malt	6,108		
Oats	2,300		
Oatmeal	2,113		
Peaſe and Beans	478		

IMPORTED.

1786. ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties Received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	47,961	5,556 2 9
Wheat Flour	3,502	
Rye	311	
Barley	50,143	
Oats	405,334	
Oatmeal	6,763	
Beans	33,912	
Peaſe	1,617	

1786. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.		
		£.	s.	d.
Rye	1	714	8	
Barley	12,231			
Oats	43,056			
Oatmeal	23,320			
Peaſe and Beans	180			

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1786.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
4	10¼	3	4¾	3	0½	2	3	4	1¾

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1786.

N. B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices which each Stock bore in the Courſe of any Month, are put down oppoſite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Conſol.	4 pr Ct. Conſol.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	NewNav. Bills.	Excheq. Bills.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	140⅜	71	71⅝	89	156	53	68½	—	2¼	14	20⅞	13[illegible]	14 19
	139[illegible]	69½	68½	87⅛	—	—	—	—	2¼	15	11¾	13¼	
Feb.	140½	71	70⅜	89⅜	159¼	55	—	—	2⅜	19	20⅞	13⅜	15 14
	139¼	69⅝	69¼	88¾	155	46	—	—	2¼	15	20¾	13⅜	14 17
Mar.	140½	70⅜	70¼	90	159	58	69⅜	—	2¾	10	20⅞	13¼	
	139¼	—	69¼	88¾	159	—	—	—	2¼	1⅛	16⅝	13⅛	
Apr.	138	69	70	88	159	50	—	—	2¼	5	21	13⅛	
	—	68½	69½	89¼	156½	—	—	—	2½	—	15	13¾	
May	142½	71⅝	73⅜	90½	161½	70¼	70¼	68½	2¼	10	21¾	13¾	
	144	71¾	72½	90¼	161	—	—	—	2¼	—	15	14¼	
June	146½	73¾	74⅝	92½	162¾	62	71	72	2¼	27	22¼	—	14 15
	143⅛	73½	74¼	94⅛	160¼	—	—	—	2	—	11¼	—	14 8
July	149⅜	75⅜	75	95⅝	157½	80	74¼	—	2	33	22⅜	14¼	14 14
	148¾	74¾	74¾	95½	159¾	—	—	—	—	—	16⅜	14⅝	14 10
Aug.	158	78⅝	78	99⅞	169½	112	78	78¼	2	50	—	14¼	14 17
	156	77⅜	78⅛	97⅛	167	—	—	—	—	48	23⅛	14½	14 12
Sept.	158¾	78⅛	78⅛	98⅛	168½	175	78	77⅞	1⅜	60	22½	14⅛	15 5
	155¾	—	76⅞	—	—	—	—	—	1⅜	55	—	—	14 16
Oct.	150¾	76¼	77⅝	95⅜	165¼	90	—	79½	1⅛	53	22⅝	13⅝	
	148¾	75⅛	76	94⅛	164	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	15 4
Nov.	175¼	76¼	74⅛	92¼	166¾	90	73¾	—	2⅛	48	22¼	13½	14 —
	146	73⅛	74¼	92¼	166½	89	—	—	2⅛	16	15	13¾	15 4
Dec.	146¼	74¼	75½	93⅛	166	70	72¾	73⅝	2⅛	15	22	13½	15 1
	151½	74⅜	75½	93¼	168¼	88	73⅝	74¼	—	17	22⅛	31⅝	

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1786.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 13, 1786.			
For 18,000 men, including 3,620 marines, at 4l. per man per month	936,000	0	0
MARCH 2.			
For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to the ſea and marine officers	692,326	18	8
For building, rebuilding, and repairing ſhips of war, &c.	800,000	0	0
Total of Navy	2,428,326	18	8

ORDNANCE.

MARCH 7.						
For the charges of the office of ordnance for land ſervice in 1786				287,096	17	1
JUNE 7.						
For completing the old works at Portſmouth and Plymouth	59,781	0	0			
For land at Faverſham	3,632	11	5			
D° near Portſmouth	12,869	11	7¾			
D° near Plymouth	17,388	12	1			
				93,671	15	1¾
Total of Ordnance				380,768	12	2¾

ARMY.

FEB. 10.			
For 17,638 effective men for guards and garriſons	647,005	0	8
D°, 9,546 men in the plantations and Gibraltar	234,160	5	11
D°, 2,490 men, Iriſh regiments	6,358	3	0
D°, 453 men in the Eaſt Indies	8,230	8	7¼
30,127	895,753	18	2¼
For the general and ſtaff-officers for 1786	6,409	8	9
For full pay to reduced or ſupernumerary officers	24,378	7	8½

For the paymaſter-general, ſecretary at war, commiſſary-general of the muſters, judge advocate-general,

comptrollers

comptrollers of the army accounts, the deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of the exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaſter-general, and on account of poundage to the infantry	59,320	13	5
For penſions to the widows of officers	11,409	7	6

MARCH 29.

For the army extraordinaries, from Dec. 25, 1784, to Dec. 25, 1785	573,087	8	2½
For the reduced officers of land forces and marines	172,666	10	5
For the reduced horſe-guards	333	9	7
For the Chelſea penſioners	175,016	7	9
For the officers of the Britiſh American forces	53,502	17	2
For officers late in the ſervice of the States General	3,535	0	6

APRIL 11.

For the difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment of ſeveral battalions, 1784 and 1785	2,377	0	8½
D° of companies, 1786	364	5	11
Total of Army	1,978,154	15	0¾

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

FEBRUARY 7.

To diſcharge exchequer bills, viz. Bank	1,500,000	0	0
Bank loan	2,000,000	0	0

JUNE 13th.

Circulated	1,000,000	0	0
D°, 1785	1,000,000	0	0
Total Exchequer Bills	5,500,000	0	0

CIVIL LIST.

APRIL 6.

Exchequer bills	180,000	0	0
Arrears to 5th January 1786	30,000	0	0
Total Civil Liſt	210,000	0	0

NATIONAL DEBT.

MARCH 30.

Towards the reduction of the national debt	1,000,000	0	0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

APRIL 3.

To make good the damage ſuſtained by the inhabitants of Faverſham, &c. by the blowing up of his majeſty's powder-mills there, in 1781	1,377	6	0

APRIL 11.

For the civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia	3,851	17	6
For the civil eſtabliſhment of St. John's iſland	1,900	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of the Bahama iſlands	2,660	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of the iſland of Cape Breton	2,100	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of New Brunſwick	4,300	0	0
To the repreſentatives of the late John Ellis, eſq. agent for Weſt Florida, for arrears	1,816	15	7¼
For the ſalary of the chief juſtice of the Bermuda iſlands	580	0	0

MAY 15.

For Somerſet Houſe	25,000	0	0
For the forts and ſettlements in Africa	13,000	0	0
For the proſecution of offenders againſt the coin laws	1,681	18	4
For the extraordinary expences of the mint	14,939	5	0¼
For a compenſation to Joſeph Lodin du Mauvoir, for the loſs of his ſhip, ſeized by the Lord Dartmouth armed ſhip in 1776	4,106	10	0

MAY 22.

For purchaſing lands in the iſland of St. Vincent	6,500	0	0
For completing the purchaſe of the ſoil in the Bahama iſlands	6,356	0	0
For the relief of the American ſufferers	62,059	5	0
To Mr. Cotton, for fees paid at the exchequer on 150,000l. granted laſt ſeſſions to the American loyaliſts	3,750	14	0
To Mr. Cotton, for the expences of Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton, eſqrs. commiſſioners of American claims, at Nova Scotia, &c.	2,426	9	0
To Mr. Cotton, for the bills drawn on the Treaſury by the governors of New Brunſwick, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, and for expences of convicts on board the priſon-ſhips at Portſmouth and Plymouth, &c.	16,061	16	3
For the convicts on the Thames	21,560	5	7
To the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of public accounts	1,000	0	0

JUNE 7.

To Louis Borell and Abraham Henry Borell, for

diſcloſing

diſcloſing their method of dying the colour called Turkey red upon cotton	2,500	0	0

JUNE 12.

For a new building at the Admiralty	6,000	0	0
For the Scotch roads and bridges	5,784	0	0

JUNE 19.

For a compenſation to the commiſſioners of public accounts	9,000	0	0
To the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the loſſes of the American loyaliſts	10,000	0	0
For the relief of the American loyaliſts	178,750	0	0
For the American civil officers, ſufferers for their loyalty	55,000	0	0
To the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of the American loyaliſts	3,888	4	0
For money iſſued purſuant to addreſſes	12,259	9	2
For the expence of confining convicts	31,299	10	0
Total Miſcellaneous Services	511,509	5	5½

DEFICIENCIES.

MARCH 20.

To the ſinking fund for the monies paid out of it to make good the deficiencies of the duties granted for repealing the duties on tea, to July 5, 1785	365,719	2	4½
To make good the deficiency of the fund for the payment of annuities granted towards the ſupply in 1758	16,588	4	6¾
To ditto for 1778	180,357	3	6¼
To ditto for 1779	15,991	5	2½
To ditto for 1780	141,864	11	8
To ditto for 1783	361,963	3	4
To ditto for 1784	202,588	7	7½

MAY 15.

To make good the deficiencies of the grants in 1785	127,131	3	2⅝
Total Deficiencies	1,412,203	1	6⅛
Total of Supplies	13,420,962	12	10½

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the above Supplies granted to his Majeſty for the year* 1786.

FEBRUARY 10.

Land-tax for 1786	2,000,000	0	0
Malt duty	750,000	0	0

MARCH

		£	s.	d.
MARCH 21.				
To be applied out of the ſinking fund —		582,488	15	9¾
MARCH 30.				
To be applied out of the ſinking fund —		1,000,000	0	0
MAY 2.				
Surplus of ditto, 5th April 1786 — —		628,982	0	1
MAY 15.				
Exchequer bills — — —		2,500,000	0	0
MAY 18.				
Surplus of the deduction of 6d. in the pound on all ſalaries, &c. — — — —		82,386	0	0
Ditto of the wine duties — — —		16,491	5	0
Ditto of the glaſs duties — — —		20,281	15	0
Ditto of the duties on vellum, &c. — —		12,735	15	0
Ditto of the two-ſevenths exciſe — —		40,414	9	5¾
JUNE 1.				
A lottery, 50,000 tickets, at 13l. 15s. 6d. a ticket — —	688,750 0 0	188,750	0	0
Prizes — — —	500,000 0 0			
Surplus of monies granted for the army, &c. in 1784		290,810	4	6⅛
Impreſt, and other monies in the exchequer —		100,508	13	1¾
Army ſavings and ſtoppages in 1785 —		65,575	4	1½
JUNE 20.				
To be applied out of the ſinking fund —		2,600,000	0	0
Exchequer bills — — — —		3,000,000	0	0
Surplus of monies voted for Chelſea penſioners in 1785 — — — —		21,568	13	2¾
Total of Ways and Means —		13,900,992	15	4½
Total of Supplies —		13,420,962	12	10½
Exceſs of Ways and Means —		480,030	2	6

An authentic and correct Liſt of the NATIONAL DEBT, *to the 5th of January,* 1786.

	Capitals.			Intereſt.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bank Stock — —	11,642,406	0	0	698,544	0	0
Five per Cent. Navy Annuities	17,869,993	9	10	893,499	13	5
Four per Cent. Conſols —	32,750,100	0	0	1,310,000	0	0

Three

	Capitals.			Intereſt.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Three per Cent. Conſols —	107,401,696	5	1	3,222,050	17	9
Three per Cent. Reduced —	37,340,073	4	0	1,120,202	4	3
Three per Cent. 1726 —	1,000,000	0	0	30,000	0	0
Long Ann. 680,375l. per Ann. calculated at 21 years purchaſe, only — —	20,411,250	0	0	680,375	0	0
Short Ann. 1777—25,000l. per Ann.—Short Ann. 1778 & 1779, 412,500l. calculated at 14 years purchaſe	6,125,000	0	0	437,500	0	0
South Sea Stock —	3,662,784	8	6	128,197	9	1
Three per Cent. Old Annuities	11,937,470	2	7	357,224	2	0
Three per Cent. New —	8,494,830	2	10	254,844	18	1
Three per Cent. 1751 —	1,919,600	0	0	57,588	0	0
India Stock — — —	3,200,000	0	0	256,000	0	0
Three per Cent. Annuities	3,000,000	0	0	90,000	0	0
Total	266,725,097	12	10	9,536,026	4	7

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the Third Seſſion of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, 24th January 1786.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE I laſt met you in parliament, the diſputes which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe have been brought to an amicable concluſion; and I continue to receive from foreign powers the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their friendly diſpoſition towards this country.

At home, my ſubjects experience the growing bleſſings of peace in the extenſion of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increaſe of the public credit of the nation.

For the farther advancement of thoſe important objects, I rely on the continuance of that zeal and induſtry which you manifeſted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament.

The reſolutions which you laid before me, as the baſis of an adjuſtment of the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, have been by my directions communicated to the parliament of that kingdom; but no effectual ſtep has hitherto been taken thereupon which can enable you to make any farther progreſs in that ſalutary work.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the eſtimates for the preſent year to be laid before you: it is my earneſt wiſh to enforce œconomy in every department; and you will, I am perſuaded, be equally ready to make ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for the public ſervice, and particularly for maintaining our naval ſtrength on the moſt ſecure and reſpectable footing. Above all, let me recomcommend to you the eſtabliſhment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. The flouriſhing ſtate of the revenue will, I truſt, enable you to effect this important meaſure, with little addition to the public burdens.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The vigour and reſources of the country, ſo fully manifeſted in its preſent ſituation, will encourage you in continuing to give your utmoſt attention to every ſubject of national concern; particularly to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary, in order to give farther ſecurity to the revenue, and to promote and extend, as far as poſſible, the trade and general induſtry of my ſubjects.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, to the King, for the foregoing Speech, January 25, 1786.

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We aſſure your majeſty, that impreſſed with the fulleſt conviction of the bleſſings which reſult from a ſtate of general peace, it affords us great ſatisfaction to be informed, that the diſputes which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe have been brought to an amicable concluſion; and that your majeſty continues to receive from foreign powers the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their friendly diſpoſition towards this country.

We aſſure your majeſty, that earneſtly intereſted in whatever may contribute to the ſtrength and ſplendour of the nation, and the wealth of your majeſty's ſubjects, we cannot but be deeply ſenſible of the advantages which muſt be derived from the extenſion of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increaſe of the public credit

We aſſure your majeſty, that the promotion of the common intereſt and proſperity of all your majeſty's ſubjects, was the object of thoſe reſolutions which we humbly laid before your majeſty in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, as the foundation of a permanent and equitable adjuſtment of the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland; but no effectual ſtep having been taken in conſequence of them by the parliament of Ireland, the progreſs of that meaſure, however ſalutary, cannot properly become the ſubject of our preſent conſideration.

We humbly intreat your majeſty to be perſuaded, that the vigour and reſources of the country, which, with heart-felt ſatisfaction, we obſerve are ſo fully manifeſted in its preſent ſituation, cannot fail to excite a ſtill more active attention to the important objects of national concern which your majeſty is pleaſed to recommend to our conſideration; and particularly to ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to give farther ſecurity to the revenue, and to promote and extend, as far as poſſible, the general induſtry of our country.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal addreſs.

I receive with great ſatisfaction your aſſurances, that you will give the ſtricteſt attention to the important objects of national concern, which I have recommended to your conſideration.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King, for the foregoing Speech, January 26, 1785.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We learn, with great ſatisfaction, that the diſputes which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe have been brought to an amicable concluſion; and that your majeſty continues to receive from foreign powers the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their friendly diſpoſition towards this country.

We are deeply ſenſible of the bleſſings which we experience from the enjoyment of peace, in the extenſion of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increaſe of the public credit of the nation: and your majeſty may rely on the utmoſt exertion of our zeal and induſtry for the farther advancement of theſe important objects.

In order to promote, as far as in us lay, the common intereſts of all your majeſty's ſubjects, we humbly laid before your majeſty, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, ſeveral reſolutions, as the baſis of an adjuſtment of the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland; but, as no effectual ſtep has been hitherto taken thereupon by the parliament of that kingdom, we do not find ourſelves at preſent enabled to make any farther progreſs in that ſalutary work.

We cannot refrain from offering the warmeſt expreſſions of our gratitude for your majeſty's gracious aſſurances of your earneſt wiſh to enforce œconomy in every department: we ſhall be equally ready, at all times, to make ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for every branch of the public ſervice, particularly for maintaining the naval ſtrength of theſe kingdoms on the moſt ſecure and reſpectable footing. Fully impreſſed with the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt, we ſhall loſe no time in entering on that important conſideration; and it will afford us the moſt ſolid ſatisfaction to find that this moſt deſirable object may be attained with little addition to the public burdens.

The vigour and reſources ſo happily manifeſted in our preſent ſituation muſt give encouragement and confidence to all your majeſty's ſubjects, and cannot fail to animate our exertions in endeavouring, by a continued attention to the ſecurity of the revenue, and the extenſion of trade, to confirm and improve the increaſing proſperity of the empire.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for this very loyal addreſs. I receive with great ſatisfaction the aſſurances of your diſpoſition to enter with zeal and induſtry into the conſideration of thoſe important and ſalutary objects which I have recommended to your attention.

The Speech of his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, at the opening of the Seſſions there, on Thurſday, January 19, 1786.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great ſatisfaction, that, in obedience to his majeſty's commands, I meet you again in parliament. You will, I am perſuaded, give your utmoſt attention to the various objects of public concern, which require your conſideration. Your natural ſolicitude for the welfare of Ireland, and a full ſenſe of her real intereſts, will direct all your deliberations, and point out to you the line of conduct which may be moſt conducive to the public advantage; and to that laſting connection between the ſiſter kingdoms, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the public accounts, and other neceſſary papers, to be laid before you. The principle which you ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed of preventing the accumulation of the national debt, will, I hope, appear already to have proved ſucceſsful; and I entertain no doubt, that your wiſdom will perſevere in meaſures, which, in their operation, promiſe ſuch beneficial effects. His majeſty relies with confidence upon your grant of ſuch ſupplies as are neceſſary for the public ſervice, and for the honourable ſupport of his government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

A ſyſtematic improvement of the police, and a vigorous execution of the laws, are eſſential not only to the due collection of the public revenue, but to the ſecurity of private property, and indeed to the protection of ſociety. The frequent outrages which have been committed in ſome parts of the kingdom, will particularly call your attention to this important object.

It is unneceſſary for me to recommend the proteſtant charter-ſchools to your protection, or to enumerate the happy effects which may be derived from your continued attention to the linen and other manufactures, to the agriculture, and to the fiſheries of the kingdom, and to ſuch meaſures as may animate the induſtry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people.

It will ever be my ambition to promote the real intereſts of Ireland, and to contribute by all the means in my power towards eſtabliſhing its future proſperity on the ſureſt and moſt laſting foundation.

The Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, to his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant, on Tueſday the 21ſt of March, upon the preſenting the Money Bills at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THE expences of this kingdom had for a ſeries of years, as well in time of peace as war, conſtantly exceeded its revenue, and debt increaſed on debt.

Where ſuch a ſyſtem is ſuffered to prevail, manufactures muſt at length give way, trade will decline, and agriculture ceaſe to produce wealth or plenty. The commons, therefore, in the laſt ſeſſion, wiſely determined to put a ſtop to ſo ruinous a ſyſtem, and with a ſpirited attention to the true intereſt of their country, and the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government, they voted new taxes to increaſe the revenue of the year, in the ſum of 140,000l.

The effort was great, and the event has proved its wiſdom. No further addition is now wanting—no loan or act of credit is neceſſary—a ſituation unknown to this kingdom for many ſeſſions paſt, and marking with peculiar force the happy æra of your grace's adminiſtration.

Animated by this ſucceſs, and determined to perſevere in the principle of preventing the accumulation of debt, his majeſty's faithful commons have, in this ſeſſion, continued the ſame taxes, and granted all the ſupplies that were deſired, to the full amount of every eſtimated expence; nor have they omitted at the ſame time to provide for the ſpeedy reduction of the national debt by a conſiderable ſinking fund, and to continue to the agriculture, the fiſheries, and the riſing manufactures of the kingdom, the bounties neceſſary for their ſupport.

Great as theſe taxes are, they are liberally and cheerfully given, in the moſt firm and full confidence, that from your grace's experienced wiſdom and affection for this kingdom, they will be found effectually to anſwer the end propoſed, of ſupplying the whole of the public expence, and preventing any further accumulation of debt.

The bills which I have the honour to preſent to your grace, for the royal aſſent, are, &c. &c. &c.

The Speech of his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, on cloſing the Seſſion, Monday, May 8, 1786.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have ſeen, with great ſatisfaction, the conſtant attention and uncommon diſpatch with which you have gone through the public buſineſs. I am thereby enabled now to relieve you from further attendance in parliament. The harmony of your deliberations has given no leſs efficacy than dignity to your proceedings; and I am confident that you will carry with you the ſame diſpoſition for promoting the public welfare to your reſidence in the country, where your preſence will encourage the induſtry of the people, and where your example and your influence will be happily exerted in eſtabliſhing general good order and obedience to the laws.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I am to thank you in his majeſty's name for the liberal ſupplies which you have given for the public ſervice, and for the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government. They ſhall be faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which they were granted. My reliance upon your decided ſupport to the execution of the laws for the juſt collection of the public revenue, affords me the beſt founded hope, that the produce of the duties will not fall ſhort of their eſtimated amount.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The determined ſpirit with which you have marked your abhorrence of all lawleſs diſorder and tumult, hath, I doubt not, already made an uſeful impreſſion: and the ſalutary laws enacted in this ſeſſion, and particularly the introduction of a ſyſtem of police, are honourable proofs of your wiſdom, your moderation, and your prudence.

His majeſty beholds, with the higheſt ſatisfaction, the zeal and loyalty of his people of Ireland; and I have his majeſty's expreſs commands to aſſure you of the moſt cordial returns of his royal favour and paternal affection.

I have the deepeſt ſenſe of every obligation to confirm my attachment to this kingdom; and it will be the conſtant object of my adminiſtration, and the warmeſt impulſe of my heart, to forward the ſucceſs of her intereſts, and to promote the proſperity of the empire.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on cloſing the Seſſion of Parliament, Wedneſday, July 11, 1786.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Cannot cloſe this ſeſſion of parliament without expreſſing the particular ſatisfaction with which I have obſerved your diligent attention to the public buſineſs, and the meaſures you have adopted for improving the reſources of the country.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I thank you for the ſupplies which you have granted for the ſervice of the current year, and for the proviſion you have made for diſcharging the incumbrances on the revenue applicable to the uſes of my civil government. The moſt ſalutary effects are to be expected from the plan adopted for the reduction of the national debt; an object which I conſider as inſeparably connected with the eſſential intereſts of the public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The aſſurances which I continue to receive from abroad promiſe the continuance of general tranquillity.

The happy effects of peace have already appeared in the extenſion of the national commerce; and no meaſures ſhall be wanting, on my part, which can tend to confirm theſe advantages, and to give additional encouragement to the manufactures and induſtry of my people.

The Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of London, preſented to his Majeſty on Friday, Auguſt 11, 1786, *on the occaſion of his happy eſcape from Aſſaſſination**.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, humbly approach the throne with our moſt ſincere congratulations on the providential deliverance manifeſted in the failure of that outrageous attempt which ſo lately endangered your majeſty's royal perſon.

Impelled at once by duty and inclination, your majeſty's faithful citizens of London are happy in tendering an unfeigned aſſurance of their affection and zeal for your majeſty's perſon and government.

Deeply ſenſible of the value and importance of your majeſty's life to the proſperity of your kingdoms, and of the unſpeakable affliction which your people would have ſuſtained by its mournful termination, the late horrid occurrence (which threatened that national calamity) could not fail to excite in their minds a proportionate alarm; but more particularly painful and ſevere were their ſenſations, on reflecting that your majeſty's gracious attention to the petitions of your ſubjects had proved the lamentable cauſe of expoſing your ſacred perſon to danger.

---

* A variety of other addreſſes were preſented to his majeſty on this occaſion by the clergy, and ſeveral of the counties and bodies corporate throughout the kingdom.

Permit us, royal ſir, to add our moſt fervent prayers, that your reign may continue long and proſperous over free, happy, and united ſubjects; and that your deſcendants may tranſmit the bleſſings the nation now enjoys to the lateſt poſterity.

Signed, by order of court,
William Rix.

Answer.

I receive, with the greateſt pleaſure, the very affectionate expreſſions of your duty and attachment to me, and thank you for your congratulations upon the providential deliverance from the attack which has been lately made upon my perſon: thoſe profeſſions cannot but be acceptable to me from my loyal city of London, to whom I am always diſpoſed to ſhew every mark of attention and regard.

Treaty of Alliance and Commerce between his Majeſty Frederick III. King of Pruſſia, and the United States of America, as ratified by Congreſs, May 7, 1786.

HIS majeſty the king of Pruſſia and the United States of America, deſiring to fix, in a permanent and equitable manner, the rules to be obſerved in the intercourſe and commerce they deſire to eſtabliſh between their reſpective countries, have judged, that the ſaid end cannot be better obtained than by taking the moſt perfect equality and reciprocity for the baſis of their agreement.

With this view, his majeſty the king of Pruſſia has nominated and conſtituted, as his plenipotentiary, the baron Frederic William de Thulemeyer, envoy extraordinary with their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Netherlands; and the United States have, on their part, given full powers to John Adams, eſq. now miniſter plenipotentiary of the United States with his Britannic majeſty, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferſon, reſpective plenipotentiaries, have concluded articles, of which the following is an abſtract, ſo far as concerns the States of America.

The ſubjects of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia may frequent all the coaſts and countries of the United States of America, and reſide and trade there in all ſorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and ſhall pay within the ſaid United States no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatſoever, than the moſt favoured nations are or ſhall be obliged to pay; and they ſhall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the moſt favoured nation does or ſhall enjoy; ſubmitting themſelves to the laws and uſages there eſtabliſhed.

In like manner, the citizens of the United States of America may frequent all the coaſts and countries of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, and reſide and trade there in all ſorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and ſhall pay in the dominions of his ſaid majeſty no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatſoever, than the moſt favoured nation is or ſhall be obliged to pay; and they ſhall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the moſt favoured nation does or ſhall enjoy; ſubmitting themſelves as aforeſaid.

Each party ſhall have a right to carry their own produce, manufactures, and merchandize, in their own or any other veſſels, to any parts of the dominions of the other, where it ſhall be lawful for all the ſubjects or citizens of that other freely to purchaſe them; and thence to take the produce, manufactures, and merchandize of the other, which all the ſaid citizens or ſubjects ſhall in like manner be free to ſell, paying in both caſes ſuch duties, charges, and fees only, as are or ſhall be paid by the moſt favoured nation.

Each party ſhall endeavour to protect and defend all veſſels, and other effects, belonging to the citizens or ſubjects of the other, which ſhall be within the extent of their juriſdiction by ſea or land; and ſhall uſe all their efforts to recover, and cauſe to be reſtored to their right owners, their veſſels and effects which ſhall be taken from them within the extent of their ſaid juriſdiction.

If one of the contracting parties ſhould be engaged in war with other powers, the free intercourſe and commerce of the ſubjects or citizens of the party remaining neuter, with the belligerent powers, ſhall not be interrupted. On the contrary, in that caſe, as in full peace, the veſſels of the neutral party may navigate freely to and from the ports, and on the coaſts of the belligerent parties, free veſſels making free goods, inſomuch that all things ſhall be adjudged free which ſhall be on board any veſſel belonging to the neutral party, although ſuch things belong to an enemy of the other; and the ſame freedom ſhall be extended to perſons who ſhall be on board a free veſſel, although they ſhould be enemies to the other party, unleſs they be ſoldiers in actual ſervice of ſuch enemy.

In the ſame caſe of one of the contracting parties being engaged in war with any other power—to prevent all the difficulties and miſunderſtandings which uſually ariſe reſpecting the merchandize heretofore called contraband, ſuch as arms, ammunition, and military ſtores of every kind—no ſuch articles carried in the veſſels, or by the ſubjects or citizens of one of the parties to the enemies of the other, ſhall be deemed contraband, ſo as to induce confiſcation or condemnation, and a loſs of property to individuals. But in the caſe ſuppoſed—of a veſſel ſtopped for the articles heretofore deemed contraband, if the maſter of the veſſel ſtopped will deliver out the goods ſuppoſed to be of contraband nature, he ſhall be admitted to do it, and the veſſel ſhall not in that caſe be carried into any port, nor further detained, but ſhall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

If the contracting parties ſhall be engaged in war againſt a common enemy, the following points ſhall be obſerved between them.

1ſt. If a veſſel of one of the parties, retaken by a privateer of the other, ſhall not have been in poſſeſſion of the enemy more than twenty-four ty-four hours, ſhe ſhall be reſtored to the firſt owner for one third of the value of the veſſel and cargo; but if ſhe ſhall have been more than twenty-four hours in poſſeſſion of the enemy, ſhe ſhall belong wholly to the re-captor. 2d, If in the ſame caſe the re-capture were by a public veſſel of war of the one party, reſtitution ſhall be made to the owner of one thirtieth part of the veſſel and cargo, if ſhe ſhall not have been in the poſſeſſion of the enemy more than twenty-four hours; and one tenth of the ſaid value where ſhe ſhall have been longer; which ſums ſhall be diſtributed in gratuities to the re-captors. 3d, The reſtitution in the caſes aforeſaid ſhall be after due proof of property, and ſurety given for the part to which the re-captors are entitled. 4th, The veſſels of war, public and private, of the two parties, ſhall be reciprocally admitted with their prizes into the reſpective ports of each; but the ſaid prizes ſhall not be diſcharged nor ſold there, until their legality ſhall have been decided according to the laws and regulations of the ſtate to which the captors belong, but by the judicators of the place into which the prize ſhall have been conducted. 5th, It ſhall be free to each party to make ſuch regulations as they ſhall judge neceſſary for the conduct of their reſpective veſſels of war, public or private, relative to the veſſels which they ſhall take and carry into the ports of the two parties.

Where the parties ſhall have a common enemy, or ſhall both be neutral, the veſſels of war of each ſhall upon all occaſions take under their protection the veſſels of the other going the ſame courſe, and ſhall defend ſuch veſſels as long as they hold the ſame courſe, againſt all force and violence, in the ſame manner as they ought to protect and defend veſſels belonging to the party of which they are.

If war ſhould ariſe between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then reſiding in the other, ſhall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and ſettle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without moleſtation or hinderance.

This treaty ſhall be in force during the term of ten years from the exchange of ratifications.

(Signed)

F. G. DE THULEMEYER, a la Haye, le 10 Septembre 1785.

THO. JEFFERSON, Paris, July 28, 1785.

B. FRANKLIN, Paſſy, July 9, 1785.

JOHN ADAMS, London, Auguſt 5, 1785.

Now know ye, that we the ſaid United States in congreſs aſſembled, having conſidered and approved, do hereby ratify and confirm the ſaid treaty. Witneſs the Hon. Nathaniel Gotham, our chairman, in the abſence of his excellency John Hancock, our preſident, the 7th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1786, and of our independence and ſovereignty the tenth.

Convention between his Britannic Majeſty and the King of Spain, ſigned at London, the 14th of July, 1786.

THE kings of England and of Spain, animated with the ſame deſire of conſolidating, by every means in their power, the friendſhip ſo happily ſubſiſting between them and their kingdoms, and wiſhing, with one accord, to prevent even the ſhadow of miſunderſtanding which might be occaſioned by doubts, miſconceptions, or other cauſes of diſputes between the ſubjects on the frontiers of the two monarchies, eſpecially in diſtant countries, as are thoſe in America, have thought proper to ſettle, with all poſſible good faith, by a new convention, the points which might one day or other be productive of ſuch inconveniencies, as the experience of former times has very often ſhewn. To this end, the king of Great Britain has named the moſt noble and moſt excellent lord Francis, baron Oſborne of Kiveton, marquis of Carmarthen, his Britannic majeſty's privy counſellor, and principal ſecretary of ſtate for the department of foreign affairs, &c. &c. &c. and the catholic king has likewiſe authoriſed Don Bernardo del Campo, knight of the noble order of Charles the Third, ſecretary of the ſame order, ſecretary of the ſupreme council of ſtate, and his miniſter plenipotentiary to the king of Great Britain; who having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, prepared in due form, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. His Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, and the other coloniſts who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of England, ſhall evacuate the country of the Moſquitos, as well as the continent in general, and the iſlands adjacent, without exception, ſituated beyond the line hereinafter deſcribed, as what ought to be the frontier of the extent of territory granted by his catholic majeſty to the Engliſh, for the uſes ſpecified in the third article of the preſent convention, and in addition to the country already granted to them in virtue of the ſtipulations agreed upon by the commiſſaries of the two crowns in 1783.

Art. II. The catholic king, to prove, on his ſide, to the king of Great Britain, the ſincerity of his ſentiments of friendſhip towards his ſaid majeſty and the Britiſh nation, will grant to the Engliſh more extenſive limits than thoſe ſpecified in the laſt treaty of peace; and the ſaid limits of the lands added by the preſent convention ſhall for the future be underſtood in the manner following.

The Engliſh line, beginning from the ſea, ſhall take the centre of the river Sibun or Jabon, and continue up to the ſource of the ſaid river; from thence it ſhall croſs in a ſtrait line the intermediate land, till it interſects the river Wallis; and by the centre of the ſame river, the ſaid line ſhall deſcend to the point where it will meet the line already ſettled and marked out by the commiſſaries of the two crowns in 1783: which limits, following the continuation of the ſaid line, ſhall be obſerved as formerly ſtipulated by the definitive treaty.

Art. III. Although no other advantages have hitherto been in queſtion, except that of cutting wood for dying, yet his catholic majeſty, as a greater proof of his diſpoſition to oblige the king of Great Britain, will grant to the Engliſh the liberty of cutting all other wood, without even excepting mahogany, as well as gathering all the fruits, or produce of the earth, purely natural and uncultivated, which may, beſides being carried away in their natural ſtate, become an object of utility or of commerce, whether for food or for manufactures: but it is expreſsly agreed, that this ſtipulation is never to be uſed as a pretext for eſtabliſhing in that country any plantation of ſugar, coffee, cacao, or other like articles, or any fabric or manufacture, by means of mills or other machines whatſoever (this reſtriction however does not regard the uſe of ſaw mills for cutting or otherwiſe preparing the wood), ſince all the lands in queſtion being indiſputably acknowledged to belong of right to the crown of Spain, no ſettlements of that kind, or the population which would follow, could be allowed.

The Engliſh ſhall be permitted to tranſport and convey all ſuch wood, and other produce of the place, in its natural and uncultivated ſtate, down the rivers to the ſea, but without ever going beyond the limits which are preſcribed to them by the ſtipulations above granted, and without thereby taking an opportunity of aſcending the ſaid rivers beyond their bounds, into the countries belonging to Spain.

Art. IV. The Engliſh ſhall be permitted to occupy the ſmall iſland known by the names of Caſina, St. George's Key, or Cayo Caſina, in conſideration of the circumſtance of that part of the coaſts oppoſite to the ſaid iſland being looked upon as ſubject to dangerous diſorders; but this permiſſion is only to be made uſe of for purpoſes of real utility: and as great abuſes, no leſs contrary to the intentions of the Britiſh government than the eſſential intereſts of Spain, might ariſe from this permiſſion, it is here ſtipulated, as an indiſpenſable condition, that no fortification, or work of defence whatever, ſhall at any time be erected there, nor any body of troops poſted, nor any piece of artillery kept there; and in order to verify with good faith the accompliſhment of this condition *ſine qua non* (which might be infringed by individuals, without the knowledge of the Britiſh government) a Spaniſh officer or commiſſary, accompanied by an Engliſh commiſſary or officer, duly authorized, ſhall be admitted, twice a year, to examine into the real ſituation of things.

Art. V. The Engliſh nation ſhall enjoy the liberty of refitting their merchant ſhips in the ſouthern triangle included between the Point of Cayo Caſina, and the cluſter of ſmall iſlands which are ſituated oppoſite that part of the coaſt occupied by the cutters, at the diſtance of eight leagues from the river Wallis, ſeven from Cayo Caſina, and three from the river Sibun, a place which has always been found well adapted to that purpoſe. For which end, the edifices and ſtorehouſes abſolutely neceſſary for that ſervice ſhall be allowed to be built; but in this conceſſion is alſo included the expreſs condition of not erecting fortifications there at any time, or ſtationing troops, or conſtructing any military works; and in like manner it ſhall not be permitted to ſtation any ſhips of war there, or to conſtruct an arſenal, or other building, the object of which might be the formation of a naval eſtabliſhment.

Art. VI. It is alſo ſtipulated, that the Engliſh may freely and peaceably catch fiſh on the coaſt of the country aſſigned to them by the laſt treaty of peace, as alſo of that which is added to them by the preſent convention; but without going beyond their boundaries, and confining themſelves within the diſtance ſpecified in the preceding article.

Art. VII. All the reſtrictions ſpecified in the laſt treaty of 1783, for the entire preſervation of the right of the Spaniſh ſovereignty over the country, in which is granted to the Engliſh only the privilege of making uſe of the wood of the different kinds, the fruits and other produce, in their natural ſtate, are here confirmed; and the ſame reſtrictions ſhall alſo be obſerved with reſpect to the new grant. In conſequence, the inhabitants of thoſe countries ſhall employ themſelves ſimply in the cutting and tranſporting of the ſaid wood, and in the gathering and tranſporting of the fruits, without meditating any more extenſive ſettlements, or the formation of any ſyſtem of government, either military or civil, further than ſuch regulations as their Britannic and catholic majeſties may hereafter judge proper to eſtabliſh, for maintaining peace and good order amongſt their reſpective ſubjects.

Art. VIII. As it is generally allowed that the woods and foreſts are preſerved, and even multiply, by regular and methodical cuttings, the Engliſh ſhall obſerve this maxim, as far as poſſible; but if, notwithſtanding all their precautions, it ſhould happen in courſe of time that they were in want of dying-wood, or mahogany, with which the Spaniſh poſſeſſions might be provided, the Spaniſh government ſhall make no difficulty to furniſh a ſupply to the Engliſh, at a fair and reaſonable price.

Art. IX. Every poſſible precaution ſhall be obſerved to prevent ſmuggling; and the Engliſh ſhall take care to conform to the regulations which the Spaniſh government ſhall think proper to eſtabliſh amongſt their own ſubjects, in all communications which they may have with the latter; on condition nevertheleſs that the Engliſh ſhall be left in the peaceable enjoyment of the ſeveral advantages inſerted in their favour in the laſt treaty, or ſtipulated by the preſent convention.

Art. X. The Spaniſh governors ſhall be ordered to give to the ſaid Engliſh diſperſed, all poſſible facilities for their removal to the ſettlements agreed upon by the preſent convention, according to the ſtipulations of the 6th article of the definitive treaty of 1783, with reſpect to the country allotted for their uſe by the ſaid article.

Art. XI. Their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, in order to remove every kind of doubt with regard to the true conſtruction of the preſent convention, think it neceſſary to declare that the conditions of the ſaid convention ought to be obſerved according to their ſincere intention to enſure and improve the harmony and good underſtanding, which ſo happily ſubſiſt at preſent between their ſaid majeſties.

In this view, his Britannic majeſty engages to give the moſt poſitive orders for the evacuation of the countries above mentioned, by all his ſubjects of whatever denomination; but if, contrary to ſuch declaration, there ſhould ſtill remain any perſons ſo daring as to preſume, by retiring into the interior country, to endeavour to obſtruct the entire evacuation already agreed upon, his Britannic majeſty, ſo far from affording them the leaſt ſuccour, or even protection, will diſavow them in the moſt ſolemn manner, as he will equally do thoſe who may hereafter attempt to ſettle upon the territory belonging to the Spaniſh dominion.

Art. XII. The evacuation agreed upon ſhall be completely effected within the ſpace of ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, or ſooner, if it can be done.

Art. XIII. It is agreed that the new grants deſcribed in the preceding articles, in favour of the Engliſh nation, are to take place as ſoon as the aforeſaid evacuation ſhall be entirely accompliſhed.

Art. XIV. His catholic majeſty, prompted ſolely by motives of humanity, promiſes to the king of England, that he will not exerciſe any act of ſeverity againſt the Moſquitos, inhabiting in part the countries which are to be evacuated by virtue of the preſent convention, on account of the connections which may have ſubſiſted between the ſaid Indians and the Engliſh: and his Britannic majeſty, on his part, will ſtrictly prohibit all his ſubjects from furniſhing arms, or warlike ſtores, to the Indians in general, ſituated upon the frontiers of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions.

Art. XV. The two courts ſhall mutually tranſmit to each other duplicates of the orders, which they are to diſpatch to their reſpective governors and commanders in America, for the accompliſhment of the preſent convention; and a frigate, or proper ſhip of war, ſhall be appointed, on each ſide, to obſerve in conjunction that all things are performed in the beſt order poſſible, and with that cordiality and good faith of which the two ſovereigns have been pleaſed to ſet the example.

Art. XVI. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by their Britannic and catholic majeſties, and the ratifications exchanged, within the ſpace of ſix weeks, or ſooner, if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, We, the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of their Britannic and catholic majeſties, in virtue of our reſpective full powers, have ſigned the preſent convention, and have affixed thereto the ſeals of our arms. (Signed)

CARMARTHEN, &c. &c.
DON BERNARDO DEL CAMPO, &c. &c.

14th July, 1786.

Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, between his Britannic Majeſty and the Moſt Chriſtian King, ſigned at Verſailles, the 26th of September, 1786.

HIS Britannic majeſty, and his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, being equally animated with the deſire not only of conſolidating the good harmony which actually ſubſiſts between them, but alſo of extending the happy effects thereof to their reſpective ſubjects, have thought that the moſt efficacious means for attaining thoſe objects, conformably to the 18th article of the treaty of peace, ſigned the 6th of September, 1783, would be to adopt a ſyſtem of commerce on the baſis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, by diſcontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have exiſted for almoſt a century between the two nations, might procure the moſt ſolid advantages, on both ſides, to the national productions and induſtry, and put an end to contraband trade, no leſs injurious to the public revenue, than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection; for this end, their ſaid majeſties have named for their commiſſaries and plenipotentiaries, to wit, the king of Great Britain, William Eden, eſq. privy counſellor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the Britiſh parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and the Moſt Chriſtian king, the Sieur Joſeph Mathias Gerrard de Rayneval, knight, counſellor of ſtate, knight of the royal order of Charles III. who, after having exchanged their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. It is agreed and concluded between the moſt ſerene and moſt potent king of Great Britain, and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent, the Moſt Chriſtian king, that there ſhall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the ſubjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, ſtates, provinces, and territories, ſubject to their majeſties in Europe, for all and ſingular kinds of goods, in thoſe places, upon the conditions, and in ſuch manner and form as is ſettled and adjuſted in the following articles:

Art. II. For the future ſecurity of commerce and friendſhip between the ſubjects of their ſaid majeſties, and to the end that this good correſpondence may be preſerved from all interruption and diſturbance, it is concluded and agreed, that if, at any time, there ſhould ariſe any miſunderſtanding, breach of friendſhip, or rupture between the crowns of their majeſties, which God forbid! (which rupture ſhall not be deemed to exiſt until the recalling or ſending home of the reſpective ambaſſadors and miniſters) the ſubjects of each of the two parties reſiding in the dominions of the other, ſhall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of diſturbance, ſo long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence againſt the laws and ordinances; and in caſe their conduct ſhould render them ſuſpected, and the reſpective governments ſhould be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months ſhall be allowed them for that purpoſe, in order that they may remove, with their effects and property, whether entruſted to individuals, or to the ſtate. At the ſame time it is to be underſtood, that this favour is not to be extended to thoſe who ſhall act contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws.

Art. III. It is likewiſe agreed and concluded, that the ſubjects and inhabitants of the kingdoms, provinces, and dominions of their majeſties, ſhall exerciſe no acts of hoſtility or violence againſt each other, either by ſea or by land, or in rivers, ſtreams, ports or havens, under any colour or pretence whatſoever; ſo that the ſubjects of either party ſhall receive no patent, commiſſion, or inſtruction for arming and acting at ſea as privateers, nor letters of repriſal, as they are called, from any princes or ſtates, enemies to the other party; nor by virtue, or under colour of ſuch patents, commiſſions, or repriſals, ſhall they diſturb, infeſt, or any way prejudice or damage the aforeſaid ſubjects and inhabitants of the king of Great Britain, or of the Moſt Chriſtian king; neither ſhall they arm ſhips in ſuch manner as is above ſaid, or go out to ſea therewith. To which end, as often as it is required by either party, ſtrict and expreſs prohibitions ſhall be renewed and publiſhed in all the territories, countries, and dominions of each party whereſoever, that no one ſhall in any wiſe uſe ſuch commiſſions or letters of repriſal, under the ſevereſt puniſhment that can be inflicted on the tranſgreſſors, beſides being liable to make full reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe to whom they have done any damage; neither ſhall any letters of repriſal be hereafter granted by either of the ſaid high contracting parties, to the prejudice or detriment of the ſubjects of the other, except only in ſuch caſe wherein juſtice is denied or delayed; which denial or delay of juſtice ſhall not be regarded as verified, unleſs the petitions of the perſon, who deſires the ſaid letters of repriſal, be communicated to the miniſter reſiding there on the part of the prince againſt whoſe ſubjects they are not to be granted, that within the ſpace of four months, or ſooner, if it be poſſible, he may manifeſt the contrary, or procure the ſatisfaction which may be juſtly due.

Art. IV. The ſubjects and inhabitants of the reſpective dominions of the two ſovereigns ſhall have liberty, freely and ſecurely, without licence or paſſport, general or ſpecial, by land or by ſea, or any other way, to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, iſlands, cities, villages, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports, or territories whatſoever, of either ſovereign, ſituated in Europe, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to paſs through the ſame, and therein to buy and purchaſe, as they pleaſe, all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence and uſe, and they ſhall mutually be treated with all kindneſs and favour. Provided, however, that in all theſe matters, they behave and conduct themſelves conformably to the laws and ſtatutes, and live with each other in a friendly and peaceable manner, and promote a reciprocal concord by maintaining a mutual and good underſtanding.

Art. V. The ſubjects of each of their ſaid majeſties may have leave and licence to come with their ſhips, as alſo with the merchandizes and goods on board the ſame, the trade and importation whereof are not prohibited by the laws of either kingdom, and to enter into the countries, dominions, cities, ports, places, and rivers of either party, ſituated in Europe, to reſort thereto, and to remain and reſide there, without any limitation of time; alſo to hire houſes, or to lodge with other perſons, and to buy all lawful kinds of merchandizes, where they think fit, either from the firſt maker or the ſeller, or in any other manner, whether in the public market for the ſale of merchandizes, or in fairs, or wherever ſuch merchandizes are manufactured or ſold. They may likewiſe depoſit and keep in their magazines and warehouſes the merchandizes brought from other parts, and afterwards expoſe the ſame to ſale, without being in any wiſe obliged, unleſs willingly and of their own accord, to bring the ſaid merchandizes to the marts and fairs. Neither are they to be burthened with any impoſitions or duties on account of the ſaid freedom of trade, or for any other cauſe whatſoever, except thoſe which are to be paid for their ſhips and merchandizes, conformably to the regulations of the preſent treaty, or thoſe to which the ſubjects of the two contracting parties ſhall themſelves be liable. And they ſhall have free leave to remove themſelves, as alſo their wives, children, and ſervants, together with their merchandizes, property, goods, or effects, whether bought or imported, wherever they ſhall think fit, out of either kingdom, by land and by ſea, on the rivers and freſh waters, after diſcharging the uſual duties; any law, privilege, grant, immunities, or cuſtoms, to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In matters of religion, the ſubjects of the two crowns ſhall enjoy perfect liberty. They ſhall not be compelled to attend divine ſervice, whether in the churches or elſewhere; but, on the contrary, they ſhall be permitted, without any moleſtation, to perform the exerciſes of their religion privately in their own houſes, and in their own way. Liberty ſhall not be refuſed to bury the ſubjects of either kingdom who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appointed for that purpoſe; nor ſhall the funerals or ſepulchres of the deceaſed be in any wiſe diſturbed. The laws and ſtatutes of each kingdom ſhall remain in full force and vigour, and ſhall be duly put in execution, whether they relate to commerce and navigation, or to any other right, thoſe caſes only excepted, concerning which it is otherwiſe determined in the articles of this preſent treaty.

Art. VI. The two high contracting parties have thought proper to ſettle the duties on certain goods and merchandizes, in order to fix invariably the footing on which the trade therein ſhall be eſtabliſhed between the two nations. In conſequence of which they have agreed upon the following tariff, viz.

1ſt. The wines of France, imported directly from France into Great Britain, ſhall, in no caſe, pay any higher duties than thoſe which the wines of Portugal now pay.

The wines of France, imported directly from France into Ireland, ſhall pay no higher duties than thoſe which they now pay.

2d. The vinegars of France, inſtead of ſixty-ſeven pounds five ſhillings and three pence and twelve twentieths of a penny ſterling, per ton, which they now pay, ſhall not for the future pay, in Great Britain, any higher duties than thirty-two pounds eighteen ſhillings and ten pence and ſixteen twentieths of a penny ſterling, per ton.

3d. The brandies of France, inſtead of nine ſhillings and ſix pence and twelve twentieths of a penny ſterling, ſhall for the future pay, in Great Britain, only ſeven ſhillings ſterling per gallon, making four quarts, Engliſh meaſure.

4th. Oil of olives, coming directly from France, ſhall, for the future, pay no higher duties than are now paid for the ſame from the moſt favoured nations.

5th. Beer ſhall pay reciprocally a duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem.

6th. The duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware, and turnery, and alſo all works, both heavy and light, of iron, ſteel, copper, and braſs, ſhall be claſſed; and the higheſt duty ſhall not exceed ten per cent. ad valorem.

7th. All ſorts of cottons manufactured in the dominions of the two ſovereigns in Europe, and alſo woollens, whether knit or wove, including hoſiery, ſhall pay, in both countries, an import duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem; all manufactures of cotton or wool, mixed with ſilk excepted, which ſhall remain prohibited on both ſides.

8th. Cambricks and lawns ſhall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five ſhillings, or ſix livres Tournois, per demi piece of ſeven yards and three quarters, Engliſh meaſure; and linens, made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two ſovereigns in Europe, ſhall pay no higher duties, either in Great Britain or France, than linens manufactured in Holland or Flanders, imported into Great Britain, now pay.

And linen made of flax or hemp, manufactured in Ireland or France, ſhall reciprocally pay no higher duties than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay.

9th. Sadlery ſhall reciprocally pay an import duty of fifteen per cent. ad valorem.

10th. Gauzes of all ſorts ſhall reciprocally pay ten per cent. ad valorem.

11th. Millinery made up of muſlin, lawn, cambrick, or gauze of every kind, or of any other article admitted under the preſent tariff, ſhall pay reciprocally a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem: and if any articles ſhall be uſed therein, which are not ſpecified in the tariff, they ſhall pay no higher duties than thoſe paid for the ſame articles by the moſt favoured nations.

12th. Porcelain, earthen-ware, and pottery, ſhall pay reciprocally twelve per cent. ad valorem.

13th. Plate-glaſs and glaſs ware in general ſhall be admitted, on each ſide, paying a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem.

His Britannic majeſty reſerves the right of countervailing, by additional duties on the undermentioned merchandizes, the internal duties actually impoſed upon the manufactures, or the import duties which are charged on the raw materials; namely, on all linens or cottons, ſtained or printed, on beer, glaſs ware, plate glaſs, and iron.

And his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty alſo reſerves the right of doing the ſame, with regard to the following merchandizes; namely, cottons, iron, and beer.

And for the better ſecuring the due collection of the duties payable ad valorem, which are ſpecified in the above tariff, the ſaid contracting parties will concert with each other as well the form of the declarations to be made, as alſo the proper means of preventing fraud with reſpect to the real value of the ſaid goods and merchandizes.

But if it ſhall hereafter appear, that any miſtakes have inadvertently been made in the above tariff, contrary to the principles on which it is founded, the two ſovereigns will concert with good faith upon the means of rectifying them.

Art. VII. The duties above ſpecified are not to be altered but by mutual conſent; and the merchandizes not above ſpecified ſhall pay, in the dominions of the two ſovereigns, the import and export duties payable in each of the ſaid dominions by the moſt favoured European nations, at the time the preſent treaty bears date; and the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid dominions ſhall alſo reſpectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to thoſe of the moſt favoured European nations.

And it being the intention of the two high contracting parties, that their reſpective ſubjects ſhould be in the dominions of each other upon a footing as advantageous as thoſe of other European nations, they agree, that in caſe they ſhall hereafter grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nations, they will reciprocally allow their ſaid ſubjects to participate therein; without prejudice, however, to the advantages which they reſerve, viz. France in favour of Spain, in conſequence of the 24th article of the Family Compact, ſigned the 10th of May, 1761, and England according to what ſhe has practiſed in conformity to, and in conſequence of the convention of 1703, between England and Portugal.

And to the end that every perſon may know, with certainty, the ſtate of the aforeſaid impoſts, cuſtoms, import and export duties, whatever they may be, it is agreed, that tariffs, indicating the impoſts, cuſtoms, and eſtabliſhed duties, ſhall be affixed in public places, as well in Rouen and the other trading cities of France, as in London and the other trading cities under the dominion of the king of Great Britain, that recourſe may be had to them whenever any difference ſhall ariſe concerning ſuch impoſts, cuſtoms, and duties, which ſhall not be levied otherwiſe than in conformity to what is clearly expreſſed in the ſaid tariffs, and according to their natural conſtruction. And if any officer, or other perſon in his name, ſhall, under any pretence, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, demand or take of a merchant, or of any other perſon, any ſum of money, or any thing elſe, on account of duties, impoſt, ſearch, or compenſation, although it be under the name of a free gift, or under any other pretence, more or otherwiſe than what is above preſcribed; in ſuch caſe the ſaid officer, or his deputy, if he be accuſed and convicted of the ſame before a competent judge, in the place where the crime was committed, ſhall give full ſatisfaction to the injured party, and ſhall likewiſe ſuffer the penalty preſcribed by the laws.

Art. VIII. No merchandize exported from the countries reſpectively under the dominion of their majeſties, ſhall hereafter be ſubject to be inſpected or confiſcated, under any pretence of fraud or defect in making or working them, or of any other imperfection whatſoever; but abſolute freedom ſhall be allowed to the buyer and ſeller to bargain and fix the price for the ſame, as they ſhall ſee good; any law, ſtatute, edict, proclamation, privilege, grant, or cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Art. IX. Whereas ſeveral kinds of merchandizes, which are uſually contained in caſks, cheſts, or other caſes, and for which the duties are paid by weight, will be exported from and imported into France by Britiſh ſubjects; it is agreed, that in ſuch caſe, the aforeſaid duties ſhall be demanded only according to the real weight of the merchandizes; and the weight of the caſks, cheſts, and other caſes whatever, ſhall be deducted, in the ſame manner as has been, and is now practiſed in England.

Art. X. It is further agreed, that if any miſtake or error ſhall be committed by any maſter of a ſhip, his interpreter or factor, or by any other employed by him, in making the entry or declaration of her cargo, neither the ſhip nor the cargo ſhall be ſubject, for ſuch defect, to confiſcation; but it ſhall be lawful for proprietors to take back again ſuch goods as were omitted in the entry or declaration of the maſter of the ſhip, paying only the accuſtomed duties according to the placart, provided always that there be no manifeſt appearance of fraud: neither ſhall the merchants or the maſters of ſhips, or the merchandize, be ſubject to any penalty, by reaſon of ſuch omiſſion, in caſe the goods omitted in the declaration ſhall not have been landed before the delaration has been made.

Art. XI. In caſe either of the two high contracting parties ſhall think proper to eſtabliſh prohibitions, or to augment the import duties upon any goods or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other, which are not ſpecified in the tariff, ſuch prohibitions or augmentations ſhall be general, and ſhall comprehend the like goods and merchandizes of the other moſt favoured European nations, as well as thoſe of either ſtate; and in caſe either of he two contracting parties ſhall revoke the prohibitions, or diminiſh the duties in favour of any other European nation, upon any goods or merchandize of its growth or manufacture, whether on importation or exportation, ſuch revocations or diminutions ſhall be extended to the ſubjects of the other party, on condition that the latter ſhall grant to the ſubjects of the former the importation and exportation of the like goods and merchandizes under the ſame duties; the caſes reſerved in the VIIth article of the preſent treaty always excepted.

Art. XII. And foraſmuch as a certain uſage, not authorized by any law, has formerly obtained in divers parts of Great Britain and France, by which French ſubjects have paid in England a kind of capitation tax, called in the language of that country, head-money; and Engliſh ſubjects a like duty in France, called *argent du chef*; it is agreed that the ſaid impoſt ſhall not be demanded for the future, on either ſide, neither under the ancient name, nor under any other name whatſoever.

Art. XIII. If either of the high contracting parties has granted, or ſhall grant, any bounties for encouraging the exportation of any articles, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his dominions, the other party ſhall be allowed to add to the duties already impoſed, by virtue of the preſent treaty, on the ſaid goods and merchandizes, imported into his dominions, ſuch an import duty as ſhall be equivalent to the ſaid bounty. But this ſtipulation is not to extend to the caſes of reſtitutions of duties and impoſts (called drawbacks), which are allowed upon exportation.

Art. XIV. The advantages granted by the preſent treaty to the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty ſhall take effect, as far as relates to the kingdom of Great Britain, as ſoon as laws ſhall be paſſed there for ſecuring to the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted to them by the preſent treaty.

And the advantages granted by all theſe articles, except the tariff, ſhall take effect, with regard to the kingdom of Ireland, as ſoon as laws ſhall be paſſed there for ſecuring to the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted to them by this treaty; and, in like manner, the advantages granted by the tariff ſhall take effect, in what relates to the ſaid kingdom, as ſoon as laws ſhall be paſſed there for giving effect to the ſaid tariff.

Art. XV. It is agreed, that ſhips belonging to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, arriving in the dominions of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, from the port of Great Britain or Ireland, or from any other foreign port, ſhall not pay freight duty or any other like duty. In the ſame manner, French ſhips ſhall be exempted in the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, from the duty of five ſhillings, and from every other ſimilar duty or charge.

XVI. It ſhall not be lawful for any foreign privateers, not being ſubjects of either crown, who have commiſſions from any other prince or ſtate, in enmity with either nation, to arm their ſhips in the ports of either of the ſaid two kingdoms, to ſell what they have taken, or in any other manner whatever to exchange the ſame; neither ſhall they be allowed even to purchaſe victuals, except ſuch as ſhall be neceſſary for their going to the neareſt port of that prince from whom they have obtained commiſſions.

Art. XVII. When any diſpute ſhall ariſe between any commander of a ſhip and his ſeamen, in the ports of either kingdom, concerning wages due to the ſaid ſeamen, or other civil cauſes whatever, the magiſtrate of the place ſhall require no more from the perſon accuſed, than that he give to the accuſer a declaration in writing, witneſſed by the magiſtrate, whereby he ſhall be bound to anſwer that matter before a competent judge in his own country; which being done, it ſhall not be lawful for the ſeamen to deſert their ſhip, or to hinder the commander from proſecuting his voyage. It ſhall moreover be lawful for the merchants in the places of their abode, or elſewhere, to keep books of their accounts and affairs, as they ſhall ſee fit, and to have an intercourſe of letters, in ſuch language or idiom as they ſhall chuſe, without any moleſtation or ſearch whatſoever. But if it ſhould happen to be neceſſary for them to produce their books of accounts for deciding any diſpute or controverſy, in ſuch caſe they ſhall be obliged to bring into court the entire books or writings, but ſo as the judge may not have liberty to take cognizance of any other articles in the ſaid books than ſuch as ſhall relate to the affair in queſtion, or ſuch as ſhall be neceſſary to give credit to the ſaid books; neither ſhall it be lawful, under any pretence, to take the ſaid books or writings forcibly out of the hands of the owners, or to retain them, the caſe of bankruptcy only excepted. Nor ſhall the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain be obliged to write their accounts, letters, or other inſtruments relating to trade, on ſtamped paper, except their day-book, which, that it may be produced as evidence in any law-ſuit, ought, according to the laws which all perſons trading in France are to obſerve, to be indorſed and atteſted gratis by the judge, under his own hand.

Art. XVIII. It is further agreed and concluded, that all merchants, commanders of ſhips, and others, the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, in all the dominions of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty in Europe, ſhall have full liberty to manage their own affairs themſelves, or to commit them to the management of whomſoever they pleaſe; nor ſhall they be obliged to employ any interpreter or broker, nor to pay them any ſalary, unleſs they ſhall chuſe to employ them. Moreover, maſters of ſhips ſhall not be obliged, in loading or unloading their ſhips, to make uſe of thoſe perſons who may be appointed by public authority for that purpoſe, either at Bourdeaux or elſewhere; but it ſhall be entirely free for them to load or unload their ſhips by themſelves, or to make uſe of ſuch perſon or perſons in loading or unloading the ſame, as they ſhall think fit, without the payment of any reward to any other whomſoever; neither ſhall they be forced to unload into other ſhips, or to receive into their own, any merchandize whatever, or to wait for their lading any longer than they pleaſe. And all the ſubjects of the Moſt Chriſtian king ſhall reciprocally have and enjoy the ſame privileges and liberties, in all the dominions of his Britannic majeſty in Europe.

Art. XIX. The ſhips of either party being laden, ſailing along the coaſts of the other, and being forced by ſtorm into the havens or ports, or making land there in any other manner whatever, ſhall not be obliged to unlade their goods, or any part thereof, or to pay any duty, unleſs they, of their own accord, unlade their goods there, and ſell ſome part thereof. But it ſhall be lawful, permiſſion having been firſt obtained from thoſe who have the direction of maritime affairs, to unlade and ſell a ſmall part of their cargo, merely for the end of purchaſing neceſſaries, either for victualling or refitting the ſhip; and in that caſe the whole lading ſhall not be ſubject to pay the duties, but that ſmall part only which ſhall have been taken out and ſold.

Art. XX. It ſhall be lawful for all the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, and of the Moſt Chriſtian king, to ſail with their ſhips, with perfect ſecurity and liberty, no diſtinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden thereon, from any port whatever, to the countries which are now, or ſhall be hereafter at war with the king of Great Britain, or the Moſt Chriſtian king. It ſhall likewiſe be lawful for the aforeſaid ſubjects to ſail and traffic with their ſhips and merchandizes, with the ſame liberty and ſecurity, from the countries, ports, and places of thoſe who are enemies of both, or of either party, without any oppoſition or diſturbance whatſoever, and to paſs directly not only from the places of the enemy aforementioned to neutral places, but alſo from one place belonging to an enemy to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the juriſdiction of the ſame, or of ſeveral princes. And as it has been ſtipulated concerning ſhips and goods, that every thing ſhall be deemed free, which ſhall be found on board the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the reſpective kingdoms, although the whole lading, or part thereof, ſhould belong to the enemies of their majeſties, contraband goods being always excepted, on the ſtopping of which ſuch proceedings ſhall be had as are conformable to the ſpirit of the following articles; it is likewiſe agreed, that the ſame liberty be extended to perſons who are on board a free ſhip, to the end that, although

though they be enemies to both, or to either party, they may not be taken out of ſuch free ſhips, unleſs they are ſoldiers, actually in the ſervice of the enemies, and on their voyage for the purpoſe of being employed in a military capacity, in their fleets or armies.

Art. XXI. This liberty of navigation and commerce ſhall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting thoſe only which are ſpecified in the following article, and which are deſcribed under the name of contraband.

Art. XXII. Under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, ſhall be comprehended arms, cannon, harquebuſſes, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, ſauciſſes, carcaſſes, carriages for cannon, muſket-reſts, bandoleers, gunpowder, match, ſaltpetre, ball, pikes, ſwords, head-pieces, helmets, cutlaſſes, halberds, javelins, holſters, belts, horſes and harneſs, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike implements fit for the uſe of troops.

Art. XXIII. Theſe merchandizes which follow ſhall not be reckoned among contraband goods, that is to ſay; all ſorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, ſilk, cotton, or any other materials, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are uſually made, gold, ſilver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, braſs, coals, as alſo wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn and pulſe, tobacco, and all kinds of ſpices, ſalted and ſmoaked fleſh, ſalted fiſh, cheeſe and butter, beer, oil, wines, ſugar, all ſorts of ſalt, and of proviſions which ſerve for ſuſtenance and food to mankind; alſo all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, ſails, ſailcloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar, and roſin, anchors and any parts of anchors, ſhip maſts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ſhips. Nor ſhall any other goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of any inſtrument, or furniture for warlike uſe, by land or by ſea, be reputed contraband, much leſs ſuch as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpoſe. All which things ſhall be deemed goods not contraband, as likewiſe all others which are not comprehended and particularly deſcribed in the preceding article; ſo that they may be freely carried by the ſubjects of both kingdoms, even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only ſuch places as are beſieged, blocked up, or inveſted.

Art. XXIV. To the end that all manner of diſſenſions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on both ſides, it is agreed, that in caſe either of their majeſties ſhould be engaged in a war, the ſhips and veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the other ſhall be furniſhed with ſea-letters or paſſports, expreſſing the name, property, and bulk of the ſhip, as alſo the name and place of abode of the maſter or commander of the ſaid ſhip, that it may appear thereby that the ſhip really and truly belongs to the ſubjects of one of the princes; which paſſports ſhall be made out and granted, according to the form annexed to the preſent treaty: they ſhall likewiſe be renewed every year, if the ſhip happens to return home within the ſpace of a year. It is alſo agreed, that ſuch ſhips when laden are to be provided not only with paſſports as above mentioned, but alſo with certificates containing the ſeveral particulars

ticulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ſhip ſailed, and whither ſhe is bound, ſo that it may be known whether ſhe carries any of the prohibited or contraband goods ſpecified in the XXIId article of this treaty; which certificates ſhall be prepared by the officers of the place from whence the ſhip ſet ſail, in the accuſtomed form. And if any one ſhall think fit to expreſs in the ſaid certificates the perſon to whom the goods belong, he may freely do ſo.

Art. XXV. The ſhips belonging to the ſubjects and inhabitants of the reſpective kingdoms, coming to any of the coaſts of either of them, but without being willing to enter into port, or being entered, yet not willing to land their cargoes, or break bulk, ſhall not be obliged to give an account of their lading, unleſs they are ſuſpected, upon ſure evidence, of carrying prohibited goods, called contraband, to the enemies of either of the two high contracting parties.

Art. XXVI. In caſe the ſhips belonging to the ſaid ſubjects, and inhabitants of the reſpective dominions of their moſt ſerene majeſties, either on the coaſt or on the high ſeas, ſhall meet with any men of war belonging to their moſt ſerene majeſties, or with privateers, the ſaid men of war and privateers, for preventing any inconveniencies, are to remain out of cannon-ſhot, and to ſend their boats to the merchant-ſhip which may be met with, and ſhall enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the maſter or commander of ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall ſhew his paſſport, containing the proof of the property of the ſhip, made out according to the form annexed to this preſent treaty; and the ſhip which ſhall have exhibited the ſame ſhall have liberty to continue her voyage, and it ſhall be wholly unlawful any way to moleſt or ſearch her, or to chaſe or compel her to alter her courſe.

Art. XXVII. The merchant-ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of either of the two high contracting parties, which intend to go to a port at enmity with the other ſovereign, concerning whoſe voyage and the ſort of goods on board there may be juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion, ſhall be obliged to exhibit, as well on the high ſeas as in the ports and havens, not only her paſſports, but alſo her certificates, expreſſing that the goods are not of the kind which are contraband, as ſpecified in the XXIId article of this treaty.

Art. XXVIII. If, on exhibiting the above-mentioned certificates, containing a liſt of the cargo, the other party ſhould diſcover any goods of that kind which are declared contraband, or prohibited, by the XXIId article of this treaty, and which are deſigned for a port ſubject to his enemies, it ſhall be unlawful to break up or open the hatches, cheſts, caſks, bales, or other veſſels found on board ſuch ſhip, or to remove even the ſmalleſt parcel of the goods, whether the ſaid ſhip belongs to the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, or of the Moſt Chriſtian king, unleſs the lading be brought on ſhore, in the preſence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the ſaid goods: nor ſhall it be lawful to ſell, exchange, or alienate the ſame in any manner, unleſs after due and lawful proceſs ſhall have been had againſt ſuch prohibited goods, and the judges of the admiralty reſpectively ſhall, by ſentence pronounced, have confiſcated the ſame; ſaving always as well the ſhip itſelf, as the other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be accounted free: neither may they be detained on pretence of their being mixed with prohibited goods, much leſs ſhall they be confiſcated as lawful prize: and if, when only part of the cargo ſhall conſiſt of contraband goods, the maſter of the ſhip ſhall agree, conſent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has diſcovered them, in ſuch caſe, the captor having received thoſe goods as lawful prize, ſhall forthwith releaſe the ſhip, and not hinder her, by any means, from proſecuting her voyage to the place of her deſtination.

Art. XXIX. On the contrary it is agreed, that whatever ſhall be found to be laden by the ſubjects and inhabitants of either party, on any ſhip belonging to the enemies of the other, although it be not contraband goods, ſhall be confiſcated in the ſame manner as if it belonged to the enemy himſelf; except thoſe goods and merchandizes which were put on board ſuch ſhip before the declaration of war, or the general order for repriſals, or even after ſuch declaration, if it were done within the times following; that is to ſay, if they were put on board ſuch ſhip in any port or place within the ſpace of two months after ſuch declaration or order for repriſals, between Archangel, St. Peterſburgh, and the Scilly iſlands, and between the ſaid iſlands and the city of Gibraltar; of ten weeks in the Mediterranean ſea; and of eight months in any other country or place in the world; ſo that the goods of the ſubjects of either prince, whether they be contraband, or otherwiſe, which as aforeſaid, were put on board any ſhip belonging to an enemy before the war, or after the declaration of the ſame, within the time and limits above-mentioned, ſhall no ways be liable to confiſcation, but ſhall well and truly be reſtored, without delay, to the proprietors demanding the ſame; provided nevertheleſs, that if the ſaid merchandizes be contraband, it ſhall not be any ways lawful to carry them afterwards to the ports belonging to the enemy.

Art. XXX. And that more abundant care may be taken for the ſecurity of the reſpective ſubjects of their moſt ſerene majeſties, to prevent their ſuffering any injury by the men of war or privateers of either party, all the commanders of the ſhips of the king of Great Britain, and of the Moſt Chriſtian king, and all their ſubjects, ſhall be forbid doing any damage to thoſe of the other party, or committing any outrage againſt them; and if they act to the contrary they ſhall be puniſhed, and ſhall moreover be bound, in their perſons and eſtates, to make ſatisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the intereſt thereof, of what nature ſoever.

Art. XXXI. For this cauſe, all commanders of privateers, before they receive their patents or ſpecial commiſſions, ſhall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, ſufficient ſecurity by good bail, who are reſponſible men, and have no intereſt in the ſaid ſhip, each of whom ſhall be bound in the whole for the ſum of thirty-ſix thouſand livres Tournois, or fifteen hundred pounds ſterling; or if ſuch ſhip be provided with above one hundred and fifty ſeamen or ſoldiers, for the ſum of ſeventy-two thouſand livres Tournois, or three thouſand pounds ſterling, that they will make entire ſatisfaction for all damages and injuries whatſoever, which they, or their officers, or others in their ſervice, may commit during their cruize, contrary to the tenor of this preſent treaty, or the edicts made in conſequence thereof by their moſt ſerene majeſties, under penalty likewiſe of having their patents and ſpecial commiſſions revoked and annulled.

Art. XXXII. Their ſaid majeſties being willing mutually to treat in their dominions the ſubjects of each other as favourably as if they were their own ſubjects, will give ſuch orders as ſhall be neceſſary and effectual, that the judgments and decrees concerning prizes in the courts of admiralty be given conformably to the rules of juſtice and equity, and to the ſtipulations of this treaty, by judges who are above all ſuſpicion, and who have no manner of intereſt in the cauſe in diſpute.

Art. XXXIII. And when the quality of the ſhip, goods, and maſter, ſhall ſufficiently appear, from ſuch paſſports and certificates, it ſhall not be lawful for the commanders of men of war to exact any further proof under any pretext whatſoever. But if any merchant-ſhip ſhall not be provided with ſuch paſſports or certificates, then it may be examined by a proper judge, but in ſuch manner as, if it ſhall be found, from other proofs and documents, that it truly belongs to the ſubjects of one of the ſovereigns, and does not contain any contraband goods, deſigned to be carried to the enemy of the other, it ſhall not be liable to confiſcation, but ſhall be releaſed, together with its cargo, in order to proceed on its voyage.

If the maſter of the ſhip named in the paſſports ſhould happen to die, or be removed by any other cauſe, and another put in his place, the ſhips and goods laden thereon ſhall nevertheleſs be equally ſecure, and the paſſports ſhall remain in full force.

Art. XXXIV. It is further provided and agreed, that the ſhips of either of the two nations, retaken by the privateers of the other, ſhall be reſtored to the former owner, if they have not been in the power of the enemy for the ſpace of four and twenty hours, ſubject to the payment, by the ſaid owner, of one third of the value of the ſhip retaken, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel; which third part ſhall be amicably adjuſted by the parties concerned: but if not, and in caſe they ſhould diſagree, they ſhall make application to the officers of the admiralty of the place where the privateer which retook the captured veſſel ſhall have carried her.

If the ſhip retaken has been in the power of the enemy above four and twenty hours, ſhe ſhall wholly belong to the privateer which retook her.

In caſe of a ſhip being retaken by any man of war belonging to his Britannic majeſty, or to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, it ſhall be reſtored to the former owner, on payment of the thirtieth part of the value of ſuch ſhip, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel, if it was retaken within the four and twenty hours, and the tenth part if it was retaken after the four and twenty hours; which ſums ſhall be diſtributed, as a reward, amongſt the crews of the ſhips which ſhall have retaken ſuch prize. The valuation of the thirtieth and tenth parts above mentioned ſhall be ſettled conformably to the regulations in the beginning of this article.

Art. XXXV. Whenſoever the ambaſſadors of either of their ſaid majeſties, or other their miniſters having a public character, and reſiding at the court of the other prince, ſhall complain of the injuſtice of the ſentences which have been given, their majeſties ſhall reſpectively cauſe the ſame to be reviſed and re-examined in their councils, unleſs their councils ſhould already have decided thereupon, that it may appear, with certainty, whether the directions and proviſions preſcribed in this treaty have been followed and obſerved. Their majeſties ſhall likewiſe take care that this matter be effectually provided for, and that juſtice be done to every complainant within the ſpace of three months. However, before or after judgment given, and pending the reviſion thereof, it ſhall not be lawful to ſell the goods in diſpute, or to unlade them, unleſs with the conſent of the perſons concerned, for preventing any kind of loſs; and laws ſhall be enacted on both ſides for the execution of the preſent article.

Art. XXXVI. If any differences ſhall ariſe reſpecting the legality of prizes, ſo that a judicial deciſion ſhould become neceſſary, the judge ſhall direct the effects to be unladen, an inventory and appraiſement to be made thereof, and ſecurity to be required reſpectively from the captor for paying the coſts, in caſe the ſhip ſhould not be declared lawful prize; and from the claimant for paying the value of the prize, in caſe it ſhould be declared lawful; which ſecurities being given by both parties, the prize ſhall be delivered up to the claimant. But if the claimant ſhould refuſe to give ſufficient ſecurity, the judge ſhall direct the prize to be delivered to the captor, after having received from him good and ſufficient ſecurity for paying the full value of the ſaid prize, in caſe it ſhould be adjudged illegal. Nor ſhall the execution of the ſentence of the judge be ſuſpended by reaſon of any appeal, when the party againſt whom ſuch appeal ſhall be brought, whether claimant or captor, ſhall have given ſufficient ſecurity for reſtoring the ſhip or effects, or the value of ſuch ſhip or effects, to the appellant, in caſe judgment ſhould be given in his favour.

Art. XXXVII. In caſe any ſhips of war or merchantmen, forced by ſtorms or other accidents, be driven on rocks or ſhelves, on the coaſts of either of the high contracting parties, and ſhould there be daſhed to pieces and ſhipwrecked, all ſuch parts of the ſaid ſhips, or of the furniture or apparel thereof, as alſo of the goods and merchandizes as ſhall be ſaved, or the produce thereof, ſhall be faithfully reſtored, upon the ſame being claimed by the proprietors, or their factors, duly authorized, paying only the expences incurred in the preſervation thereof, according to the rate of ſalvage ſettled on both ſides; ſaving at the ſame time the rights and cuſtoms of each nation, the abolition or modification of which ſhall however be treated upon, in the caſes where they ſhall be contrary to the ſtipulations of the preſent article; and their majeſties will mutually interpoſe their authority, that ſuch of their ſubjects,

jects, as ſhall be ſo inhuman as to take advantage of any ſuch misfortune, may be ſeverely puniſhed.

Art. XXXVIII. It ſhall be free for the ſubjects of each party to employ ſuch advocates, attornies, notaries, ſolicitors, and factors, as they ſhall think fit; to which end the ſaid advocates and others above mentioned, ſhall be appointed by the ordinary judges, if it be needful, and the judges be thereunto required.

Art. XXXIX. And for the greater ſecurity and liberty of commerce and navigation, it is further agreed, that both the king of Great Britain, and the Moſt Chriſtian king, ſhall not only refuſe to receive any pirates or ſea-rovers whatſoever into any of their havens, ports, cities, or towns, or permit any of their ſubjects, citizens, or inhabitants, on either part, to receive or protect them in their ports, to harbour them in their houſes, or to aſſiſt them in any manner whatſoever; but further they ſhall cauſe all ſuch pirates and ſea-rovers, and all perſons who ſhall receive, conceal, or aſſiſt them, to be brought to condign puniſhment, for a terror and example to others. And all their ſhips, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the ports of either kingdom, ſhall be ſeized as far as they can be diſcovered, and ſhall be reſtored to the owners, or their factors duly authorized or deputed by them in writing, proper evidence being firſt given in the court of admiralty, for proving the property, even in caſe ſuch effects ſhould have paſſed into other hands by ſale, if it be proved that the buyers knew, or might have known, that they had been piratically taken. And generally all ſhips and merchandizes, of what nature ſoever, which may be taken on the high ſeas, ſhall be brought into ſome port of either kingdom, and delivered into the cuſtody of the officers of that port, that they may be reſtored entire to the true proprietor, as ſoon as due and ſufficient proof ſhall have been made concerning the property thereof.

Art. XL. It ſhall be lawful, as well for the ſhips of war of their majeſties, as for privateers belonging to their ſubjects, to carry whitherſoever they pleaſe the ſhips and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor ſhall the ſaid prizes, when they arrive at and enter the ports of their ſaid majeſties, be detained or ſeized; neither ſhall the ſearchers, or other officers of thoſe places, viſit or take cognizance of the validity of ſuch prizes; but they ſhall be at liberty to hoiſt ſail at any time, to depart, and to carry their prizes to the place mentioned in the commiſſions or patents, which the commanders of ſuch ſhips of war ſhall be obliged to ſhew: on the contrary, no ſhelter or refuge ſhall be given in their ports to ſuch as have made prize upon the ſubjects of either of their majeſties; but if forced by ſtreſs of weather, or the dangers of the ſea, to enter therein, particular care ſhall be taken to haſten their departure, and to cauſe them to retire from thence as ſoon as poſſible, as far as it is not repugnant to former treaties made in this reſpect with other ſovereigns or ſtates.

Art. XLI. Neither of their ſaid majeſties ſhall permit the ſhips or goods belonging to the ſubjects of the other to be taken within cannon-ſhot of the coaſt, or in the ports or rivers of their dominions, by ſhips of war, or others having commiſſion from any prince, republic, or city, whatſoever: but in caſe it ſhould ſo happen, both parties ſhall employ their united force to obtain reparation of the damage thereby occaſioned.

Art. XLII. But if it ſhall appear that the captor made uſe of any kind of torture upon the maſter of the ſhip, the crew, or others who ſhall be on board any ſhip belonging to the ſubjects of the other party, in ſuch caſe, not only the ſhip itſelf, together with the perſons, merchandizes, and goods whatſoever, ſhall be forthwith releaſed, without any delay, and ſet entirely free, but alſo ſuch as ſhall be convicted of ſo enormous a crime, together with their accomplices, ſhall ſuffer the moſt ſevere puniſhment ſuitable to their offences: this the king of Great Britain and the Moſt Chriſtian king mutually engage ſhall be obſerved, without any reſpect of perſons whatſoever.

Art. XLIII. Their majeſties ſhall reſpectively be at liberty, for the advantage of their ſubjects trading to the kingdoms and dominions of either of them, to appoint therein national conſuls, who ſhall enjoy the right, immunity, and liberty belonging to them, by reaſon of their duties and their functions: and places ſhall hereafter be agreed upon where the ſaid conſuls ſhall be eſtabliſhed, as well as the nature and extent of their functions. The convention relative to this point ſhall be concluded immediately after the ſignature of the preſent treaty, of which it ſhall be deemed to conſtitute a part.

Art. XLIV. It is alſo agreed, that in whatever relates to the lading and unlading of ſhips, the ſafety of merchandize, goods, and effects, the ſucceſſion to perſonal eſtates, as well as the protection of individuals, and their perſonal liberty, as alſo the adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſubjects of the two high contracting parties ſhall enjoy in their reſpective dominions the ſame privileges, liberties, and rights, as the moſt favoured nation.

Art. XLV. If hereafter it ſhall happen, through inadvertency or otherwiſe, that any infractions or contraventions of the preſent treaty ſhould be committed on either ſide, the friendſhip and good underſtanding ſhall not immediately thereupon be interrupted; but this treaty ſhall ſubſiſt in all its force, and proper remedies ſhall be procured for removing the inconveniencies, as likewiſe for the reparation of the contraventions: and if the ſubjects of either kingdom ſhall be found guilty thereof, they only ſhall be puniſhed and ſeverely chaſtiſed.

Art. XLVI. His Britannic majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty have reſerved the right of reviſing and re-examining the ſeveral ſtipulations of this treaty, after the term of twelve years, to be computed from the day of paſſing laws for its execution in Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, to propoſe and make ſuch alterations as the times and circumſtances may have rendered proper or neceſſary for the commercial intereſts of their reſpective ſubjects: and this reviſion is to be completed in the ſpace of twelve months; after which term the preſent treaty ſhall be of no effect, but in that event the good harmony and friendly correſpondence between the two nations ſhall not ſuffer the leaſt diminution.

Art. XLVII. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified and confirmed by his Britannic majeſty and by his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in two months, or ſooner, if it can be done, after the exchange of ſignatures between the plenipotentiaries.

In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned commiſſaries and plenipotentiaries of the king of Great Britain and the Moſt Chriſtian king, have ſigned the preſent treaty with our hands, and have ſet thereto the ſeals of our arms.

Done at Verſailles, the 26th of September, 1786.

WM. EDEN. (L. S.)
GERARD DE RAYNEVAL. (L.S.)

Form of the Paſſports and Sea-letters which are to be granted by the reſpective Admiralties of the Dominions of the two high contracting Parties to the Ships and Veſſels ſailing from thence, purſuant to the 24th article of the preſent treaty.

N. N. To all who ſhall ſee theſe preſents, greeting. Be it known that we have granted licence and permiſſion to N. of the city (or place) of N. maſter or commander of the ſhip N. belonging to N. of the port of N. burthen tons, or thereabouts, now lying in the port or haven of N. to ſail to N. laden with N. the ſhip having been examined before her departure, in the uſual manner, by the officers of the place appointed for that purpoſe. And the ſaid N. or ſuch other perſon as ſhall happen to ſucceed him, ſhall produce this licence in every port or haven which he may enter with his ſhip, to the officers of the place, and ſhall give a true account to them of what ſhall have paſſed or happened during his voyage; and he ſhall carry the colours, arms, and enſigns of N. during his voyage.

In witneſs whereof, we have ſigned theſe preſents, and ſet the ſeal of our arms thereto, and cauſed the ſame to be counterſigned by N. at
day of
in the year, &c. &c.

The Prince of Orange's Letter to the States of the Province of Holland, ſent September 26, 1786, in anſwer to their Notification of his Suſpenſion from the Office of Captain General.

Noble, great, and mighty lords, and particularly good friends.

IT is with the utmoſt concern we have ſeen by the letter and reſolution of your noble and great mightineſſes, dated the 22d inſtant, that you are pleaſed to perſiſt proviſionally, and without prejudice to the further deliberations of your noble and great mightineſſes, in the various orders iſſued out concerning the troops of that ſtate, by which they have been relieved, till further orders, from that part of the oath which bound them to our obedience as captain-general of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, but which orders your noble and great mightineſſes did not think proper to impart to us in our aforeſaid quality, whilſt you ſuſpend proviſionally the effect of your reſolution of the 8th of March, 1766, which inveſted us as captain-general of your province by eſpecial delegation, with power to diſpoſe of all military employments, from the enſign to the colonel incluſively, ſerving in the militia or troops within your juriſdiction.

We cannot but be ſenſibly hurt at the aforeſaid reſolution, ſince its effect is to deprive us of a right which has been allowed and ſecured to us by the unanimous vote of all the members of the ſtate, by appointing us captain-general hereditary of Holland and Weſt Frieſland. We might here claim the immediate effect of ſuch a reſolution, which as it had been entered into *nem. con.* cannot, ſuppoſing it to be revocable, be cancelled, or even ſuſpended, without the like unanimity. But what goes ſtill nearer to our heart, and on which we cannot remain ſilent, is the motives you are pleaſed to adduce in ſupport of your laſt reſolution, namely, that it has been taken with a view to obviate our influence as captain-general over the ſaid troops, and the manner of directing them, which is incompatible with the ſafety of your province, and the meaſures adopted to ſecure it.

We might, without failing in what we owe to your noble and great mightineſſes, and in as earneſt a manner as befits a matter of ſuch high importance, that concerns our honour and good name, requeſt you would be pleaſed to communicate to us the reaſons of the miſtruſt your noble and great mightineſſes entertain of our influence and direction of the provincial troops, and then you would find that we have it ſufficiently in our power to convince your noble and great mightineſſes how groundleſs are both your apprehenſions and the malicious hints thrown out by certain perſons, ill-diſpoſed towards the country and ourſelves. But we are perfectly eaſy and ſecured that nothing can be alledged with truth againſt us, by which we ſhould have deſerved to forfeit the confidence of your noble and great mightineſſes. And we can vouch before God, yourſelves, all the citizens of the Netherlands, nay, and before all the world, that in this regard our conſcience is perfectly irreproachable. Under pleaſure of your noble and great mightineſſes, we cannot but declare, ſince our honour, dearer to us than life, ſtands impeached, that we cannot remain under ſuch a blame and ſtigma, reſulting from the tokens of diſtruſt given us by your noble and great mightineſſes, and eſpecially by your recent reſolution, and it is a duty we owe to the race from whence we ſpring, to the royal houſe to which we have the honour to be allied, to their high mightineſſes, to the reſpective provinces to whoſe ſervice we are bound by the employments we hold by hereditary right, and to ourſelves, in fine, to clear ourſelves from ſuch an aſperſion; that, conſcious of our innocence, from any failure of our plighted faith to your noble and great mightineſſes, as well as to the provinces of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, by the oath taken by us as ſtadtholder, governor, captain-general, and hereditary admiral of your province, when we undertook to act in thoſe capacities; we are juſtified in ſuppoſing that nothing poſitive hath been laid to our charge, and that all the ſteps taken againſt us are merely the reſult of ſome members of your aſſembly having too readily lent an ear to the reports of perſons unworthy of their confidence, and whoſe ſole aim is to abridge our lawful prerogatives, and thoſe of our houſe, granted by your noble and great mightineſſes, and enjoyed by the ſtadtholders and captain-generals our predeceſſors, or even to bring about a total alteration in the lawful and eſtabliſhed conſtitution of thoſe countries, entirely aboliſh the ſtadtholderſhip, or ſo contrive it, that the above dignity ſhould become completely uſeleſs to our dear country, and its good citizens. Mean while we reſerve to ourſelves the choice of ſuch further meaſures for our juſtification as to us may ſeem beſt.

Here we might conclude, did we not think it neceſſary to proteſt once more, that we never have done, or even attempted any thing that we juſtly might look upon as derogatory to the real concerns of the United Provinces in general, or in particular to the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Frieſland; and that we deſire nothing better than to be put to the teſt of giving effectual proofs of the true love we bear to the country, having nothing more at heart than the proſperity of the United Provinces, and eſpecially that of the province under the juriſdiction of your noble and great mightineſſes, wherein we were born and brought up; and that our firſt and warmeſt wiſh is, to become, in the hands of the Almighty, a fit inſtrument to contribute to the welfare of the country.

Wherefore, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.

The King of Pruſſia's Letter to the States General of the United Provinces, delivered on the 18th of September, 1786, by the Count de Goertz, his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary.

WE, Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Pruſſia, marquis of Brandenburgh, &c. &c. to their High Mightineſſes the States of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, with offers of friendſhip, and every good thing in our power.

High and mighty lords, particular good friends, and neighbours.

As it has pleaſed Providence to call to himſelf our much honoured and loved uncle Frederic the Third, late king of Pruſſia, by which we ſucceed to the government of the eſtates which he left, we have thought proper to ſend to your high mightineſſes, in quality of envoy extraordinary, our miniſter of ſtate and grand-maſter of the wardrobe, the comte de Goertz, to give your high mightineſſes a proof of our eſteem, and that he may by word of mouth communicate to you how deſirous we are to continue in that friendſhip and harmony with the republic of the Seven United Provinces, which has been tranſmitted down to us by our anceſtors for centuries; and alſo to demonſtrate the warm part we take in the unhappy diſſenſions which have ſo long divided ſome of the provinces, and particularly thoſe which have ariſen between ſome of them and the ſtadtholder, prince of Orange and Naſſau, and the very extraordinary oppreſſions which that prince is innocently obliged to ſuffer. We will not detain your high mightineſſes with any ample detail on that ſubject, as his highneſs the prince ſtadtholder has, in ſeveral different letters to the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, explained in a very ample and convincing manner the hardneſs of taking from him his prerogatives; but we would rather refer to the letter ſent by our predeceſſor on the 18th of September, 1785 *, as well to your high mightineſſes as to the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, the contents of which well-intentioned letter we ſeriouſly confirm and renew, repeating the amicable requeſt contained in it, that the affairs of the prince ſtadtholder may be directed by ſuch reciprocally agreeable means, that they may be re-eſtabliſhed as ſoon as poſſible upon their former footing, conformable to the conſtitution, and the convention. By the preſent we requeſt your high mightineſſes earneſtly and amicably to employ your powerful interceſſion, in the moſt ſerious manner, with the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, and wherever elſe your high mightineſſes may think proper, to put his ſerene highneſs the prince ſtadtholder in a ſituation (by means which are not difficult to be found out) to return with honour and propriety to the Hague, to take upon him his high employments; and that a durable termination be put to all the other differences, in a manner compatible with equity, and the honour and true intereſts of all parties, towards which we are willing to contribute, with other friends and neighbours of the republic, by our councils and mediation, in a manner both equitable and impartial. We have given inſtructions to the comte de Goertz to lay all this before your high mightineſſes, and, if circumſtances require it, before the ſtates of each particular province, in a moſt explicit manner, to aſſure on our part all that is neceſſary, and, if it be thought proper, to enter into negociations on the ſubject.

We deſire your high mightineſſes in conſequence to place entire confidence in the comte de Goertz in this weighty affair, and to negociate and finiſh with him whatever may be thought agreeable to both parties, according to circumſtances. We hope and truſt that no ſuſpicions can ariſe in the minds of your high mightineſſes, or thoſe of the ſtates of any of the provinces, on account of our intereſting ourſelves ſo ſeriouſly for the prince ſtadtholder. On the one hand, we are ſuch near relations, that the lot of that prince, his conſort, our beloved and worthy ſiſter (of whoſe ſentiments entirely devoted to the republic, your high mightineſſes can have no doubt) and their children and poſterity, cannot be indifferent to us. On the other hand, becauſe we know in the moſt certain manner, and can inſure, that the ſtadtholder and all his family are moſt affectionately attached to the republic of the United Provinces, and that certainly they will never do any thing againſt the intereſt and ſyſtem of the ſtates, but, on the contrary, will always endeavour to preſerve them, and contribute to their well-being; to which we muſt add, that being the neareſt neighbour of the United Provinces, and in conſequence of the ties which have never been broken between the two parties, we have great intereſt that the government of the republic, conformable to the ancient conſtitution, ſhould not be changed in any eſſential point, but always preſerved un-

---

* For this letter, ſee State Papers, page [364] in our laſt volume.

touched; and that the inteſtine diviſions and differences, which certainly were cauſed merely by miſtruſt, may be ſettled as ſoon as poſſible, by an equitable, juſt, and ſincere reconciliation, and by a durable good underſtanding between all the parties concerned.

We recommend this important affair, together with all that we have mentioned, to your high mightineſſes in the moſt ſincere and amicable manner; and as we hope not to fail herein, we reciprocally aſſure your high mightineſſes, that we have, and always ſhall bear, a neighbourly friendſhip and affection towards the republic in general, and each province in particular.

Of your high mightineſſes the
good friend and neighbour,
(Signed) Frederic William.
(Counterſigned) Finkenstein
V. Hertsberg.
Berlin, Sept. 2, 1786.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury.

The Memorial of the General Meeting of Weſt India Planters and Merchants, delivered the 26th of December, 1786;

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT, ſhould the commercial treaty with France, by which the brandy and wines of that country are to be admitted here on lowered duties, take effect, your memorialiſts will be moſt deeply injured, unleſs the duties on Britiſh Weſt India rum ſhall be reduced.

That rum pays more freight from the place of its growth than brandy, is ſubject to higher inſurance, ſuffers more by leakage from its voyage, and by evaporation from its climate, requires more capital, and produces more loſs of intereſt on that capital. That this is particularly true of the rum from Jamaica, which furniſhes the chief ſupply for the Britiſh market, the inſurance in winter from that iſland being eight per cent. a charge only to be avoided on the latter ſhipments, by a ſtill greater inconvenience from delaying them till the ſpring.

That the ſmuggling of rum into Great Britain from the Weſt Indies ſcarcely exiſting, and that of brandy being very conſiderable, the duties on the former are far more faithfully collected, and leſs nominal than the latter. And that, with reſpect to the frauds in the drawbacks, the higher the original duty, the greater, in caſe of fraud, is the public loſs.

That the duties on French brandy ſtand lower by the new treaty, than in any before the year 1778, while thoſe on rum rather exceed the ſtandard of that time. That the experiment having been made of raiſing the duties on rum and brandy ſince 1778, the increaſe in the rum duties has been ſuſpended as impolitic, while that on brandy ſtill remains. That, if it has been lately in contemplation to leſſen the duties on brandy, as an act of government, independent of any treaty, it is preſumed that it was with a view to diminiſh the temptation to contraband, and certainly not from tenderneſs or predilection to a foreign commodity, which is not neceſſary, and forms the material of no particular manufacture, and in preference to a native commodity.

That not only the comparative

rate of duties on rum, thus in fact greater than before, but the circumſtances occurring ſince 1776, have made it leſs capable of bearing even the ſame burthens.—That the import of various ſupplies, for the cultivation and ſupport of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, is rendered more difficult, precarious, and expenſive, than before the war, from the impeded intercourſe of the iſlands with North America; and that a ſimilar reſtraint prevails in their export trade to North America, which almoſt ſolely affects their vent of rum. That other recent burthens are to be found in the riſe of freights in the trade with the Weſt-Indies, in ſeveral particulars, and in the various calamities which have lately afflicted the iſland.

That the very treaty in queſtion of itſelf muſt occaſion a freſh detriment to the iſlands, ſince, independent of the increaſed rivalſhip from French brandy, rum will be eſſentially hurt by the cheapneſs of French wines, beſides the apprehenſion to be entertained of other ſimilar treaties, which may be formed with other wine countries. That, while the difficulties attending rum have thus lately augmented, the French government has given various new facilities to the vent of their brandy and other ſpirits, ſtill more to ſtrengthen the competition between their articles and ours.

That the imports of rum into Great Britain in 1776, and in the laſt and preſent year, ſhew that, when obſtructions occur, in the ports of North America, to the trade of the Britiſh Weſt Indies (whether by the act of one country or the other) no alternative has preſented itſelf, but that of ſending the ſuperfluous rum to the Britiſh market, for which, nevertheleſs, the rum of the Windward and Leeward iſlands is in general little adapted, though proper for North America. That the quantity of rum, thus turned out of its courſe into the Britiſh market, appears not to be inconſiderable, even during a ſhort crop, and muſt greatly overſtock the Britiſh market, when crops are more abundant.

That your memorialiſts find a preference given, by the Methuen treaty, to Portugueſe over French wines, which they ſhall be doubly concerned not to ſee both adopted and farther increaſed in favour of Britiſh Weſt India over French ſpirits, ſince they cannot ſuſpect that the attachment or value of the ſugar colonies to this country has been proved to be inferior to that of Portugal.

That rum is a production, which turns to account all that would be otherwiſe waſted in the manufacturing of ſugar, iſſuing from the ſame plant, and being relied upon by the planter for paying the principal yearly expences of its cultivation; whatever, therefore, impedes the ſale of rum, affects ſugar alſo, of which it is the auxiliary and ſupport, together with the immenſe duties and extenſive navigation, &c. depending on ſugar.

That, in conſequence of the ſhort diſtance of Britain from France, a very few and ſmall ſhips can tranſport many goods between them in a ſhort ſpace of time, and of thoſe ſhips and crews, a large proportion muſt be chiefly French; whereas, between the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands and this country, none can navigate but Britiſh ſhips and Britiſh crews; and the length of time ſpent in the voyage renders the encouragement to Britiſh navigation proportionally more conſiderable.

That, for theſe, and various other reaſons, which your memorialiſts might adduce, they truſt they may claim the aid of his majeſty's miniſters in procuring a proper reduction of the duties on rum, as a meaſure clearly conſiſtent with the preſent treaty, and truly indiſpenſable to your memorialiſts.

Signed,
W. **Braithwaite**, Chairman.

A Tranſlation of the Letter ſent by the Emperor of Morocco to the States of North America, relative to a Treaty lately entered into by that Emperor with the States.

In the name of God! Mahome, Ben-Abdala!

Moſt illuſtrious Congreſs of America!

WE have received your letter by the hands of your ambaſſador, and peruſed its contents with all due attention. We have remarked therein the inclination you expreſs of concluding with us a treaty of peace. To this we willingly have aſſented, and even ratified the plan, ſuch as you have propoſed, by ſetting thereto our imperial ſeal. Wherefore we have, from that very moment, given ſtrict command to the captains of our ports, to protect and aſſiſt all ſhips under American colours, and, in ſhort, to ſhew them every favour due to the moſt friendly powers: Being fully determined to do much, when an opportunity offers. We write this in full teſtimony of our ſincere friendſhip, and of the peace which we offer on our part.

The Fifth Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom, relative to the Balance in the Hands of the Paymaſter General of the Forces in Office. Preſented to his Majeſty upon the 15th of Auguſt, 1781; *and to both Houſes of Parliament upon the 28th of November,* 1781.

UPON the certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, next to the paymaſters general of the forces out of office, ſtands the name of the Right Honourable Richard Rigby, the preſent paymaſter general of the forces. In return to our precept, he ſtated to be in his hands, upon the 28th of November laſt, a balance of four hundred forty-ſeven thouſand one hundred fifty-three pounds eleven ſhillings and three pence three farthings.

The act directs, that in taking an account of the public money in the hands of an accountant, "we "ſhall conſider what ſum may be "taken out of his hands, to be diſ"poſed of by parliament for the "public ſervice." But in an office of ſo large a receipt and expenditure as that of the pay-office, through which many millions paſs in the year, it was not to be imagined, that a ſum in the hands of the paymaſter general upon any given day, could poſſibly remain long enough in his poſſeſſion to become a ſubject capable of ſuch diſcuſſion; he muſt have iſſued the whole of it, long before we could, in the courſe of our proceedings, have an opportunity of examining it; and therefore we conſidered this balance, not with a view to the taking any part of that individual ſum out of his hands, but to compare the quantum of that balance with the demands upon it on the day of its date, and to ſee whether it was not more than was neceſſary to anſwer the then exiſting or approaching claims upon the paymaſter general of the forces, for the ſervices of the army.

That we might be able to form an opinion upon this ſubject, we proceeded to enquire of what parts this balance was compounded, at what time each part was received, and for what ſervice intended. An inquiry that comprehends the whole extent of the buſineſs in this office.

The public money in the hands of the paymaſter general is received by him, either from the exchequer, or from the treaſury of Ireland, when Iriſh regiments are drawn out of that kingdom, and in part paid by Great Britain; or from perſons who, upon their accounts being ſettled, are directed by the king's warrant to pay the balance into his hands.

The preſent paymaſter general has no money in his hands received from the treaſury of Ireland; all the accounts of the Iriſh regiments being made up, and their whole pay now borne by Great Britain. The ſum in his hands, ariſing from balances directed to be paid to him, was, upon the 1ſt of February laſt, eight thouſand four hundred ſixty-three pounds ten ſhillings and four pence. The exchequer is the great ſource from whence he draws his ſupply.

As the extenſive tranſactions of the laſt year would probably furniſh us with inſtances of every ſpecies of receipt and iſſue, we procured from the treaſury an account of the ſeveral ſums iſſued to the paymaſter general of the forces, from the 24th of December 1779 to the 25th of December 1780, and from thence to the 16th of May 1781, diſtinguiſhing the times when iſſued, and for what particular ſervices.

From the examinations of Mr. John Hughſon, clerk of the debentures in the office of the auditor of the exchequer; Richard Moleſworth, Eſq. late deputy paymaſter in North America; the Right Honourable Richard Rigby, the preſent paymaſter general; John Powell, Eſq. caſhier; and Charles Bembridge, Eſq. accountant in the office of the paymaſter general; we obtained the following account of the manner of tranſacting the buſineſs in this office, and of the balance in queſtion.

The ſupply for the army is granted by parliament to the king, and therefore no part of this ſupply can be iſſued from the exchequer, without the royal ſign manual authorizing ſuch iſſue. After the ſupply is granted, there comes from the treaſury to the pay-office the king's ſign manual, directing the lords of the treaſury to iſſue unto the paymaſter general a certain part of that ſupply (in time of war uſually a million) by way of impreſt, and upon account, according to ſuch warrants and orders as either are or ſhall be ſigned by the king. This ſign manual, with the treaſury warrant, and order of the auditor of the exchequer made in purſuance of the ſign manual, after being entered in the pay-office, are lodged at the exchequer, and give the paymaſter general a credit there for the ſum mentioned in thoſe inſtruments. To obtain any part of this credit, the paymaſter general preſents a memorial to the treaſury, ſpecifying the ſum

ſum he requires, and for what ſervice. The treaſury, by letter, direct the auditor of the exchequer to iſſue that ſum to the paymaſter general, upon the unſatisfied order above mentioned. This letter being produced, and paſſing through the forms of office, he obtains from them the ſum he wants. When the ſum in this ſign manual is exhauſted, another ſign manual, with the conſequential warrant and order, is obtained, and in like manner from time to time renewed, until there is occaſion for the laſt ſum, which completes the whole army ſupply of the year; when, inſtead of a ſign manual, there comes a privy ſeal, directing the iſſue of that remaining ſum, and including, authorizing, confirming, and covering, the whole ſupply of that year.

It was uſual formerly for the paymaſter general to apply to the treaſury every four months, each time for about a third part of the ſum voted for the ſervices of the army, under the general head of ſubſiſtence and pay of the forces at home and abroad; but ſince the year 1759, the practice has been to aſk of the treaſury, from time to time, for the ſums voted under diſtinct heads of ſervice, and not until the time when the demands for the ſervices are near approaching.

The ſervices are ranged under two general heads, the ordinary, and the extraordinary; the ordinary, are thoſe for which ſpecific ſums are annually voted by parliament; the extraordinary, are thoſe, which, though not provided for by parliament, are nevertheleſs conſidered as neceſſary, and therefore paid, in confidence of their being provided for in the ſucceeding ſeſſion.

As the ſervice is diſtinguiſhed, ſo is the application for it to the treaſury. Sums for the ordinary ſervices are obtained upon the application of the paymaſter general himſelf; thoſe for the extraordinary, are directed into his hands, upon the application of others.

After the ſupply for the pay of the army is voted by parliament, the ſecretary at war ſends to the pay-office the four eſtabliſhments for the year; which are, the guards, garriſons, and land forces; the forces in the plantations, and the garriſons in North America and the Weſt Indies; the forces in Minorca and garriſon of Gibraltar; and, the militia; with the ſeveral regulations of the ſubſiſtence. The eſtabliſhment contains the diſtribution of the whole ſum voted, amongſt the ſeveral regiments, corps, garriſons, officers, and private men, by the day, and by the year, and the groſs ſum allowed for each regiment, corps, and garriſon. To each eſtabliſhment are annexed two warrants, the one directing the paymaſter general to make a deduction of twelve pence in the pound out of all he ſhall iſſue, called the poundage, and ſpecifying to what ſervices it ſhall be applied; the other, directing a deduction of one day's pay, out of the payments in the eſtabliſhment, for the uſe of Chelſea hoſpital.

In general, the groſs ſum allowed for a regiment, or corps, is divided, in the eſtabliſhment, into five parts, under the deſcription of, the full pay of each officer and private man; the allowance to widows; the allowance to the colonel, and for cloathing loſt by deſerters; the allowance to the captain for recruiting, &c.; and, the allowance to the agent. But in the pay-office this groſs ſum undergoes a different diviſion, conſiſting of, the ſubſiſtence, the poundage, the hoſpital, the allowance to widows, the nett off-reckonings, the clearings, and ſometimes reſpits.

It is in conſequence of theſe deductions from, and diviſions of, the groſs ſums allotted to different corps, and of diſtinct ſums being provided by parliament for certain ſervices, that the application by the paymaſter general to the treaſury, for money, is made under diſtinct heads of ſervice. Theſe ſervices may, for the purpoſe of our inquiry, be diſtinguiſhed under three heads:

First. Thoſe ſervices for which the whole ſum received by the paymaſter general, at the exchequer, is iſſued by him ſoon after he receives it.

Secondly. Thoſe, for which the ſum he receives, belonging to particular perſons, remains in his poſſeſſion, upon account of the perſons entitled, until they, or their agents, apply to him for payment.

Thirdly. Thoſe, for which a part only of the ſum he receives is iſſued by him ſoon after he receives it, and the remainder continues in his hands for any indefinite time.

Of the firſt claſs, where he ſoon iſſues all he receives, are, the returned poundage; Chelſea hoſpital, and the out-penſioners; the ſubſiſtence of the forces in Jamaica and the Eaſt Indies, and of the non-commiſſioned officers and private men in Africa; the ſubſiſtence and cloathing of the militia and invalids; the ſubſiſtence iſſued upon account; the ſtoppages of the officers; ſubſiſtence in the Weſt Indies, North America, and garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca; the general and ſtaff officers and garriſons in Great Britain; the nett off-reckonings; the allowances to the colonel, captain, and agent; the clearings; foreign ſubſidies; arrears of the foreign troops; levy money; and all the extraordinaries. Under the head of ſubſiſtence of the forces at home, ſo much of the ſum received, as the ſubſiſtence actually amounts to, is iſſued to the agents as ſoon as he receives it.

Of the ſecond claſs, are, the reduced officers, and, under the ſeveral heads of the garriſons abroad, the general and ſtaff officers, and hoſpital abroad: ſo much of the ſums voted for theſe ſervices, as is contained in each warrant for the pay of the officers named in the certificate, remains in his hands until thoſe officers or their agents apply for it.

Of the third claſs, where he iſſues a part only of the ſums he receives, are, the ſubſiſtence of the forces at home; the ſubſiſtence of the non-commiſſioned officers and private men of the Britiſh forces in the Weſt Indies and North America, and of the foreign troops; the garriſons abroad; and, the general and ſtaff officers and hoſpital abroad. Beſides theſe, there are ſome other heads of ſervice, to ſatisfy which, he does not expreſsly apply to the treaſury for money, but pays the demands for them out of what he has received under other heads of ſervice: theſe are, the allowance to widows; ſome ſervices to which the poundage is made ſubject by the king's warrant; and, contingencies.

Having thus procured the knowledge of the ſervices, and of the mode of receiving from the exchequer,

quer, and of iſſuing money for each ſervice; it remained, in order to find out the component parts of this balance, to compare the ſums received for theſe ſervices, with the ſums iſſued, and ſee what remained in the hands of the paymaſter general under each head: but the manner in which the accounts in this office are now, and have been kept from time immemorial, rendered ſuch an inveſtigation hardly practicable.

When the paymaſter general paſſes an account before the auditor of the impreſt, he charges himſelf therein with the money he has received out of the exchequer, during the period of that account, in one groſs ſum; he verifies the charge by the impreſt roll, which ſpecifies the ſums he has received in each memorial, and the terms in which he received them, but not for what ſervices; all that is required of him is, to render an account for what ſervices he has expended the ſum impreſted to him: to do this conſiſtently with order and method, his payments muſt be arranged under diſtinct heads of ſervice; but there is no neceſſity for making the like arrangements of his receipts, it would only occaſion the entry of a variety of articles in his charge, inſtead of one, which one anſwers full as well all the purpoſes of paſſing his accounts. With a view to this, is formed the plan upon which his books are kept; the accounts of his payments are under ſeparate and diſtinct heads of ſervice, but he has only one caſh account; though in one memorial to the treaſury, he often aſks for ſeveral ſums, under various diſtinct heads of ſervice, yet he enters the receipt in his caſh-book, as one entire ſum received that day at the exchequer, and carries it as one ſum to the king's account current in his ledger: to have found out, therefore, the ſavings in his hands, under any one head of ſervice, he muſt have examined every memorial preſented by him to the treaſury for the thirteen years he has been in office, and have extracted from thence, and collected together, all the ſums he has received for that ſervice, in order to compare them with the iſſues. And here too aroſe another difficulty:—In this office, a payment for any ſervice made in a ſubſequent year, is entered in the account of that year in which the ſum was voted for that ſervice, unleſs ſuch account is made up, and then it is entered in the next open year's account; hence theſe accounts are uſually kept open, until they are ready to be paſſed by the auditors of the impreſt; which time not being yet come for the accounts of the paymaſter general in office, not one of his ledgers are yet made up; he could not therefore have given us the iſſues for any one ſervice, without making up the account of that ſervice, in every year's ledger, ſince he has been in office.

Thinking ourſelves by no means warranted to take up the time, and perhaps impede the current buſineſs of this office, at ſo buſy and important a period, by employing them in ſo laborious, and, unleſs for this particular purpoſe, ſo uſeleſs a taſk, we had recourſe to ſuch other circumſtances in evidence before us, as might lead us to a deciſion upon the point we are purſuing.

From the arrangement we have made of the ſums received by the paymaſter general from the exchequer,

quer, it appears, that the balance in his hands cannot conſiſt of any ſums comprehended in the firſt claſs, becauſe of them he very ſoon iſſues all he receives: Nor is it probable that ſums in the ſecond claſs can conſtitute any very conſiderable part of it; becauſe it is not to be preſumed, that officers of any denomination will ſuffer their pay to continue long without applying for it, either by themſelves or their agents.

A continual receipt and iſſue, implies a balance continually in hand; there muſt be the like continual balance where there are intervals between the receipt and iſſue, and a freſh ſupply always comes in before the iſſue, as in the caſe of every bank: but our enquiry is after a ſum more permanent; a ſum that remains long unapplied to any ſervice, and which, if otherwiſe diſpoſed of, would occaſion no interruption in the regular courſe of paying the army ſervices; for ſuch a balance, in the hands of the paymaſter general, we muſt look amongſt the ſums for the ſervices named in the third claſs, where he iſſues leſs than he receives.

Under the denomination of ſubſiſtence for the forces at home, he receives more than that ſubſiſtence amounts to, with an intent of procuring thereby a fund for certain payments not ſpecifically applied for by him, and therefore otherwiſe unprovided for: he receives ſubſiſtence upon the full eſtabliſhment of the non-commiſſioned officers and private men of the Britiſh forces in North America and part of the Weſt Indies, and of the foreign troops; but as theſe regiments muſt be incomplete, and the deputy paymaſters there iſſue ſubſiſtence according to the ſtrength only of the regiment, he does not remit to them the whole he receives, but ſo much only as, from the laſt accounts they ſend him of the ſtate of the balances in their hands, he judges will be ſufficient to enable them to carry on the public ſervice. This uniſſued ſubſiſtence of the Britiſh forces in the Weſt Indies and North America continues in his hands till the accounts of the ſeveral regiments are made up, when it falls into the clearings, and is iſſued to the agents; but this is not till fifteen or ſixteen months after they become due. The uniſſued ſubſiſtence of the foreign troops remains with him till their arrears are paid to the agents; which time ſeems, from the account of the iſſues received from the treaſury, generally to be about two years after they are due.

He receives the whole ſums voted for garriſons, ſtaff, and hoſpital abroad; but the officers in theſe departments, named in the certificates from the war-office, do not exhauſt the whole ſum voted.

Hence ariſes a fund compoſed of theſe ſavings, out of which he iſſues for certain ſervices, and defrays certain expences, without making any ſpecific application for them to the treaſury; theſe are, the allowance to widows; ſome of the payments to which the poundage is made applicable by the king's warrants; and, the miſcellaneous head of contingencies.

To demands for theſe ſervices, and to no other that we can diſcover (except ſuch claims for the pay of the general and ſtaff officers, and officers of the garriſons and hoſpitals abroad, and of the reduced officers, as remained unſatisfied) was this balance liable on the day of its date. What then was the amount of theſe demands at that time? Nothing had been iſſued for the allowance to widows in the year 1780; for enough remained of former receipts, in the hands of the paymaſter of the widows penſions, to carry on that ſervice; and therefore this balance was not liable to be reduced by any iſſue under the head of allowance to widows. We could not have the accounts of the payments out of poundage and hoſpital, and for the contingencies in the year 1780, becauſe ſome of the warrants had not been produced for payment, and therefore the accounts could not be made up; but finding, that where the eſtabliſhments are nearly the ſame, there is no conſiderable difference between the payments made, upon theſe two heads, in one year and another; we applied to the pay-office for an account of the payments made by the paymaſter general, out of the deductions of twelve pence in the pound, and one day's pay; and for an account of the payments made by him for the contingent expences of his majeſty's forces, for the laſt year in which theſe accounts were made up at the office. The accounts tranſmitted to us, purſuant to this requiſition, are of the year 1778; and as they, probably, do not vary much from thoſe of the year 1780, they will ſhew us, with ſufficient accuracy, the amount of the demands for theſe two heads of ſervice upon the balance now before us. The payments out of the poundage and one day's pay, conſiſt of ſalaries to officers, exchequer fees, returned poundage, and Chelſea hoſpital; the whole amount of which, for this one year, is one hundred fourteen thouſand two hundred ſixty-five pounds ten ſhillings and two pence. The articles of exchequer fees, returned poundage, and Chelſea hoſpital, though placed to this account, are not demands upon this balance. The exchequer fees for every ſum, are always paid at the exchequer out of the ſum at the time it is received; the paymaſter general debits his caſh with the whole ſum he applies for, and credits it for the fees; and therefore the only alteration made in his caſh, is an increaſe by the ſum he aſks, deducting the exchequer fees. The other two ſervices being applied for under their ſpecific heads, he receives a ſum with one hand, and iſſues it with the other; and therefore theſe three articles, amounting to ninety-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and twelve pounds ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, being deducted from the total, leaves the ſum of ſixteen thouſand three hundred fifty-three pounds two ſhillings and eight pence only, as a charge upon this balance; which ſum, conſiſting chiefly of ſalaries, for the moſt part paid quarterly, ſoon after they become due, leaves claims to a very ſmall amount indeed to be ſatisfied out of this balance.

The contingent expences conſiſt of a variety of articles, amounting to twenty-four thouſand nine hundred and fourteen pounds nineteen ſhillings and eight pence; this account never either much exceeds, or comes much under, twenty-four thouſand pounds, the ſum voted for the contingencies upon the eſtabliſhment at home and abroad; for ſo much of theſe payments as exceed the ſum voted, are carried to the account of extraordinaries. Theſe articles being paid ſome quarterly, ſome half-yearly, and ſome yearly, no very conſiderable part of them can probably remain unpaid at the end of the eleventh month of that year, and cannot therefore be a charge upon this balance on the 28th of November 1780: from hence it follows, that, ſuppoſing the amount of the claims for theſe ſervices in 1780 not to exceed their amount in 1778, the claims for theſe ſervices upon this balance, upon the 28th of November 1780, was ſo much only of the ſums of ſixteen thouſand three hundred fifty-three pounds two ſhillings and eight pence, and twenty-four thouſand nine hundred fourteen pounds nineteen ſhillings and eight pence; making together forty-one thouſand two hundred ſixty-eight pounds two ſhillings and four pence; as had not been applied for, and ſatisfied, during the firſt eleven months of that year; and therefore, we think ourſelves well grounded in an opinion, that the ſum of four hundred forty-ſeven thouſand one hundred fifty-three pounds eleven ſhillings and three pence three farthings, in the hands of the paymaſter general of the forces, upon the 28th of November laſt, was greatly more than was neceſſary to anſwer the claims upon him at that time for the ſervice of the army.

But our inquiry did not reſt here; it concerns the public to know what proportion the ſum, continually in the hands of an officer to whom ſo much is entruſted, bears to the ſervices of his department; we required, therefore, from the pay-office, an account of the balance in the hands of the preſent paymaſter general of the forces, on the 31ſt of December 1768, and at the end of each ſucceeding year, to the 31ſt of December 1780, incluſive; and an account of the total ſums received and paid by the paymaſter general for every month, from the 1ſt of January 1780 to the 31ſt of May laſt, with the total of the balance remaining in his hands at the end of each month. Theſe accounts ſhew, that the average yearly balance in the hands of the preſent paymaſter general, for twelve years, has been five hundred eighty-five thouſand eight hundred ninety-eight pounds; and his average monthly balance, for ſeventeen months, has been eight hundred ſixty-nine thouſand one hundred forty-eight pounds.

The magnitude of theſe ſums furniſhes a ſtrong preſumption, that the paymaſter general of the forces poſſeſſes, conſtantly, a ſum much larger than is requiſite for the carrying on the army ſervices; and we are confirmed in this opinion, by the ſtate of the balances in the poſſeſſion of the paymaſters general of the forces after their reſignation, annexed to our laſt report; by which it appears, that of four paymaſters general, each, upon his quitting the office, took with him the ſum then in his hands; the balances they returned to our precepts, above twelve years after their reſignations, were even then very large. Lord Holland's balance, the Chriſtmas after he quitted the office in 1765, was four hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds; in the year 1778, at the time his repreſentatives paid back into the exchequer two hundred thouſand pounds, it was four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and, upon the 27th of September laſt, the ſum returned to our requiſition was two hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand pounds; ſo that, during a period of fifteen years after he was out of office, it ſuffered very little diminution from any claims whatever.

From theſe facts we may infer, that a paymaſter general, at the time of his reſignation, be it when it will, takes with him a ſum of public money, a great part of which remains with him, unapplied to any public ſervice, until his accounts are paſſed by the auditors of the impreſt; and conſequently, that he has conſtantly in his hands greatly more than he wants for the purpoſes for which it was iſſued to him.

During the courſe of our inquiry, certain circumſtances in this office attracted our attention, as ſubjects demanding preſent correction, and prevention for the future.

The uſual courſe of the receipts and iſſues in this office, for ſeveral years, has conſtantly put into the hands of the paymaſter general a large ſum of public money not employed in the public ſervice, expreſsly contrary to that ſound maxim of prudence and œconomy, That more ſhould not be iſſued from the exchequer for any ſervice, than that ſervice wants. He aſks ſums of the treaſury under ſpecific heads of ſervice, and in the form of a computation; the treaſury direct the iſſue in the terms he aſks it, without knowing whether the ſervice is adequate to the requiſition, whether the computation be juſt, and whether he has not already in his hands full as much as he wants: there is no controul upon him in the exchequer; the only attention of that office is, to ſee that the iſſue does not exceed his credit, and that his credit does not exceed the ſupply for the army ſervices, voted by parliament that year. Suppoſing the conſtitution of this office to continue in its preſent form, we think the interpoſition of ſome check neceſſary, to reduce and confine this balance within its due bounds. The paymaſter general can receive nothing from the exchequer, but by direction of the treaſury; the treaſury, therefore, ſhould have the means of judging upon the propriety and neceſſity of the requiſition; to which a frequent knowledge of his balance is eſſential; and therefore we are of opinion, that in the firſt memorial preſented every month, by the paymaſter general of the forces to the lords of the treaſury, for a ſupply for the army ſervices, he ſhould always inſert the ſum total of the balance of public money, for the ſervice of the army, at that time in his hands, cuſtody, or power. What thoſe due bounds are, within which this balance ought to be circumſcribed, depends upon a variety of circumſtances, of which the treaſury may, upon examination, obtain knowledge ſufficient to direct their judgment.

But this uſage of office operates ſtill further; it is not confined to the paymaſter general in being only, but he has been permitted, after his reſignation, and his repreſentatives, in caſe of his death, to retain the money of the public, until the final adjuſtment of his accounts by the auditors of the impreſt. The average of Lord Holland's balance, from his reſignation in the year 1765, to the year 1778, when the two hundred thouſand pounds were paid into the exchequer, by his repreſentatives, was four hundred fifty-five thouſand ſeven hundred thirty-five pounds. The average of the balance of the preſent paymaſter general, from the year 1768, when he came into office, to the ſame year 1778, was four hundred fifty-three thouſand one hundred and eighty pounds; making together nine hundred and eight thouſand nine hundred and fifteen pounds; a ſum belonging to the public, in the poſſeſſion of only two of their officers, for nine years, and the public reaping no benefit from it whatever.

The public good calls for ſo effectual a correction of this evil, as to prevent it from ever happening for the future. As there ſhould be a check upon the balance of a paymaſter general whilſt he is in office, it is equally expedient that he ſhould retain his balance as ſhort a time as poſſible after his reſignation; that he ſhould pay it over to his ſucceſſor, and the ſubſequent buſineſs be carried on by him, at leaſt as much of it as can be tranſacted by him without cauſing confuſion or delay. According to the preſent courſe of buſineſs in this office, upon the reſignation of a paymaſter general, his accounts of the year's eſtabliſhment are carried on to the 24th of June, or 24th of December, preceding or ſubſequent to his reſignation, as is moſt convenient to the public ſervice; when it is ſubſequent, he receives from the exchequer, though out of office, his proportion of the ſupply of the year to that time, and applies it in diſcharge of the demands upon the ſervice, which accrued down to that period; but of theſe demands, ſome do not come in a courſe of payment, others are not applied for till ſome time after they are due; neither the nett off-reckonings nor the clearings, which are the laſt payments on account of a regiment, are diſcharged till fifteen or ſixteen months after they become due; the general, ſtaff, and reduced officers, do not all apply immediately for their pay; warrants for contingencies are frequently not produced until ſeveral months after they are payable; and the paymaſter general has deputies in various parts of the world, whoſe accounts he muſt have time to adjuſt; it is therefore convenient, and prevents trouble to the office, that his buſineſs ſhould be carried on, and ſo much of the public money as is neceſſary for that purpoſe continue in his hands for ſome ſhort time afterwards; and if the balance be confined within its proper bounds, whilſt he is in office, the intereſt of the public will not be materially affected by the detention of a moderate balance, for a few months after his reſignation.

If claimants for ſums directed, but not applied for, in the time of the predeceſſor, muſt, according to the preſent forms of office, have recourſe to the treaſury for new warrants, thoſe forms are inconvenient, and ſhould be altered; the ſucceſſor ſhould be empowered to pay ſuch demands, under the authority given to the predeceſſor, without putting claimants to the trouble and expence of a ſecond application.

Was the paymaſter general to retain his balance until his accounts are finally adjuſted, the public would be kept out of their money to a very diſtant and uncertain period. It is ſixteen years ſince Lord Holland reſigned, and his accounts are ſtill in the office of the auditors of the impreſt unſettled; the preſent paymaſter general has been in office thirteen years, and the firſt three years and a half only of his accounts are ſent into that office, and in their firſt ſtage. The public have a right to be informed how their money has been expended, and as ſpeedily as poſſible after the expenditure: the evils attending delay are many and obvious, both to the perſon accounting, and to thoſe entitled to call for the account. Being accuſtomed to go in one track, and long inattention to this point, in the departments both of the paymaſter general and of the auditors of the impreſt, added to a great increaſe of buſineſs, have produced long arrears; it requires, and there ought to be, an extraordinary exertion in both offices, to bring the accounts forward, and to introduce and eſtabliſh that order and regularity in making them up, and keeping them, which ſhould be ſtrictly adhered to in every office of account. To obtain and preſerve an accurate and competent knowledge of the ſtate they are in, they ſhould be made up and balanced once a year, to a certain ſtated time, and as ſoon as may be after that ſtated time is elapſed. But the time it takes to complete the payment of certain ſervices, and the manner of carrying on ſome branches of the buſineſs in this office, are impediments to ſuch a regulation, and ſeem not well calculated either for perſpicuity or expedition. There are certain ſervices, for which no ſpecific ſums are appropriated, either by the vote of parliament, or by the diſtribution in the eſtabliſhment; but they are paid out of funds compounded of a great variety and number of articles, ſubſtracted from various different groſs ſums, either voted or allotted for certain purpoſes: theſe ſervices are, Chelſea hoſpital, the allowance to widows, the cloathing of the regulars, exchequer fees, and ſalaries to certain officers. One of theſe funds is the poundage, which conſiſts of various deductions of twelve pence in the pound upon almoſt every individual ſum (except the half pay, of which the deduction is only ſix pence in the pound) voted, or allotted by the diſtributions in the eſtabliſhments, for the army ſervices: out of this fund are paid, 1ſt. The returned poundage; that is, this very deduction, thus made, is paid back to certain corps; ſo that this part of it ſeems to be deducted for no other purpoſe but that of returning it back again. 2dly. A part of this poundage is applied towards the expences of Chelſea hoſpital. 3dly. The remainder pays the exchequer fees, and the ſalaries of the paymaſter general, and of other officers.

The expences attending Chelſea hoſpital are paid out of two funds, blended together; the one is part of the poundage above mentioned; the other is formed of the deductions of one day's pay of every perſon named in ſome of the eſtabliſhments, and of ſome of the perſons named in other of the eſtabliſhments: to form this fund, and that of the poundage, and to make theſe ſeveral deductions, is the buſineſs of the pay-office.

The allowance to widows, conſiſts of the pay of two private men a company, and is a part of the eſtabliſhment in every regiment; this comes from the war-office, but the ſeveral articles are collected together from the regimental diſtributions, and formed into a fund, in the pay-office.

The fund for the cloathing is called the nett off-reckonings; and

6 is

is compoſed of deductions made in the pay-office, out of the ſums allotted in the eſtabliſhment for the full pay of the non-commiſſioned officers and private men, in moſt of the regiments and corps.

One effect of theſe operations is, that in making up the ſtate of every regiment in the pay-office, the ſum allotted for its pay in the eſtabliſhment muſt conſiſt of ſix parts; the poundage, the hoſpital, the ſubſiſtence, the allowance to widows, the off-reckonings, and the clearings, and ſometimes reſpits. This ſtate, beſides the buſineſs it creates in the pay-office, muſt be examined, computed, and ſigned, by the agent; for he receives the clearings, which is the balance due to the regiment; the truth of which balance depends upon the juſtneſs of the calculation of the other diviſions: it muſt be examined too, and computed, by the auditor of the impreſt; for the paymaſter general taking credit in his account for the whole pay of each regiment, and ſurcharging himſelf with the total amount of the deductions of the poundage, hoſpital, and widows, in every year, the auditor cannot know the accuracy of the ſurcharge, without an examination of each article that compoſes it.

To perſons accuſtomed to the courſe of office, theſe computations are eaſy and familiar; but they certainly muſt take up time; an object, conſidering the preſent ſtate of the army accounts, worth attending to. If, inſtead of theſe deductions, certain ſpecific diſtinct ſums were eſtimated and ſet apart for theſe ſervices in the eſtabliſhment; if diſtinct accounts were kept of the receipts and payments, under each head of ſervice; if the cloathing of the regulars was voted like the cloathing of the militia, ſeparate from the eſtabliſhment; if the ſum allotted to a regiment ſhould be the actual pay, and the whole of it be diſtributed amongſt the officers and private men, and paid to them without deduction, at ſuch times and in ſuch proportions as ſhall be deemed beſt for the ſervice; if every diſtinct ſervice had its diſtinct appropriation, which can be eaſily eſtimated by the experience of preceding years; it ſhould ſeem as if this branch of the pay of the army might be carried on in a more ſimple, expeditious, and intelligible manner.

In public truſts, the poſſibility of a loſs ſhould be guarded againſt, as much as the nature of the truſts will admit, without any reſpect to perſons, or placing any more confidence in any man than can be helped. The ſums that appear to have been intruſted to paymaſters general, are of a magnitude that implies danger to the public; for who can give, or find ſecurity for the payment of them? At the head of this claſs of accountants, ſtands an inſtance of an actual loſs; the laſt account that was paſſed of Lord Lincoln's was to the 24th of December 1719, between which, and the 25th of June 1720, four hundred ſeventy-three thouſand one hundred twenty-ſeven pounds, were iſſued to him from the exchequer; of this ſum it does not appear that any account was ever given, nor have we been able to trace, either in the pay-office, or in that of the auditors of the impreſt, the expenditure of any part of it; neither book nor paper, relative to this account, is to be found in either of thoſe offices. It has been the practice of the paymaſters general, when they went out of office, to take with them the books and papers that relate to their accounts, as their own private property; but as the paymaſter general is an officer appointed to a public truſt, his office created for the uſe of, and ſupported by, the public, and his books contain accounts of the receipt and expenditure of public money; we are of opinion, that all theſe official books and papers are, and ſhould be conſidered as the property of the public, and as ſuch left and depoſited in the pay-office, for the uſe and information of poſterity.

The regulations hitherto ſuggeſted, are upon a ſuppoſition that the conſtitution of this office continues in its preſent form; but there is a modification, which, if it can be adopted, will effectually remove the power, and therefore the poſſibility, of loſs or abuſe; that is, by taking away from the paymaſter general of the forces the cuſtody of the public caſh, and placing it in the bank of England; this treaſury will then be converted into an office of mere account, and the paymaſter general, inſtead of being the banker of the army, will be the inſtrument only, through whom the army ſervices are paid, without having the power of applying the public money to any other purpoſes whatever. Some judgment may be formed how far this plan is practicable, by comparing the alteration it will make in the great outlines of the buſineſs of this office, the receipt, the iſſue, the keeping the accounts, and the accounting, with the forms now in uſe. The impreſt muſt be to the bank; the bank muſt make the payments, by means of checque drafts drawn by the paymaſter general, ſpecifying the warrant, and the ſervice: the paymaſter general muſt keep the account of theſe receipts and payments, and the bank a duplicate; both muſt join in paſſing the accounts, the one producing the warrants diſcharged by his drafts, the other producing the drafts diſcharged by payment. Under the preſent conſtitution of this office, the paymaſter general keeps his caſh at the bank; the bank receives it at the exchequer on his account; he never pays in caſh, but by his caſhiers drafts on the bank: he keeps the account of all theſe receipts and payments, as if they were tranſacted in caſh: the warrant indorſed, or the warrant and receipt, or the warrant and regimental pay-book, ſigned by the agent, and receipt for the off-reckonings, are his vouchers: his deputies pay, when they can, by drafts upon the agent to the remitter, who is the bank abroad, and accountable to the public.

Such is the ſimilitude between the mode propoſed and the mode in uſe; and thus far this regulation carries with it all the appearance of being reducible to practice.

We are well aware of the difficulties that muſt for ever attend the introducing novelty of form into ancient offices, framed by the wiſdom of our anceſtors, and eſtabliſhed by the experience of ages; they are conſidered as incapable of improvement; the officers educated in, and accuſtomed to the forms in uſe, are inſenſible of their defects, or, if they feel them, have no leiſure, often no ability, ſeldom any inclination, to correct them; alarmed at the idea of innovation, they reſiſt the propoſal of a regulation, becauſe it is a change, though from a perplexed a perplexed and intricate, to a more ſimple and intelligible ſyſtem.

To trace this alteration through every branch of the buſineſs, to mark all its effects, that it does not in anywiſe diſturb the pay of the army, perplex the accounts, or throw difficulties or delay in the paſſing them; to point out the ſteps by which it ought gradually and methodically to be introduced, is a work of long ſerious attention and accurate examination; but the appearance this plan carries with it of being practicable, and the advantage it holds out to the public, in an office, that certainly ſtands in need of ſome reform, afford us ſufficient reaſon for ſubmitting the conſideration of it to the wiſdom of the legiſlature.

Guy Carleton, (L. S.)
T. Anguiſh, (L. S.)
A. Piggott, (L. S.)
Rich. Neave, (L. S.)
Sam. Beachcroft, (L. S.)
Geo. Drummond, (L. S.)

Office of Accounts,
Surrey-ſtreet,
10th Auguſt 1781.

Heads of the principal Acts *of* Parliament *which paſſed in the 3d Seſſion of the 16th Parliament of* Great Britain, *commencing on the 24th of January*, 1786.

FURTHER continuation, for a limited time, of the acts paſſed in the 23d and 24th years of his preſent majeſty's reign, relative to the commercial intercourſe betwixt the United States of America and his majeſty's dominions.

An act for confining to a limited time the trade between the ports of the United States of America and his majeſty's ſubjects in the iſland of Newfoundland, to bread, flour, Indian corn, and live ſtock, to be imported in none but Britiſh-built ſhips, actually belonging to Britiſh ſubjects, and navigated according to law, clearing out from ports of his majeſty's European dominions, and furniſhed with a licence according to the form thereunto annexed.

An act for augmenting and aſcertaining the income of the rectors of the pariſh church and parochial chapel of Liverpool.

An act to explain and amend certain proviſions of an act made in the 24th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, reſpecting the better regulation and management of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company.

An act for obviating all doubts which have ariſen, or might ariſe, with reſpect to the excluſive power of the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company to nominate and appoint the governor general and council of the preſidency of fort William in Bengal.

An act for veſting certain ſums in commiſſioners at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied to the reduction of the national debt.

An act for regulating the time of the impriſonment of debtors impriſoned by proceſs from courts inſtituted for the recovery of ſmall debts; for aboliſhing the claim of fees of gaolers and others, in caſes of ſuch impriſonment; and for aſcertaining the qualification of the commiſſioners.

An act for the further relief of debtors, with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons; and to oblige debtors who ſhall continue in execution in priſon beyond a certain time, and for ſums not exceeding

ing what are mentioned in the act, to make diſcovery of, and deliver upon oath, their eſtates for their creditors benefit.

An act for augmenting and fixing the ſalaries of the lords of ſeſſion, lords commiſſioners of juſticiary, and barons of exchequer, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

An act for the further regulation of the trial of perſons accuſed of certain offences committed in the Eaſt Indies; for the repealing ſo much of an act made in the 24th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, intituled, "An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, and of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, and eſtabliſhing a court of judicature for the more ſpeedy and effectual trial of perſons accuſed of offences committed in the Eaſt Indies;" and for the more eaſy proof, in certain caſes, of deeds and writings executed in Great Britain or India.

An act for appointing commiſſioners further to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the ſeveral public offices therein mentioned, to examine into any abuſes which may exiſt in the ſame, and to report ſuch obſervations as ſhall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the buſineſs tranſacted in the ſaid offices.

An act for appointing and enabling commiſſioners further to examine, take, and ſtate, the public accounts of the kingdom.

An act for appointing commiſſioners further to enquire into the loſſes and ſervices of all ſuch perſons who have ſuffered in their rights, properties, and poſſeſſions, during the late unhappy diſſenſions in America, in conſequence of their loyalty to his majeſty, and attachment to the Britiſh government.

An act for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the loſſes of all ſuch perſons who have ſuffered in their properties in conſequence of the ceſſion of the province of Eaſt Florida to the king of Spain.

An act to empower the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the Archbiſhop of York, for the time being, to conſecrate to the office of biſhop perſons being ſubjects or citizens of countries out of his majeſty's dominions.

An act for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate and condition of the woods, foreſts, and land revenues, belonging to the crown, and to ſell or alienate fee-farm and other unimproveable rents.

An act for incorporating certain perſons therein named, by the name and ſtyle of "The Britiſh Society for extending of the fiſheries, and improving the ſea coaſts of this Kingdom;" and to enable them, when incorporated, to ſubſcribe a joint ſtock, and therewith to purchaſe lands, and build thereon free towns, villages, and fiſhing ſtations, in the highlands and iſlands in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and for other purpoſes.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Character of Dr.* Samuel Johnſon. *Extracted from Mrs.* Piozzi's *Anecdotes concerning him.*

IT is uſual, I know not why, when a character is given, to begin with a deſcription of the perſon; that which contained the ſoul of Mr. Johnſon deſerves to be particularly deſcribed. His ſtature was remarkably high, and his limbs exceedingly large: his ſtrength was more than common I believe, and his activity had been greater I have heard than ſuch a form gave one reaſon to expect: his features were ſtrongly marked, and his countenance particularly rugged; though the original complexion had certainly been fair, a circumſtance ſomewhat unuſual: his ſight was near, and otherwiſe imperfect; yet his eyes, though of a light grey colour, were ſo wild, ſo piercing, and at times ſo fierce, that fear was I believe the firſt emotion in the hearts of all his beholders. His mind was ſo comprehenſive, that no language but that he uſed could have expreſſed its contents; and ſo ponderous was his language, that ſentiments leſs lofty and leſs ſolid than his were, would have been encumbered, not adorned by it.

Mr. Johnſon was not intentionally however a pompous converſer; and though he was accuſed of uſing big words as they are called, it was only when little ones would not expreſs his meaning as clearly, or when perhaps the elevation of the thought would have been diſgraced by a dreſs leſs ſuperb. He uſed to ſay, "that the ſize of a man's underſtanding might always be juſtly meaſured by his mirth;" and his own was never contemptible. He would laugh at a ſtroke of genuine humour, or ſudden ſally of odd abſurdity, as heartily and freely as I ever yet ſaw any man, and though the jeſt was often ſuch as few felt beſides himſelf, yet his laugh was irreſiſtible, and was obſerved immediately to produce that of the company, not merely from the notion that it was proper to laugh when he did, but purely out of want of power to forbear it. He was no enemy to ſplendour of apparel or pomp of equipage—"Life (he would ſay) is barren enough ſurely with all her trappings; let us therefore be cautious how we ſtrip her." In matters of ſtill higher moment he once obſerved, when ſpeaking on the ſubject of ſudden innovation,—"He who plants a foreſt may doubtleſs cut down a hedge; yet I could wiſh methinks that even he would wait till he ſees his young plants grow."

With regard to common occurrences, Mr. Johnſon had, when I firſt knew him, looked on the ſtill-ſhifting ſcenes of life till he was weary; for as a mind ſlow in its own nature, or unenlivened by information, will contentedly read in the ſame book for twenty times perhaps,

---

* In our preceding volume there is a character of Dr. Johnſon, by Mr. Boſwell. The characters of eminent men become the more intereſting, from being delineated by ſuch different perſons as had the beſt opportunities of knowing them.

haps, the very act of reading it, being more than half the buſineſs, and every period being, at every reading better underſtood; while a mind more active or more ſkilful to comprehend its meaning is made ſincerely ſick at the ſecond peruſal; ſo a ſoul like his, acute to diſcern the truth, vigorous to embrace, and powerful to retain it, ſoon ſees enough of the world's dull proſpect, which at firſt, like that of the ſea, pleaſes by its extent, but ſoon, like that too, fatigues from its uniformity; a calm and a ſtorm being the only variations that the nature of either will admit.

Of Mr. Johnſon's erudition the world has been the judge, and we who produce each a ſcore of his ſayings, as proofs of that wit which in him was inexhauſtible, reſemble travellers who having viſited Delhi or Golconda, bring home each a handful of Oriental pearl to evince the riches of the Great Mogul. May the public condeſcend to accept my *ill-ſtrung* ſelection with patience at leaſt, remembering only that they are relics of him who was great on all occaſions, and, like a cube in architecture, you beheld him on each ſide, and his ſize ſtill appeared undiminiſhed.

As his purſe was ever open to alms-giving, ſo was his heart tender to thoſe who wanted relief, and his ſoul ſuſceptible of gratitude, and of every kind impreſſion: yet though he had refined his ſenſibility, he had not endangered his quiet, by encouraging in himſelf a ſolicitude about trifles, which he treated with the contempt they deſerve.

It was well enough known before theſe ſheets were publiſhed, that Mr. Johnſon had a roughneſs in his manner which ſubdued the ſaucy, and terrified the meek: this was, when I knew him, the prominent part of a character which few durſt venture to approach ſo nearly; and which was for that reaſon in many reſpects groſsly and frequently miſtaken, and it was perhaps peculiar to him, that the lofty conſciouſneſs of his own ſuperiority, which animated his looks, and raiſed his voice in converſation, caſt likewiſe an impenetrable veil over him when he ſaid nothing. His talk therefore had commonly the complexion of arrogance, his ſilence of ſuperciliouſneſs. He was however ſeldom inclined to be ſilent when any moral or literary queſtion was ſtarted: and it was on ſuch occaſions, that, like the ſage in Raſſelas, he ſpoke, and attention watched his lips; he reaſoned, and conviction cloſed his periods: if poetry was talked of, his quotations were the readieſt; and had he not been eminent for more ſolid and brilliant qualities, mankind would have united to extol his extraordinary memory. His manner of repeating deſerves to be deſcribed, though at the ſame time it defeats all power of deſcription; but whoever once heard him repeat an ode of Horace, would be long before they could endure to hear it repeated by another.

His equity in giving the character of living acquaintance ought not undoubtedly to be omitted in his own, whence partiality and prejudice were totally excluded, and truth alone preſided in his tongue: a ſteadineſs of conduct the more to be commended, as no man had ſtronger likings or averſions. His veracity was indeed, from the moſt trivial to the moſt ſolemn occaſions, ſtrict, even to ſeverity; he ſcorned to embelliſh a ſtory with fictitious circumſtances, which (he uſed to ſay) took off from its real value. "A ſtory (ſays Johnſon) ſhould be a ſpecimen of life and manners; but if the ſurrounding circumſtances are falſe, as it is no more a repreſentation of reality, it is no longer worthy our attention."

For the reſt—That beneficence which during his life increaſed the comforts of ſo many, may after his death be perhaps ungratefully forgotten; but that piety which dictated the ſerious papers in the Rambler, will be for ever remembered; for ever, I think, revered. That ample repoſitory of religious truth, moral wiſdom, and accurate criticiſm, breathes indeed the genuine emanations of its great author's mind, expreſſed too in a ſtyle ſo natural to him, and ſo much like his common mode of converſing, that I was myſelf but little aſtoniſhed when he told me, that he had ſcarcely read over one of thoſe inimitable eſſays before they went to the preſs.

I will add one or two peculiarities more, before I lay down my pen.—Though at an immeaſurable diſtance from content in the contemplation of his own uncouth form and figure, he did not like another man much the leſs for being a coxcomb. I mentioned two friends who were particularly fond of looking at themſelves in a glaſs—"They do not ſurpriſe me at all by ſo doing (ſaid Johnſon): they ſee, reflected in that glaſs, men who have riſen from almoſt the loweſt ſituations in life; one to enormous riches, the other to every thing this world can give—rank, fame, and fortune. They ſee likewiſe, men who have merited their advancement by the exertion and improvement of thoſe talents which God had given them; and I ſee not why they ſhould avoid the mirror."

The other ſingularity I promiſed to record, is this. That though a man of obſcure birth himſelf, his partiality to people of family was viſible on every occaſion; his zeal for ſubordination warm even to bigotry; his hatred to innovation, and reverence for the old feudal times, apparent, whenever any poſſible manner of ſhewing them occurred. I have ſpoken of his piety, his charity, and his truth, the enlargement of his heart, and the delicacy of his ſentiments; and when I ſearch for ſhadow to my portrait, none can I find but what was formed by pride, differently modified as different occaſions ſhewed it; yet never was pride ſo purified as Johnſon's, at once from meanneſs and from vanity.—The mind of this man was indeed expanded beyond the common limits of human nature, and ſtored with ſuch variety of knowledge, that I uſed to think it reſembled a royal pleaſure-ground, where every plant of every name and nation, flouriſhed in the full perfection of their powers, and where, though lofty woods and falling cataracts firſt caught the eye, and fixed the earlieſt attention of beholders, yet neither the trim parterre nor the pleaſing ſhrubbery, nor even the antiquated ever-greens, were denied a place in ſome fit corner of the happy valley.

A ſhort account of the perſon and character of Peter *the Second, Emperor of* Ruſſia, *and of his ſiſter the Princeſs* Nathalia. *From Mrs.* Vigor's *additional letters from* Ruſſia, *written in that Emperor's reign.*

"HE appeared tall of his age, has light-brown hair, blue eyes, rather a handſome face, and, I fancy a fine complexion; but tanned like a mulatto. He has a very grave look; if I were not ſpeaking of a monarch, I ſhould ſay, a ſurly one; ſo much ſo, that even the bloom of youth loſes its pleaſingneſs by it. He is, they ſay, very reſerved, and does not chuſe to make himſelf maſter of any language but his own. He was doatingly fond of his ſiſter*, and ſhe could perſuade him to almoſt any thing. One anecdote, I think, I can be ſure, is true. One of his valet de chambres, a Frenchman, was cutting the princeſs's hair, and ſhe talking to him in French, when the emperor came into her apartment, and ſaid, "Siſter, why do you talk French to him? he ſpeaks better Ruſſian than you do French." She anſwered, "That is the very reaſon, brother, why I do it; for would it not be ſhameful, that he, who has ſo few helps, ſhould learn our language better than we learn his who have helps to it?" He patted her cheek, and kiſſed her, and ſaid, "I will apply for the future;" and to the man, "Do you always ſpeak French to me when you are about me." This princeſs promiſed fair to have inherited her grandfather's genius. Count Oſterman made uſe of her influence over his pupil to do, or prevent his doing, any thing he liked or diſliked. The day ſhe died, the worthleſs young favourite † that this young monarch has unhappily taken a fancy to, finding Count Oſterman in the next room to that where her corpſe lay, with the greateſt grief painted in his face, with a ſneer ſaid to him, "There lies your princeſs. Now go, and complain of me to her."—Every worthy perſon agrees that the empire had the greateſt loſs by her death, that it has had ſince that of her grandfather, and no lovers of the country ſpeak of her without tears. She died of a conſumption, and behaved through a tedious illneſs like a heroine."

Character of the Mogul Emperor, Shaw Aulum, *eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor to the famous* Aulumgeer Aurengzebe.

This account is taken from a tranſlation of the memoirs, in the Perſic language, of Eradut Khan, *a nobleman of* Indoſtan, *by* Jonathan Scott, *Captain in the ſervice of the* Eaſt India *Company, and private* Perſian *Tranſlator to Governor* Haſtings.—Eradut Khan *was contemporary with, and held high offices under* Aurengzebe, *and under his ſons, and his memoirs are held as highly authentic in* Hindoſtan.

"SHAW AULUM was generous and merciful, of a great ſoul tempered with affability, diſcerning of merit. He had ſeen the ſtrict exerciſe of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been uſed to authority himſelf for the laſt fifty years. Time received a new luſtre from his acceſſion, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal, if not ſuperior, to their merits; ſo that the public forgot the excellencies and great qualities of Aulumgeer, which became abſorbed in the bounties of his ſucceſſor. Some narrow-hearted perſons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profuſion; but it is a fact, that the deſerving of every profeſſion, and worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which the eye of time prior to this had never ſeen, nor had ſuch been heard of before by the ears of fame. His perſonal qualities and perfections, ſpeech is unequal to relate. His valour was ſuch, that he had reſolved on meeting Azim Shaw, whoſe bravery was celebrated, in ſingle combat. His four ſons, poſſeſſed of great power and conſiderable force, he ſuffered conſtantly to be near his perſon, never giving himſelf a moment's ſuſpicion regarding them, nor preventing their forming connections with the prime nobility; upon which ſubject I, the humbleſt of his ſlaves, once ventured to preſent him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done ſo to Aulumgeer. To what I repreſented, he wrote a wiſe and juſt reply, which, by God's permiſſion, I will one time or other relate. He permitted the ſons of thoſe princes, who had fallen in battle againſt him, to appear at all times completely armed in his preſence. The infant children he let remain unmoleſted with their mothers, while thoſe arrived at manhood daily accompanied him in the chace, unguarded, and ſhared in all his diverſions. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shaw Jehaun. Seventeen princes, his ſons, grandſons, and nephews, ſat generally round his throne, in the manner following: —On his right hand, Jehaundaur Shaw, his eldeſt ſon, with his three ſons, his third ſon Ruffeh Ooſhawn with his three ſons, and Bedar Dil, ſon to his nephew Bedar Bukht. On his left, Mahummud Azeem Ooſhawn with his two ſons, and Jéhaun Shaw with his ſon. * Ali Tibbar, the only ſurviving ſon of Azim Shaw, ſat on the right hand of Azeem Ooſhawn, and a little to the right, ſomewhat advanced, the two ſons of Mahummud Kaum Bukſh. Behind the royal princes on the right, ſtood the ſons of conquered ſovereigns, as of Secunder Adil Shaw of Beejapore, and Koottub Shaw, king of Golconda; alſo a vaſt croud of the nobility, from the rank of ſeven to three thouſand, ſuch as were allowed to be on the platform between the ſilver rails. How can I mention every particular of the ſplendid ſcene? On the † eeds, and other feſtivals, his majeſty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his preſence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dreſſes, and other favours, were

---

* Princeſs Nathalia.

† Prince Dolghorucki.

---

* Anglicè, Of high deſcent.

† The Mahummedans have two grand eeds or holidays, one at the concluſion of the ramzaun, and the other on the anniverſary of the day on which Abraham conſented to ſacrifice his ſon. On theſe days, tents are pitched about a mile diſtant from the city, to which the emperor goes in great ſtate to pray, and on his return receives preſents from his ameers, on whom he confers honorary dreſſes according to rank. The ſame ceremony is obſerved in every town, by the governor. At the laſt eede, after prayers, a camel is ſacrificed, and a ſmall part of it dreſſed, and eaten on the ſpot by the emperor and his attendants. The cavalcades which I chanced to attend on each of theſe days, at Lucnow and Banaris, were very brilliant, and ſerved to give an idea of the aſtoniſhing ſplendor which muſt have graced theſe in the flouriſhing times of the empire. It is probable Mr. Zoffani may offer the public a view of the proceſſion at Lucnow, on the firſt eed in 1784, as he was preſent, and took a ſketch of it.

truly royal. When in private, he dreſſed plain and humbly, like a religious, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himſelf, in the grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Koraun with a tone and ſweetneſs which captivated the moſt eloquent Arabians. He never miſſed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an aſſembly of the religious, or learned men. He himſelf related * traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all ſects, read the works of all freethinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheſes of each. On this account, ſome over-ſtrict devotees accuſed him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his ſuperior abilities. I heard moſt of his tenets, and lamented the inſolence of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the ſun, how juſt and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a ſmall part."

Characters of the four Sons of Shaw Aulum. *From the ſame Work.*

"† MOIZ ad Dien Jehaundaur Shaw, the eldeſt, was a weak man, devoted to pleaſure, who gave himſelf no trouble about ſtate affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be ſeen when I come to relate his reign.

Azeem Ooſhawn, the ſecond ſon, was a ſtateſman of winning manners. Aulumgeer had always purſued the policy of encouraging his grandſons, and employing them in public affairs; for, as his ſons were ambitious, of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controuled them, by oppoſing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bukht to Azim Shaw, and Azeem Ooſhawn to Shaw Aulum. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from whence he had now come with a rich treaſure, and conſiderable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great ſervice, yet he was ſuſpected by his father, and dreaded as a rival: but to relate the cauſes would be uſeleſs prolixity.

‡ Ruffeh Ooſhawn, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the ſame time addicted to pleaſure, particularly fond of muſic, and the pomp of courtly ſhew. He paid no attention to public affairs, or even thoſe of his own houſhold.

‖ Khojeſteh Akhter Jehaun Shaw had the greateſt ſhare of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's acceſſion to the throne; after which, the whole adminiſtration of the empire was long influenced by him. He had the cloſeſt friendſhip and connection with Monauim Khan, who, by his intereſt, was appointed vizier."

---

* Anecdotes and maxims of the prophet.

† Anglicè, Reſpecter of the faith.

‡ Anglicè, Of high rank.

‖ Of happy ſtar; king of the world.

The following is the account given of the behaviour and conduct of Jehaundaur Shaw, *after he became Emperor.*

"BE it known to thoſe of enlightened underſtandings, and to the acquainted with the uſages of the world, that if, in the relation of the affairs of my liege and hereditary lord, the emperor Moiz ad Dien Jehaundaur Shaw, ſome obſervations and expreſſions ſhould eſcape my pen, contrary to reſpect, and the examples of the hiſtoriographers of princes, they will not proceed from diſaffection or a prejudiced mind. I know they are improper from the pen of a ſervant, and God forgive me! but by them I mean no diſaffection to his perſon, or diſreſpect to the family of Timur; no vent of my own ſpleen; no view to flatter a ſucceſſor, by diſparaging his rival, nor malicious abuſe for the neglect or diſappointment I may have ſuffered during this reign. I ſwear by God, and God is a ſacred witneſſer of oaths, that I loved him as my ſovereign; but, as it was incumbent on me to record the actions of the reigning prince, good or bad, wiſe or fooliſh, in public and private, if they were, without one exception, all unworthy, what can I ſay, as a faithful writer?—Let it be remembered, that I was nouriſhed for fifty years under the benignant ſhadow of the great and glorious emperor Aulumgeer. How ſad the alteration I now beheld! Of this man, this wretched idiot, oppoſite to him in every quality, ſucceeding to the very ſame empire, ſitting on the very ſame throne, and the actions he did, what can I ſay, or in what terms paint the diſgraces they ſuffered by his acceſſion?—I had beheld upon the throne an emperor. Warmth of expreſſion operates in advice: the friends to the *Imaums, from the ardor of their loyalty to the houſe of Ali, heightened their ſtyle, and repreſented with all the eloquence of zeal (for which they have been ever praiſed by good men) that the oppreſſed might draw the ſword againſt a worthleſs tyrant. But I only mean a warning to the family of Timur; for the head of which, let his character be what it may, if I heſitate to ſacrifice my life, may I be numbered with traitors, and abhorred by my friends!

When Jehaundaur Shaw, by the intrigues and ſupport of the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, had triumphed over his three brothers, and aſcended the throne of empire without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the cuſtoms of time were changed. He was in himſelf a weak man, effeminately careful of his perſon, fond of eaſe, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had alſo blemiſhes and low vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illuſtrious anceſtors. He made the vaſt empire of Hindoſtan an offering to the fooliſh whims of a public courtezan, which tortured the minds of worthy ſubjects loyal to his family. The relations, friends and minions of the miſtreſs, uſurped abſolute authority in the ſtate; and high offices, great titles, and unreaſonable grants from the Imperial domains, were ſhowered profuſely on beggarly muſicians. [*] Two corores of rupees annually were ſettled for the houſhold expences of the miſtreſs only, excluſive of her cloaths and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchaſed, agreeable to whim, ſometimes jewels, gold, ſilks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the moſt trifling articles. A woman named [†] Zohera, keeper of a green-ſtall, one of Lal Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a ſuitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they uſed to promote the intereſts of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and ſacrificing decency to the preſent advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whoſe gates were more crowded with equipages in general than thoſe of the Imperial palace, ſo that to paſs through the ſtreet where they reſided was a matter of difficulty, by reaſon of the throng. To do them juſtice, many of them had generous minds, and performed various good actions in the uſe of their influence at court. The ridiꝺulous jaunts of the emperor and his miſtreſs at laſt grew to ſuch a pitch, that on a certain night, after ſpending the day in debauchery, and viſiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the houſe of one of her acquaintance who ſold ſpirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large ſum, and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell aſleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained ſleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had ſhared in the jollity of his royal maſter, without examining the machine, carried it to the ſtables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the miſtreſs had entered her apartments without the emperor, were alarmed for his ſafety, and ſent to her to enquire concerning his ſituation. She deſired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince faſt aſleep in the arms of Zohera, at the diſtance of nearly two miles from the palace. This ſcandalous event afforded matter of offence to all good ſubjects, but of mirth and laughter to the weak Jehaundaur and his abandoned favourites. He after this ſtill more expoſed his vices to the public, often, as he paſſed through the ſtreets, ſeizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradeſmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar ſuperſtition, he bathed with Lall Koor, concealed only by a ſingle cloth, in the fountain of the * Lamp of Dhely, in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy. Happy was the day in which he was bathed in his own blood! The miſtreſs had the inſolence to abuſe the princeſs † Zebe al Niſſa, daughter of the emperor Aulumgeer, and aunt to Jehaundaur Shaw, with expreſſions ſo vile as were unbecoming the meaneſt perſon. This princeſs had neglected to pay compliments to her, which ſhe received from other ladies of rank, and Lall Koor, enraged at this, teazed the emperor to reprove his aunt, and oblige her to ſhew attention towards her; but all was vain. However, he ſo far complied with her unreaſonable entreaties, that he left off viſiting the princeſs, and declined going to an entertainment ſhe had prepared for him, without inviting Lall Koor. How ſhall I relate all his follies? The above-mentioned are ſufficient to ſhew the ſad changes of affairs, public and private. His other indecencies are too unworthy of record to relate."

---

* The two chief Imaums were the ſons of Ali, by the daughter of Mahummud, and were put to death by the caliph Maweeah, one by poiſon, and the other in battle, with all their children except one, from whom deſcended the other ten Imaums, and the race of Syeds, ſo highly reſpected among the Mahummedans.

---

[*] About two millions ſterling.

[†] The celebrated Nizam al Mulluk, who at this time lived a very retired life at Dhely, was one day paſſing in a pallekee, with only a few attendants, when, in a narrow ſtreet, he was met by Zohera, who was riding on an elephant, with a great train of ſervants. The nizam endeavoured to get out of the way; but, notwithſtanding this, Zohera's ſervants were inſolent to his attendants, and, as ſhe paſſed by, ſhe exclaimed, “Are you the ſon of the blind man?” This enraged the nizam, who commanded his people to pull her from her elephant; which they did, with rudeneſs. She complained to the miſtreſs, who prevailed on the weak Jehaundaur to take notice of it, and command Zoolfeccar Khan to puniſh the nizam. The nizam had ſuſpected this to happen, and had informed the miniſter of the affair. When Jehaundaur Shaw ſpoke to him, he was anſwered, that, to puniſh the nizam for having corrected an inſolent upſtart, would enrage all the nobility, who would conſider the honour of the order as hurt by any affront to the nizam. Jehaundaur, upon this, did not enforce his commands.

Upon Jehaundaur Shaw's promoting one of his miſtreſs's relations, a muſician, to a high rank, Zoolfeccar Khan, ameer al amra, out of ſneer, demanded of the new-made lord, as a fee for putting his ſeal of office to the patent, one thouſand ſmall tabors. The muſician complained to Lall Koor, his patroneſs, of the indignity offered him; and ſhe told the emperor, inſiſting that he ſhould reprimand the ameer al amra. Jehaundaur Shaw accordingly reproached the miniſter, who ironically replied, that, as muſic was the beſt recommendation with his majeſty for promotion, he had aſked the tabors to deliver out to perſons of family, that they might, by practiſing upon them, qualify themſelves for high office, and ſucceed as well as their inferiors, the muſicians. Jehaundaur Shaw felt the force of the ſatire, and, being afraid of his miniſter, withdrew the patent.

Hiſtory and Character of Lord Digby, *by the* Earl of Clarendon, *from the Supplement to the third Volume of his State Papers.*

[*The following Hiſtory and Account of ſo remarkable a Character as the* Lord Digby, *and written by the* Earl of Clarendon, *is of ſo very intereſting a nature, as to make it impoſſible for us, notwithſtanding its length, to abridge or curtail any part of it, without depriving our*

---

* A celebrated fakeer ſo entitled.

† Anglicè, Ornament of the ſex.

Reader of a proportionable quantity of Knowledge and Amuſement.]

HE was of a very extraordinary compoſition by nature, and if he had not from thence had ſome infirmities very prevalent over him, the advantages he had in his education muſt have rendered him a perſon of rare perfection; and in truth, a perſon of rare parts he was. He was born in Spain, in the early growth of his father's greatneſs, who ſailed for many years with a full gale of ſucceſs, till he was grown to a great height both in title and fortune. In which time his ſon received all the benefits of all ſorts, which a liberal ſupport, and a well ordered education could bring to him; and though he made a journey or two into his own country, yet his whole breeding upon the matter was in Spain, till he was thirteen years of age; ſo that that language might very well be called his own, and no Spaniard ſpoke it more naturally than he did ever after. When by the all-diſpoſing power of the Duke of Buckingham, his father was not only removed from court, but committed to the Tower, he was ſent with a petition to the houſe of commons on his father's behalf, which he delivered at the bar, with a ſhort ſpeech of his own; which being delivered with confidence, by a youth very young, of delicate features, and a very graceful perſon, made a good impreſſion on that body, and cauſed him to be looked upon as a young man of great expectation; but the ſame cloud of prejudice and diſfavour ſtill covering his father, though he had his liberty, the whole family retired into the country. His father grew rich, and was eſteemed as a very wiſe man, who had ſailed very proſperouſly, and made a great voyage whilſt the wind was with him, and when it raged againſt him in terrible ſtorms and tempeſts preſerved himſelf unhurt, and reſted in greater ſecurity than his enemies; and, it may be, his reputation and eſteem was the greater for having no favourable aſpect from the court. In this calm the young gentleman was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, being excellently prepared by his youthful ſtudies for that approach; and from thence, after ſome years ſpent with notable ſucceſs in all kind of learning, he went into France, in the language whereof he was well verſed, and had been carefully inſtructed; and, after ſome time ſpent there, in a condition liberally ſupported for any virtuous improvement of himſelf, but not for riot or impertinence, he returned again to his country, and his father's houſe, the moſt accompliſhed perſon that that nation, or it may be, that any other at that time could preſent to the world, to which the beauty, comelineſs, and gracefulneſs of his perſon gave no ſmall luſtre.

It was no ſmall advantage to him, that the misfortune of his father (though ſuch benefits are ſeldom grateful to thoſe who moſt enjoy the fruit of them) made his retreat and reſidence in the country abſolutely neceſſary, for he had ſeveral temptations and inclinations in his nature, which, if he had lived in court, would have brought him ſooner into many difficulties which he was afterwards perplexed with, when he was better able to ſtruggle with them; and there being no footing for him there, neceſſity made it his choice to live in the country in his father's houſe; in which he enjoyed, beſides the benefit of his father's information, a very liberal converſation with men of the beſt quality and parts (who frequently reſorted thither, as to a houſe where they found very good reception) and leiſure enough to intend his books, in which he took wonderful delight, and made ſo great progreſs, that he was a ſtranger to no part of learning, and very ſubtle in the moſt curious parts of philoſophy, and excellently verſed in the Latin and Greek fathers, and thoſe controverſies in which their authority is applied by all the parties who contend. And in this time he writ a diſcourſe to his couſin Sir Kenelm Digby againſt the catholic religion, which he would never afterwards take upon him to anſwer, when he grew to have a better opinion of it, or a worſe of his own, than he was then thought to have; and leſt this exerciſe might make him be thought too grave and ſerious for his age, he made it manifeſt that he was excellently verſed in all polite learning, and in all the poets, Greek and Latin, ſo that when a man produced a ſerious diſcourſe of his of religion, or the abſtruſer part of philoſophy, he found commonly in the ſame company ſomebody, who likewiſe produced a copy of verſes in Latin, or Engliſh, or ſome facetious diſcourſe by letter or otherwiſe, upon the reading ſome book, or lighter argument, writ by the ſame pen. And in this bleſſed retreat he lived, his great abilities being communicated abroad ſolicitouſly enough, and his infirmities unknown, but to very few, and as carefully concealed by them; nor was he heard of at court till a too loud, and a furious purſuit of an amour, within the very ears of Whitehall, made him be taken notice of, and for which (after he had chaſtiſed, rather than fought with an inſolent, but faint adverſary, who was too much favoured there) he was firſt committed to priſon, and afterwards very ſeverely proſecuted, with circumſtances not uſual to perſons of that quality; ſo that he was forced again to retire into the country, with ſo much more acrimony towards the court, as his own particular reckoning added to his father's accompt; which increaſed more the ſtock of his reputation with thoſe who judged of men's affections to their country, by the diſaffection the court had for them, and the reciprocal diſeſteem they had for it.

When the diſorders of Scotland obliged the king to call a parliament, he was, by the univerſal election of the populous county where he lived, choſen to ſerve as one of their knights, where his perſon, and his parts, and the fame and reputation he had, made him quickly taken notice of; and the converſation he choſe and wedded himſelf to, amongſt thoſe who were reſolved to find fault with every thing that was amiſs, and not to be content with any ordinary application of remedies, made it eaſily foreſeen what counſels he meant to follow; but that ſtage allowed ſo ſhort a time for action, that no poſſible concluſions could be made. But a few months after, when the diſcontents of men were grown higher, and the reverence to the government much impaired, he being then returned again by the ſame people to ſerve in the ſame place, it was quickly diſcerned that he meant to make himſelf as conſiderable as he could. If any thing was ſpoken againſt the government more bluntly and rudely, ly, he took up the argument and poliſhed it, making the edge more ſharp to wound than it was before, dreſſing the general charge with ſome ſmart inſtances, which made the enormity more ſenſible, and his delivery, and manner of ſpeaking, from ſo lovely a perſon, and a very lovely aſpect he had, was ſo graceful (though not altogether without affectation) that it wonderfully reconciled him to his auditors. When any grievances in religion were touched upon, and the government of the church aſſaulted or reproached, no man improved the diſcourſe with more bitterneſs and animoſity, ſpeaking of the things he would be thought to value, gravely, and, as it ſeemed, with piety and devotion; and of the perſons againſt whom he found it grateful to inveigh, wittily and pleaſantly, and ſcornfully; ſo that that party, which had the moſt miſchievous intentions in religion, and againſt the church, believed that they had gotten a champion to their own deſire, who would be equal to their ſtouteſt adverſary, even to the biſhops themſelves. The greateſt combination was, and which was leaſt communicated, the deſign againſt the Earl of Strafford; which was no ſooner entered upon, and ſome ſhort inſtances given of his exerciſe of a very exorbitant power in Ireland, than he entered into the argument, made him the chief author of all that was grievous in England, giving ſome inſtances of words and expreſſions he had uſed in private converſation, of a very unpopular nature, which he took upon himſelf to prove; which ſome very conſiderable actors in that tragedy did often proteſt afterwards was the principal inducement to their haſty reſolution of charging that earl with high treaſon. And from hence he grew into ſo entire a confidence with the other cabal, which did not then conſiſt of above ſeven or eight, that he was immediately received into the bowels of their deſign, and made one of thoſe who were truſted to prepare ſuch a charge againſt the Earl, that might ſatisfy the reſt that they had done well in accuſing him; and ſo he became quickly privy to all their ſecrets, knew what every particular man thought he knew, and by what means they intended to know more, what proofs they could for the preſent make, and how they meant to ſupport and enlarge thoſe truths, all their arts and artifices, which were neceſſary to be communicated amongſt themſelves, and with thoſe lords who were joined with them, to make their conſpiracy more practicable. In a word, the whole method they propoſed for their proceedings, and what they moſt apprehended might obſtruct thoſe proceedings, was as clearly underſtood by him, as by Mr. Pym and Mr. Hambden themſelves. Having now got himſelf to the top of the pinnacle, he began to look about him, and take a full proſpect of all that was to be ſeen; and it is very poſſible, that the deſperate deſigns of the perſons with whom he had communicated, not anſwerable to the reputation they had of integrity to the nation, the uningenuity of their proceeding, and the foul arts they could give themſelves leave to uſe, to compaſs any thing they propoſed to do; as in truth their method was, firſt to conſider what was neceſſary to be done for ſome public end, and which might reaſonably enough be wiſhed for that public end, and then to make no ſcruple of doing any thing which might probably bring the other to paſs, let it be of what nature it would, and never ſo much concern the honour or intereſt of any perſon who they thought did not, or would not favour their deſigns: I ſay, poſſibly this obſervation might make ſome impreſſion upon him, who without doubt had no wicked purpoſes himſelf. Let what would be the cauſe or the temptation, reſolve he did, to ſteer another courſe, and to ſet up for himſelf upon that ſtock of commodities, in the getting together whereof there were ſo many joint ſharers with him; and ſo he found ways eaſily enough (and his nature was marvellouſly diſpoſed to that dexterity) to inſinuate to the court, that, if they gave him reaſons for it, they might depend upon his ſervice, and that he would make it very uſeful to them: and the ſtreights they were in, and the benefit they might receive from ſuch a promptneſs, bringing him ſuch a return from thence as he could wiſh, he took the firſt occaſion (before he was ſo much as ſuſpected) to give his party cauſe to believe, that he meant not to venture himſelf in their bottom. As ſoon as there was an occaſion, by the addreſs of a great number of miniſters by way of propoſition, to reform many particulars both in the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, he diſcovered his diſlike of thoſe deſigns, and the ſpirit that produced them, very warmly; and becauſe it was well known that many of thoſe miniſters had had frequent communication with him, and even conſulted that very addreſs by his conſent and approbation, he took notice of it himſelf, and ſeemed much offended that they had inſiſted upon many particulars which he had diſallowed; and ſo mentioned ſome particular expreſſions that had paſſed between them, and which offended more perſons than had been privy to the conferences, and looked like a diſcovery of future projections which were not yet ripe. In the public proſecution of the Earl of Strafford he continued ſtill in the ſame conjunction, and kept his poſt amongſt thoſe who were to manage the evidence againſt him, but with ſuch a temper (which could not be reaſonably excepted againſt) that manifeſted enough, that he neither brought the ſpirit, nor would bring the teſtimony they expected from him, and as ſoon as the trial was over, and it was diſcerned that the houſe of peers would not take upon them the condemning the Earl, but that it would be neceſſary to paſs an act of Parliament to that purpoſe, the bill was no ſooner brought into the houſe of commons, but he appeared moſt violently againſt it, diſcovered many particulars which had paſſed in their moſt private conferences, which he ſaid had firſt perplexed him; and enlarged ſo pathetically upon the whole matter, and againſt the condemning of the Earl, that that whole party had ſo great a deteſtation of him, that they had not leſs appetite to deſtroy him, than the Earl of Strafford. And this conteſt produced another diſcovery, that a very important paper, which had been produced and peruſed in the cloſe committee, and upon which they principally depended for making good their charge, had been taken away, and could never afterwards be found; and it was confidently alleged, that at the time when that paper was laſt ſeen, and lay upon the table in Mr. Pym's chamber, there were only three perſons preſent, whereof he was one. This produced an order in the houſe that every one of that cloſe committee, who were about eight, ſhould make a ſolemn proteſtation in the houſe, that he neither had that paper, nor knew what became of it. Which teſt he cheerfully ſubmitted to, with the moſt ſolemn and bitter execrations that can be imagined, upon himſelf and his family, if he knew what was become of that paper, or if he had ever taken it away; notwithſtanding which, they who were angry with him did not believe him, and confidently reported, that it was found afterwards amongſt ſome papers of his which were taken in the houſe of his father in the war; which is not probable, ſince it may be preſumed that a man who had gotten it in ſuch a manner, would at leaſt, after ſuch an enquiry was made upon it, have caſt it into the fire, though there was not then any ſuſpicion that ſuch an action could ever have produced it.

However it was the inconvenience of that diſcovery, produced by the ſurreption of that paper, that it produced many other notable diſcoveries with it, which were all caſt upon his accompt, who was looked upon as a deſerter at leaſt, if not a betrayer of his party; and ſo from as great an height of applauſe, and even adoration, which he had attained to by Chriſtmas, before Eaſter he was fallen to ſo low an eſteem with all that people, that they thought no reproach equal to his demerit, and proſecuted him accordingly with their utmoſt animoſity and rage. The truth is, he had a wonderful, and a very extraordinary facility throughout the whole courſe of his life, to arrive ſooner to a great pitch of eſteem and being beloved, than any man I ever knew; and then would make the greateſt haſte, to fall from that eſtimation into a gulph of prejudice and deteſtation, which can be imagined; which wrought the unuſual effect, that he had ſcarce a notable enemy throughout his life, with whom he had not held a very great friendſhip, or at leaſt profeſt ſuch an inclination to, which, in any other man, would have amounted to a friendſhip, and he bore both the extremes very unconcernedly, imputing the firſt to his own virtue, and tranſcendant parts, and his dexterity in managing them; and the latter, to the unſteadineſs and inconſtancy of other men's humours, to their envy and jealouſy of his maſter faculties.

He was now compelled to tranſplant himſelf into the court, when the ſoil was neither ſo fruitful, nor the air ſo pleaſant as it had formerly been; indeed, where a nipping froſt had induced a marvellous ſterility, and in this too his conſtitution was ſo happy that he found a conſolation for himſelf, and induſtriouſly imputed that to his generoſity and election, which other men thought to be the effect of his neceſſity, and that he could grow no where elſe, when he endeavoured to grow there. It was a very melancholy ſeaſon there, where moſt of thoſe who had received the greateſt obligations from their maſter, and were moſt able to have done him ſervice, not only forſook him, but betrayed him; and in order to getting credit with thoſe who ſuppreſſed all other authority, they diſcovered all they knew which might advance the evil deſigns of the other, with whom they reſolved to go thorough ſharers in all that was to be gotten;

and the other few who retained ſtill their fidelity and their zeal, with indignation enough to ſee the backſliding of their fellows, were yet ſo terrified with the power of the other, and with the perfidiouſneſs that they ſaw every day practiſed, inſomuch as nothing was ſaid or done in the moſt ſecret places of the court, even by the king or queen themſelves, but it was communicated to thoſe who had no modeſty in the conſidering it, but impudently declared that they would remove all perſons from the king and queen, whoſe very looks were not grateful to them, of which they had already given many inſtances. So that they, who, I ſay, wanted not faith, were yet without ſkill to foreſee what they were to do, and the king himſelf found his infelicity to be ſo monſtrous, that he knew not with whom to adviſe, nor in truth whom to truſt; for they, who had no mind to betray him, were betrayed themſelves, and out of their truſting others, made them acceſſary to the betraying him. In this conjuncture, the vivacity of ſuch a perſon could not but be very acceptable, who had a brain perpetually working, and a conception and underſtanding deliberating and reſolving together, and a courage ſo keen and fearleſs, that he was ready to execute the ſame minute whatſoever was reſolved. The truth is,

Si duos præterea tales Idæa tuliſſet
Terra viros

God only knows what might, or might not have reſulted from his bold temper; when the party, that did all the miſchief, was made up of thoſe whoſe deſpair of being ſafe any where elſe, and belief that the king would yield to any thing that ſhould be confidently demanded, had thrown into that ſtronger ſide. He could no longer act upon the ſtage where he had ſo long flouriſhed, and where his mercurial temper was not grateful, even to thoſe to whom the violence and ill deſigns of the others was viſible, and equally odious; ſo that he was called up by writ to the houſe of peers, as fit to move in that ſphere, where he no ſooner came than he gave freſh life and vigour to it, the real temper of that houſe retaining a vigorous affection to the king, church, and government, and conſequently very inclined to follow his example, and to be ſwayed by his reaſon, who always delivered himſelf with notable advantage, and was now known to be truſted by the court, and ſo like to carry on their deſigns in the method preſcribed there, and where he was looked upon, not as having deſerted his principles or his party, but as a prudent diſcoverer of their exorbitant deſigns contrary to the principles they owned, and had ſo retired himſelf from their dangerous converſation and loſt their confidence, becauſe he would not part with his innocence. And truly, if the too great activity and reſtleſsneſs of his nature would have given him leave to have ſat ſtill, and expected, and made uſe of thoſe advantages, which the haſty and choleric humour of the houſe of commons was ready every day to preſent to them, and which temper was the utmoſt extent of courage the houſe of peers could be carried to, which did not yet ſuſpect the deſigns of the worſt men to be ſo monſtrous as they ſhortly after appeared to be, it is very probable, the wiſdom and temper of the one houſe, with the concurrence it would have found from the major part of the other, which was far from being

ing corrupted, would have prevented thoſe calamities, which, under the ſpecious authority of the parliament, were afterwards brought upon the kingdom. But his nature was impatient of ſuch repoſe, and he always embraced thoſe counſels which were boldeſt and moſt hazardous, which he thought would give a greater luſtre to his wit and conduct. And this unhappy infirmity and vanity made him always reſerved to thoſe with whom he moſt intimately conſulted, and without whoſe concurrence he pretended to reſolve nothing. Yet in any determination that was ever made between them, he always reſerved ſome ſuch important particular to himſelf, which would in truth have changed the whole council, and have made them all proteſt againſt that which he reſolved to have done, as a matter mutually adjuſted between them; which he did not do out of jealouſy and diſtruſt of the other, or a contradiction of their opinions and judgment, which he was ſtill moſt ready to comply with, and was upon any debate the moſt eaſily perſuaded to depart from his own inclinations of any man I ever knew of ſuch a talent in underſtanding: but the other reſervation proceeded only, firſt, from an opinion that if he ſhould communicate it, it would find a general approbation (as he was very indulgent to himſelf in believing that what appeared reaſon to him, would appear ſo to every body elſe) and then the reſerving it would keep ſomewhat for credit and reputation to himſelf, which was unthought of by the reſt; and by this unlucky temper in his nature, many deſperate inconveniences felt out to the king and to himſelf, which would have confounded any other man in himſelf, as well as with others. But ſuch accidents were ſo far from making ſuch impreſſion upon him, that he was the more ready to embrace a new enterprize, when the old miſcarried, and was the only man I ever knew of ſuch incomparable parts, that was never the wiſer for any experience or misfortune which befell him; but was as ready to take the ſame meaſures, and purſue the ſame expedients, often times to employ the ſame perſons by which that miſcarriage and thoſe misfortunes had befallen him, which proceeded from a notable ſagacity and confidence in himſelf, towards whom he never could entertain the leaſt jealouſy. This inconvenient preſumption was the longer from being diſcovered or taken notice of, except by a few of his moſt intimate friends, by the wonderful faculty he had of diſſimulation, which was ſo profound that he appeared the moſt offended and enraged when he ſaw any thing done that was notoriouſly diſliked, and bitterly inveighed againſt the authors of thoſe counſels which himſelf alone had contrived, and to the execution whereof no man elſe was privy. So when he had prevailed with the king to cauſe the ſix members to be accuſed, and had undertaken to cauſe them to be committed, when he found in the houſe of peers the general diſapprobation and diſlike of it, he ſtood himſelf up and ſpake againſt it, and whiſpered the lord Mandeville in the ear, that the king would be undone if he did not publicly diſcover thoſe who had given him that counſel, and that he would immediately go to the court and diſpoſe him to it; when he alone was the only man, who, without communicating it to any other, had adviſed that proſecution, named all the perſons, and promiſed the king to bring in ample teſtimony and evidence againſt them; and all this in a ſeaſon when the king's affairs were in ſo good a poſture, that there was no need of ſuch a deſperate remedy, and when the heart of the contrary party was ſo near broken, that they needed ſuch an expedient to keep up their credit and ability to do further miſchief. And therefore many ſober men deteſted that advice as the moſt viſible introtroduction to all the miſery that afterwards befel the king and kingdom. Yet his great ſpirit was ſo far from failing, that when he ſaw the whole city upon the matter in arms to defend them, knowing in what houſe they were together, he offered the king, with a ſelect number of a dozen gentlemen, who, he preſumed would ſtick to him, tó ſeize upon their perſons, dead or alive, and without doubt he would have done it, which muſt likewiſe have had a wonderful effect. But that counſel being rejected, and finding his credit abated in all places, he tranſported himſelf out of the kingdom, and was ſhortly after, by a wonderful retaliation of providence, and in the ſame method of contempt, which he had cauſed to be practiſed towards the other, (by publiſhing a proclamation to reſtrain them from going out of the kingdom, when he knew they were together in London, and environed with a ſtrength and power enough to drive the king himſelf from Whitehall, as they ſhortly did) accuſed of high treaſon, upon the moſt ſlight and trivial ſuggeſtions, and a proclamation iſſued out for his apprehenſion; all which would have brought another man to make ſerious reflections upon himſelf, and extinguiſhed that inordinate heat of brain and fancy, which had ſo often tranſported him to unreaſonable and unproſperous reſolutions. But all this nothing allayed that flame, or extinguiſhed that fire in him, but as ſoon as the war broke out, or rather, as ſoon as there was any appearance of it, he re-tranſported himſelf again into England, raiſed a regiment of horſe, and charged in the head of it at the battle of Edgehill with as much courage as any man, and afterwards marched with prince Rupert towards the north; and in the way, finding the cloſe in the city of Litchfield garriſoned by the rebels, and ſecured by a ſtrong old wall and a mote, and the prince reſolving to reduce it, he cauſed his foot to ſtorm it, which being beaten off, and indeed not being ſufficient in number to make ſuch a general aſſault as was neceſſary, the other, to encourage the officers of the horſe to make an attempt in another place, offered himſelf to go at the head of them, and ſo led them through the mote to another part of the wall which was thought to be weaker; by means whereof, and the garriſon within being divided into ſeveral quarters, the foot entered the place, and made themſelves maſter of it with great difficulty, and with great loſs, and very many of the horſe officers who entered by the mote were killed, and the reſt beaten off, himſelf being in the mud to the middle, and ſhot through the thigh with a muſquet bullet, was wonderfully brought off, and afterwards recovered his wounds; but not finding that reſpect from the prince which he had promiſed himſelf, he gave up his regiment of horſe, and retired to the court, where he was ſure to find good countenance.

Though he had thus diſcharged himſelf from any command in the army, he was always ready to engage himſelf as a volunteer with it upon any briſk adventure; ſo he was, after the relief of Glouceſter, in the purſuit of the earl of Eſſex's army, and was in the firſt engagement at Aubourne, where he was hurt, and had all the powder of a piſtol ſhot in his face, by which it was thought he had loſt both his eyes, the bullet dropping or paſſing by; and the lord Falkland being the next day killed at Newberry, he was ſhortly after made ſecretary of ſtate, and betook himſelf to the diſcharge of it with great intentneſs of mind, and induſtry enough, and continued in that employment many years; in all which time he ran many adventures, and frequently found himſelf at a loſs when he believed he had attained his point, and at laſt found the greateſt part of the officers of the army ſo implacably irreconciled towards him, that he was again forced to retire from his majeſty's ſervice with his full approbation and conſent, who in truth could not but find him at leaſt very unfortunate. And by degrees, after ſeveral very briſk attempts of ſeveral kinds, in which he ſhewed as much reſolution and dexterity as could be expected from a man of great wit and unqueſtionable courage, he was forced to tranſport himſelf into Ireland, about the time that the prince of Wales (after ſo great ſucceſſes of the rebels, and the king's armies being upon the matter totally defeated) by his father's command to tranſport himſelf out of England, took his firſt refuge in the iſle of Scilly, from whence he might naturally ſend to and receive intelligence from Ireland.

It hath been obſerved before, that the perſon of whom we diſcourſe had ſo rare a compoſition by nature and by art, for nature alone could never have reached to it, that he was ſo far from ever being diſmayed (and greater variety of misfortune never befel any man) upon any misfortune, that he quickly recollected himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that he did really believe his condition improved by that ill accident, and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new ſtock of reputation and honour; and ſo, he no ſooner found himſelf in Ireland (when that kingdom was in the greateſt diſtraction imaginable by the perfidiouſneſs of the Iriſh, who having made a peace with the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant for that kingdom, and within a few days renounced and broke it again) but he believed he was upon a ſtage where he ſhould act wonders, and unite all the divided affections, and all the diſtinct intereſts, and make them all ſubſervient to the king. The quarrel was religion, which had tranſported both parties to the utmoſt outrages of blood and animoſity, which can reſult from that unhappy ſpring; and though the ſoberer part of the nation did really and conſcientiouſly deſire to return to their allegiance, and had thereupon prevailed ſo far with their general council, that they had conſented to a peace, as is ſaid before, and which was accordingly publiſhed; yet the malignant party was ſo much ſuperior and prevalent, that within few days they cancelled all that was done, impriſoned the principal perſons who had contributed to that peace, and put the managery of their whole affairs into the hands of men of another temper. and committed the whole nation, and as much of the kingdom as they could diſpoſe of, to the entire protection and diſpoſal of the pope, in the perſon of his nuncio, Rinuccini, whom he had lately ſent thither, with a very large ſupply of arms and ammunition, to interrupt their ſubmiſſion to the king. He was a man of a haughty and phantaſtical humour and nature, with a perplexed underſtanding; all his faculties being diſpoſed principally to make eaſy things hard, and to create intricacies out of the moſt clear and manifeſt conſultations. This was the condition and poſture that Ireland was in when this gentleman arrived there, the whole kingdom being ſo near reduced to the obedience of the nuncio, that he ſeemed to have nothing to do, but to ſhut up the lord lieutenant in Dublin, till he could by a cloſer ſiege likewiſe ſubdue that capital city, and in order thereunto, he was drawing together an army from all the quarters of the kingdom. This was now a ſcene fit for the other's activity, and being received very kindly by the lord lieutenant, out of reſpect to his perſon, and the character he had under the king, he quickly took upon him to ſay any thing in the king's name, which the lord lieutenant believed (for he was ſteered by him) might contribute to his majeſty's ſervice in a time of ſo great jealouſy. About the ſame time an expreſs arrived from Scilly, who was ſent thence to the lord lieutenant from the prince of Wales, to inform his lordſhip, that his highneſs was newly retired to that iſland, where he meant to reſide as long as he ſhould find it convenient; and becauſe the iſland was poor, and unfurniſhed with men, his highneſs wiſhed that he might have a hundred men ſent him, with good officers for a guard to his perſon; having ſent at the ſame time to his royal mother the queen, who was then at Paris, to procure him money from thence for the ſupport of his perſon and the payment of the ſoldiers. This news came no ſooner to Dublin, but the perſon we mentioned preſently conceived that the prince's preſence in Ireland would ſettle and compoſe all the factions there, reduce the kingdom to his majeſty's ſervice, and oblige the pope's nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious deſigns. The lord lieutenant had ſo good an opinion of that expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his highneſs had been forced to leave England, he had rather choſen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat; but being a wiſe man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehenſion of many contingencies which might increaſe thoſe difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of ſo great importance; but forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he cauſed a hundred men with their officers to be preſently put on board, according to his highneſs's deſire, and the lord Digby (who always concluded that that was fit to be done, which his firſt thoughts ſuggeſted to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himſelf on board theſe veſſels, reſolving that upon the ſtrength of his own reaſon he ſhould be able to perſuade the prince, and the council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly and to repair to Dublin; which he did not doubt might be brought to paſs in that way that would have been grateful to the lord lieutenant. The prince within a fort-a fortnight after his coming to Scilly, which was in March, found the place not ſo ſtrong as he had underſtood it to be, that the iſland was very poor, and that he ſhould not be able to draw any proviſions thither from Cornwall, by which commerce thoſe iſlands had ſtill been ſupported, he reſolved therefore, before the year advanced further, when the ſeas were like to be more infeſted with the enemy's ſhips, to tranſport himſelf to Jerſey, which he did very happily, and found it to be a place in all reſpects very fit to reſide in, till he might better underſtand the preſent condition of England, and receive ſome poſitive advice from the king his father.—But by this ſudden remove of the prince from Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin miſſed finding him there, and the lord, whoſe order they were obliged to obſerve, made all the haſte he could to Jerſey, where he arrived well, and found the prince there with many other of his friends who attended his highneſs; the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the queen. He loſt no time in informing his highneſs of the happy ſtate and condition of Ireland, that the peace was concluded, and an army of twelve thouſand men ready to be tranſported into England, of the great zeal and affection the lord lieutenant had for his ſervice, and that if his highneſs would repair thither he ſhould find the whole kingdom devoted to his ſervice; and thereupon poſitively adviſed him, without further deliberation, to put himſelf aboard thoſe frigates, which were excellent ſailers, and fit for his ſecure tranſportation. The prince told him that it was a matter of greater importance than was fit to be executed upon ſo ſhort deliberation; that he no ſooner arrived at Jerſey than he received letters from the queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris where all things were provided for his reception; that he had ſent two of the lords of the council to the queen, to excuſe him for not giving ready obedience to her commands, and to aſſure her that he was in a place of unqueſtionable ſecurity, in which he might ſafely expect to hear from the king his father before he took any other reſolution. That it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into Ireland before his meſſengers returned from Paris, in which time he might reaſonably hope to hear from the king himſelf, and ſo wiſhed him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination. This reaſonable anſwer gave him no ſatisfaction: he commended the prince's averſeneſs from going into France, which he ſaid was the moſt pernicious counſel that ever could be given, that it was a thing the king his father abhorred, and never could conſent to; and that he would take upon himſelf to write to the queen, and to give her ſuch ſolid advice and reaſons that ſhould infallibly convert her from that deſire, and that ſhould abundantly ſatisfy her that his going into Ireland was abſolutely neceſſary; but that a little delay in the execution of it might deprive them of all the fruit which was to be expected from that journey, and therefore renewed his advice and importunity for loſing no more time, but immediately to embark. Which when he ſaw was not like to prevail with his highneſs, he immediately repaired to one of thoſe of the privy council who attended

tended the prince, with whom he had a particular friendſhip, and lamented to him the loſs of ſuch an occaſion, which would inevitably reſtore the king, who would be equally ruined if the prince went into France, of which he ſpake with all the deteſtation imaginable, and ſaid, he was ſo far ſatisfied in his conſcience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably fall out by the other, that he ſaid, if the perſon with whom he held this conference would concur with him, he would carry the prince into Ireland even without, and againſt his conſent. The other perſon anſwered that it was not to be attempted without his conſent, nor could he imagine it poſſible to bring it to paſs if they ſhould both endeavour it; he replied, that he would invite the prince on board the frigates to a collation, and that he knew well he could ſo commend the veſſels to him, that his own curioſity would eaſily invite him to a view of them, and that as ſoon as he was on board, he would cauſe the ſails to be hoiſted up, and make no ſtay till he came into Ireland. The other was very angry with him for entertaining ſuch imaginations, and told him they neither agreed with his wiſdom nor his duty, and left him in deſpair of his conjunction, and at the ſame time of being able to compaſs it. He had no ſooner diſcharged himſelf of this imagination, but in the inſtant (as he had a moſt pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the ſame vigour, and reſolved with all poſſible expedition to find himſelf at Paris, not making the leaſt queſtion but that he ſhould convert the queen from any further thought of ſending for the prince into France, and as eaſily obtain her conſent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to ſend a good ſupply of money by him into Ireland, by which he ſhould acquire a moſt univerſal reputation, and be the moſt welcome man alive to the lord lieutenant; and tranſported with this happy auguration he left Jerſey, leaving at the ſame time his two ſhips and his ſoldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, who, upon his deſire and many promiſes, had kept him company from Ireland, without one penny of money to ſubſiſt upon during his abſence.

As ſoon as he came to Paris and had ſeen the queen, whom he found very well inclined to do all ſhe could for the relief of Ireland, but reſolute to have the prince her ſon immediately with her, notwithſtanding all the reaſons preſſed againſt it by the lords of the king's council who had been ſent from Jerſey, he attended the cardinal, who underſtood him very well and knew his foible. He received him with all the ceremony and demonſtration of reſpect he could poſſibly expreſs, entered upon the diſcourſe of England, and celebrated the part which he had acted upon that ſtage in ſo many actions of courage and ſagacity, of the higheſt prudence and circumſpection, with an indefatigable induſtry and fidelity; he told him that France found too late their own error, that they had been well content to ſee the king's great puiſſance weakened by his domeſtic troubles, which they wiſhed only ſhould keep him from being able to hurt his neighbours, but that they never had deſired to ſee him at the mercy of his own rebels, which they ſaw now was like to be the caſe, and they were therefore reſolved to wed his intereſt in ſuch a way and manner as the queen of England ſhould deſire, in which he well knew how much her majeſty would depend upon his counſel. He ſaid it was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the crown of France reſolved to wed the king's intereſt, that the perſon of the prince of Wales ſhould reſide in France; that the method he had thought of proceeding in was, that the queen of England ſhould make choice of ſuch a perſon whom ſhe thought beſt affected, and beſt qualified for ſuch an employment, whom the king would immediately ſend as his extraordinary ambaſſador to the king and to the parliament; that he ſhould govern himſelf wholly by ſuch inſtructions as the queen ſhould give him, which he knew would be his work to prepare; that all things ſhould be made ready as ſoon as the queen would nominate the ambaſſador; and that upon the arrival of the prince of Wales in any part of France, as ſoon as notice ſhould be ſent to the court of it, for which due preparation ſhould be made, the ambaſſador ſhould be in the ſame manner diſpatched for England, with one only inſtruction from France, which ſhould be, That he ſhould demand a ſpeedy anſwer from the parliament, whether they would ſatisfy the demands he had made; which if they ſhould refuſe to do, he ſhould forthwith in the king his maſter's name declare a war againſt them, and immediately leave the kingdom and return home, and then there ſhould be quickly ſuch an army ready as was worthy for the prince of Wales to venture his own perſon in, and that he ſhould have the honour to redeem and reſtore his father. This diſcourſe ended, he wanted not language to extol the generoſity and the magnanimity of the reſolution, and to pay the cardinal all his compliments in his own coin, and from thence to enter upon the condition of Ireland, in which the cardinal preſently interrupted him, and told him he knew well he was come from thence, and meant to return thither, and likewiſe the carriage of the nuncio; that the marquis of Ormond was too brave a gentleman, and had merited too much of his maſter, to be deſerted, and France was reſolved not to do it's buſineſs by halves, but to give the king's affairs an entire relief in all places, that he ſhould carry a good ſupply of money with him into Ireland, and that arms and ammunition ſhould be ſpeedily ſent after him, and ſuch direction to their agent there as ſhould draw off all the Iriſh from the nuncio, who had not entirely given themſelves up to the Spaniſh intereſt.

The noble perſon had that which he moſt deſired, he was preſently converted, and undertook to the queen that he would preſently convert all at Jerſey, and that the prince ſhould obey all her commands, and entered into conſultation with her upon the election of an ambaſſador, and what inſtructions ſhould be prepared for him, which he took upon himſelf to prepare. Monſieur Bellievre was named by the queen, whom the cardinal had deſigned for that office; the cardinal approved the inſtructions, and cauſed ſix thouſand piſtoles to be paid to him who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much leſs ſum than he had promiſed himſelf, from the magnificent expreſſions the cardinal had uſed to him, yet it provided well for his own occaſions. So he left the queen with his uſual profeſſions and confidence, and accompanied thoſe lords to Jerſey, who were to attend upon his highneſs with her majeſty's orders for the prince's repair into France, for the advancement whereof the cardinal was ſo ſolicitous, that he writ a letter to the old prince of Condè, which he knew he would forthwith ſend to the queen, as he did; in which he ſaid that he had received very certain advertiſement out of England, that there were ſome perſons about the prince of Wales in Jerſey, who had undertaken to deliver his highneſs up into the hands of the parliament for twenty thouſand piſtoles, and this letter was forthwith ſent by the queen to overtake the lords, that it might be ſhewed to the prince, and that they who attended upon him might diſcern, what would be thought of them, if they diſſuaded his highneſs from giving a preſent obedience to his mother's commands. As ſoon as they came to Jerſey, he uſed all the means he could to perſuade his friend to concur in his advice for the prince's immediate repair into France; he told him of all that had paſſed between the cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expreſſions of the high value his eminence had of his particular perſon; that an ambaſſador was choſen by his advice, and his inſtructions drawn by him, from no part of which the ambaſſador durſt ſwerve, and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he had both nominated the ambaſſador, and that his inſtructions would be exactly obſerved by him (ſo great a power he had always over himſelf, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him); that a war would be preſently proclaimed upon their refuſal to do what the ambaſſador required; and that there wanted nothing to the expediting this great affair but the prince's immediate repairing into France without further delay, there being no other queſtion concerning that matter, than whether his highneſs ſhould ſtay in Jerſey, where there could be no queſtion of his ſecurity, until he could receive expreſs direction from the king his father; and therefore he conjured his friend to concur in that advice, which would be very grateful to the queen, and be attended with much benefit to himſelf; telling him how kind her majeſty was to him, and how confident ſhe was of his ſervice, and that if he ſhould be of another opinion, it would not hinder the Prince from going, who he knew was reſolved to obey his Mother; and ſo concluded his diſcourſe with thoſe arguments which he thought were like to make moſt impreſſion in him, and gave him the inſtructions by which the ambaſſador was to be guided. His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, whatever the prince would be diſpoſed to do, he could not change his opinion in point of counſel, until the King's pleaſure might be known; he put him in mind how he had been before deceived at Oxford by the comte de Harcourt, who was an ambaſſador likewiſe, as was then thought, named by ourſelves, and whoſe inſtructions he had likewiſe drawn, and yet he could not but well remember how foully that buſineſs had been managed, and how diſobligingly himſelf had been treated by that ambaſſador; and therefore he could not but wonder that the ſame artifices ſhould again prevail with him, and that he could imagine that the inſtructions he had drawn would be at all conſidered or purſued, further than they might contribute to what the cardinal for the preſent deſigned; of the integrity whereof they had no evidence, but had reaſon enough to ſuſpect. And ſo neither's perſuaſions working upon the other, the prince ſhortly removed into France, and he purſued his journey for Ireland with as much of the French money as was left, whereof the lord lieutenant never received one thouſand piſtoles towards the ſupport of his majeſty's affairs.

When he landed in Ireland, he found the whole treaty of peace diſavowed and made void by the Iriſh, under the command of the nuncio, who was declared both general at land and admiral at ſea of that kingdom. Here was a new field for action, which this perſon preſently entered into, made a journey upon very little encouragement or ſecurity in his own perſon to the nuncio, was received and entertained by him very rudely, till he found it neceſſary, with great difficulty, to make what haſte he could again to Dublin, where he continued to have many imaginations of uniting parties, and dividing the Iriſh amongſt themſelves, until he plainly diſcerned that there was no way left to preſerve that kingdom from being irrecoverably loſt to the crown, but by putting it into the hands of the parliament, which ſtill made profeſſion of all duty to the king; and when that was unavoidably to be done, and the commiſſioners from the parliament arrived to receive it, he found means again to tranſport himſelf into France, where he immediately found himſelf engaged in ſeveral quarrels upon the account of what had formerly paſſed in England, which without any kind of ſcruple he appeared ready to anſwer with his ſword in his hand, his courage having always faithfully ſeconded him in all his deſigns. When theſe conteſts were over, he repaired again to his new friend the cardinal, who received him not with the eſteem he formerly had done, and only as a man who had propoſed to himſelf to live upon them; yet he gave him very good words, promiſed him ſome command in the army, he propoſing to himſelf no other courſe of life for his ſubſiſtence and preferment, than in the war; and in the mean time gave him a very mean ſupply for his preſent ſubſiſtence, nor did he find any better reception from thoſe of whom he expected to be admitted as a full ſharer in all they enjoyed. This mortification would have broken any other man's ſpirits, but it gave him only ſome fits of indignation, without working in the leaſt degree upon the vigour of his mind, reſolving to take the firſt opportunity to make himſelf to be more conſidered, and an opportunity ſhortly offered itſelf, which could have hardly been propitious to any man born under another conſtellation.

The diſorders of Paris had forced the king to retire from thence to St. Germains, and all overtures towards accommodation being hopeleſs, forces were raiſed on both ſides, ſome of the princes of the blood being in the head of thoſe in

Paris, and others with the king; and when both armies were one day drawn up at a ſmall diſtance from each other, the perſon we are diſcourſing of, having with ſome diſficulty procured a horſe, had put himſelf as a volunteer into the king's troops, and a perſon of the other ſide coming out ſingle out of the troops in a bravado to change a piſtol (as the phraſe is) with any ſingle man who ſhould be willing to encounter him, he, without ſpeaking to any body, moved his horſe very leiſurely towards him, the other ſeeming to ſtand ſtill and expect him, but he did in truth dexterouſly retire ſo near his own troops, that before the time he could come to charge him, the whole front of that ſquadron diſcharged all their carbines upon him, whilſt the other retired into his place. By this diſhonourable proceeding, he received a ſhot in the thigh with a brace of bullets, and keeping ſtill his horſe, needed no excuſe for making what haſte he could back, when he could no longer ſit his horſe. This action being performed ſo gallantly in the view of the king, the cardinal, and the prince of Condè, all men enquired who the gentleman was, and very few knew more than that he was an Engliſhman; but his name was quickly known and publiſhed, and direction given for his accommodation and recovery, in ſuch a manner, as expreſſed that the king thought himſelf concerned that he ſhould want nothing, and from this action and accident he made another glorious flight into the world, for he was no ſooner recovered of his wounds, and went to make his acknowledgment to the king and the cardinal, but he found the cardinal's countenance very ſerene towards him, and himſelf quickly poſſeſſed of an honourable command of horſe, with ſuch liberal appointments as made his condition very eaſy, the Cardinal taking all occaſions to do him honour, and he very well knowing how to cultivate thoſe inclinations.

If he had been born to be happy, or had had a temper to have received the approaches of good fortune, when ſhe made moſt haſte towards him, no man had ever prepared ſuch an aſcent to himſelf to any height he could propoſe; he was the diſcourſe of the whole court, and had drawn the eyes of all men upon him; his quality, his education, the handſomeneſs of his perſon, and even the beauty of his countenance (being not at that time above thirty years of age, and looking much younger) his alacrity and fierceneſs in action againſt the enemy, his ſoftneſs and civility in all kind of converſations, his profound knowledge in all kind of learning, and in all languages, in which he enlarged or reſtrained himſelf, as he ſaw opportunity, made him grateful to all kind of perſons. His firſt troop of horſe conſiſted moſt of Engliſh, who reſorted to him in as great numbers as he could wiſh, and who thought their fortunes made by their dependance upon him; and he was well contented they ſhould do ſo, not concealing any imagination of his own of the vaſt height his ſtars would carry him to, imputing ſtill all ſucceſs to his own rare contrivance, and dexterity in the management, and encouraged them to hope all for fortunes under his conduct, which brought great joy and ſatisfaction to them both; they, congratulating with themſelves for the great bleſſing

ſing that had befallen, that they had committed their fortunes into the hands of a perſon who could ſo eaſily, and was reſolved ſo amply to provide for them, and ſo they celebrated him in all places as the wonder of the world; and he, too much delighting in that kind of celebration, requited them only in giving them equal teſtimony as brave men, excellent officers, who having the choice of all offices and preferments, made it their choice, out of their mere love and eſteem of his perſon, to grow up under his ſhadow, and in the mean time that they would wait with patience and induſtry, that they might take their turn with him. But patience and induſtry were virtues that neither of them were acquainted with, they were pleaſed with him becauſe his profeſſions and promiſes were very early, and ſo like preferments, that they concluded, that he that ſaid more than they could wiſh in the firſt and ſecond weeks, would give them poſſeſſion of ſomething within three or four months. And he again believed that all their profeſſions and zeal proceeded purely out of an innate affection to his perſon, would never be weary of their dependance, or that he ſhould ſtill be able to keep it warm with the ſame fire by which he had kindled it. So that they being men of licence and expence, who expected preſent liberal ſupport, he having given them cauſe to expect much more, and he having not in his nature the leaſt inclination to bounty or generoſity, they grew quickly weary of each other, they abandoning him as a perſon who promiſed vaſtly, lightly, and unreaſonably, and who would not perform, if it were in his power to do it as eaſily as to promiſe; and he looking upon it as a great advancement to his fortune to be freed from ſuch an importunate and inſatiable dependance. When he made his firſt cornet for his troop, his impreſs was an oſtrich, which is his own creſt, and in its mouth a piece of iron, under it, theſe words, *Ferro vivendum eſt tibi, quid præſtantia plumæ?*—alluding to the nature of the oſtrich to live upon iron, which was now his fortune to do, without any benefit from the beauty of her feathers, as he was to expect none from the luſtre of his pen, in which he believed he excelled all men. The invention had ſharpneſs in it, and added to his reputation, even when it appeared to be full blown.

Whilſt the civil wars of France continued, and every day diſcovered treachery and falſehood in the court, amongſt thoſe who were leaſt ſuſpected, his credit grew to that degree, both with the queen and the cardinal, that he was admitted into the greateſt truſt, and was in truth ready for the boldeſt undertakings, in which he had ſometime ſucceſs, which he never forgot, but he never remembered want of it, or when he had ſucceeded very ill; and was as prepared for any new undertaking. And in truth, the changes he met with, and even the reparations he ſometimes received, might well work upon a nature leſs ſanguine than his. Upon the king's firſt coming to Paris after the murther of his father, at which time he ſtood poſſeſſed of the office of ſecretary of ſtate, he had ſome very good friends about the young king, who did wiſh that he might receive all gracious treatment from his majeſty, as a man who had behaved himſelf faithfully and ſignally in the ſervice of his father, and being of that rank and quality as had ſeldom received any diminution upon the ſucceſſion of the crown. But his majeſty very quickly diſcovered ſuch an averſion for him, that he did not receive him with any degree of grace, nor admit him into any kind of conſultation, there being ſome perſons of inferior condition about him who had made it their buſineſs to make the worſt impreſſion they could of him, principally infuſing into him, that he was the moſt obnoxious perſon in England, and the moſt ingrateful to all degrees of perſons, and therefore his Majeſty could not do a more unpopular thing than to receive ſuch a perſon into any kind of credit with him. Theſe and the like infuſions prevailed ſo far, as that an obſtinate averſion was too eaſily diſcovered by thoſe who ſtood very near, and he himſelf diſcerned it ſoon enough not to expoſe himſelf till it was diſcerned by others at a farther diſtance; and therefore he ſpeedily withdrew himſelf from any further attendance, and retired to his command in the army, where he grew every day, and where he pleaſed himſelf with the having diſcharged his duty in the overture of his ſervice, and as much, that that overture was rejected, the acceptance whereof might have made him leſs ſolicitous to have proſecuted his fortune, which providence had laid before him, in a more ſpecious way. And in his reſentments of this kind he was naturally very ſharp and flowing, let the perſons be of what quality ſoever which were to be mentioned upon thoſe occaſions; and yet within two or three years, together with the progreſs he made in the war, he recovered ſo much credit with the perſon of the king, by his own pure addreſs and dexterity, that he not only made himſelf acceptable to him in converſation, but ſo gracious, that he made him knight of the order, which was the greateſt honour he could beſtow, and the moſt uſeful to the perſon on whom he beſtowed it. And here he again congratulated his ſtars for the neglect and affront he had formerly ſuſtained, and his own genius for the honour and reparation he had wrought out for himſelf by his wiſdom in ſupporting it; and at the time when he had this obligation conferred upon him, the king was at the Louvre with his mother, and the city of Paris, with many of the princes, in rebellion. Whilſt the king and his army were about St. Germains, he frankly undertook, by his pretence to pay his duty to the king, that he would introduce officers and men enough to poſſeſs himſelf of the Louvre, where the king was in great jealouſy and umbrage with the princes and the city; and when the execution of this deſign was by ſome accident interrupted, he never thought he owed an apology to the king for engaging in ſuch an enterprize, in which his perſon and his honour was to be ſo much concerned, without ſo much as communicating it to himſelf; but would with all aſſurance declare, that he ought not to let the king know of it, becauſe it could not be preſumed he would conſent to it, and then it would be in his power to prevent it; and therefore it ought to be done without his privity, which would abſolve him from being thought to have a hand in it, and the advantage would be ſo great to the king of France's ſervice, and his own glory in the luſtre of ſuch an action, that he was obliged in honour to undertake it.

His commands now were grown ſo conſiderable, not only in point of honour, but in point of profit (the greateſt part of the trade to Paris being driven under his paſſes and licence, he having the command of thoſe rivers by which they were to have their entrance) that it was concluded by all men, that he would in a very ſhort time raiſe a very great eſtate to himſelf, it being evident enough that he never diſpenſed with, or remitted the leaſt ſum of money which he could exact; that he never made expence in eating or drinking; never had any expence in equipage; never exerciſed any thing of bounty towards friend, ſervant or dependant, and as little charity towards any perſon who ſtood in want of relief, of which he had worthy objects enough in many diſtreſſed perſons of his own country; yet (which is the moſt wonderful part of his life) he was not only always without money, but without thoſe ſupplies of linen and clothes which all men were poſſeſſed of who ſerved in a much inferior condition; all which (for it was notorious to all) men then imputed to his exceſs in play and gaming, in which he was exceedingly delighted, and always over-reached, for he played not well; and to ſome amours in which he had always the vanity to involve himſelf, and to which he might poſſibly make ſome ſacrifices for that vanity's ſake. It is very true he was in his conſtitution, and as much in his nature, very amorous; and whether to exerciſe that part of his oratory, which he thought graceful and powerful in making love, or for the natural effects of it, he was very ſeldom without ſuch a deity to ſacrifice to, which he always performed ſo induſtriouſly, that he ſeemed to neglect all other things of the world. He would admire and extol the perſon he adored beyond what any of the poets had uſed to do, and then grieve and lament, and bewail his own want of merit, and unworthineſs, even in tears, at his miſtreſs's feet, making all the promiſes and vows imaginable, and would procure letters of his wife's deſperate ſickneſs of ſome diſeaſe that could not be cured, nor ſupported above two, or three months, and thereupon make offers and promiſes of marriage with the ſame importunity as if the time were ready for contract; and when either ſucceſs, or want of ſucceſs, had put an end to, or allayed the fervour of theſe addreſſes, he was as ready and ſolicitous in any new embarkation, and would act as romantic exploits as are recited in any of the romances. Whilſt he was a votary to a lady of noble extraction and incomparable beauty in Paris, it happened that a young abbot frequented the ſame houſe, and found his preſence leſs agreeable than he had formerly thought it had been, and had thereupon uſed ſome expreſſions, according to the cuſtom and liberty of that nation and that people, which the lady thought herſelf diſobliged by, and complained of it to many perſons of quality who uſed to be in her preſence. This noble lover being once well informed where the abbot was, and what journey he intended to make, ſent an officer that he could truſt with ſome horſe and took him priſoner, and ſent him to the lady with a letter, that if he made not an entire and humble ſatisfaction to her for his miſcarriage, he had appointed the guard to bring him to him, and he ſhould thereupon do ſuch further juſtice as was fit. The lady was infinitely ſurpriſed and ſcandalized with the reparation, cauſed the abbot immediately to be diſmiſſed, without ſeeing him, and ſignified her deſire to the officer that his ſuperior would meddle no more in her intereſt, or any thing relating to her reputation; and ſo the matter ended, with the general laughter of the court, it being in a time when greater extravagancies could not be examined and puniſhed. This wonderful humour continued with him to his age, and I believe will part with him laſt of all his good qualities, for he is not more pleaſed with any, and owns this paſſion, when he meets with an object worthy of his addreſs, with the ſame fervour and importunity, with the ſame languiſhing and tears, which he hath found benefit by near forty years, and therefore practiſes it with the ſame aſſurance.

When the cardinal was compelled to leave the court and the kingdom, he left this perſon in great truſt with the queen, who took all occaſions, by frequent conferences with him, and frequent teſtimonies of his parts and abilities, to expreſs a very good and particular eſteem of him, which he (according to the kindneſs he naturally had for himſelf) interpreted to proceed from his own great merit and abilities, which had rendered him very gracious to his majeſty; and thereupon began to delight himſelf with the contemplation of the glorious condition he ſhould be poſſeſſed of, if he could now ſucceed the cardinal in the office of premier miniſter in France. And this tranſported him ſo far, that he was not only well contented with the univerſal jealouſy and clamour againſt the cardinal's return, but bare-faced took upon himſelf to adviſe the queen not to affect it, as a thing impoſſible to be brought to paſs, and that the very deſiring it would expoſe her own ſecurity to great hazard; which ſhe no ſooner perceived (though with a countenance of grace) than ſhe gave the cardinal advertiſement of it, that he might incur no further inconvenience by that truſt; and the other found himſelf inſenſibly deprived of all further opportunities to give any counſel, and was ſhortly after ſent with his troops into Italy in an enterprize which was not intended for ſucceſs, and as ſoon as he returned from thence, upon pretence of ſtate, and with many compliments from the cardinal, in the aſſignation of monies to be paid to him (though not half of what was in truth due upon his appointments) he was caſhiered of all his commands, and obliged to depart out of France, and not to return thither; leaving behind him the reputation of a very extraordinary perſon, wonderfully qualified for ſpeculation, but ſomewhat defective in reducing thoſe ſpeculations into practice.

Magnis tamen excidit auſis.

Being now to begin the world again, he repaired into Flanders to the king, pretending that he had brought enough with him to ſupport him a year, which was four times more wealth than any perſon about his majeſty could pretend to, and was indeed much more than he had any view of; for within leſs than ſix weeks he had ſpent all that he brought from France, and therefore he beſtirred himſelf betime for early ways of ſupply. He ſtaid very few days with the king at Bruſſels, but the army being then in the field, and under the command of Don Juan, he repaired ſpeedily to him. His friends, who wiſhed him very well, deſpaired that he would find any good reception there; it is very true he had the language of a Spaniard, having been born, and lived many years in Madrid, as hath been ſaid before, but the gaiety of his humour, and his whole behaviour was moſt contrary to the nature of Spain; beſides, he had in his whole comportment, both in France and Italy, rendered himſelf very ungracious to that whole nation. Don Alonzo de Cardinas, who was in principal truſt about Don Juan, had lived very many years in England, knew the other gentleman very well, and the univerſal reproach he lay under there, and how unſucceſsful his fine mercurial temper had always been in the forming any ſolid counſels, and therefore he was like to uſe all his credit to obſtruct his pretences. Laſtly, he had commanded a party of horſe and dragoons a year or two before, in a winter expedition upon Flanders; which was the moſt famous for plunder and all kind of rapine, and for the unneceſſary conflagration of many villages and towns, that had been in that whole war. So that his name had been rendered moſt odious in lampoons and ſongs throughout that whole province; all which, together with the ſtreights and neceſſities the Spaniſh affairs at that time were in, and the inſupportable poverty both of the army and the court at that time, would have diſcouraged any other man from that application; but all this rather ſharpened than abated his edge; and after he had ſtayed three or four days at Bruſſels with the king, and entertained his majeſty with variety of pleaſant diſcourſes concerning France and Italy, eſpecially the great expreſſions the cardinal uſed to him at parting, when all miſtakes were cleared and a new friendſhip entered into between them, he made his journey to Don Juan, who was then with his army before Condè, without any other advantage or credit than the ſtrength of his own genius; for he carried not with him ſo much as any recommendation from the king, nor deſired it. His reception at the army was with ſtate and reſervation enough, as a man towards whom they meant to ſtand upon their guard. In the mean time he, according to his natural vivacity, made all his addreſſes as well to the miniſters and officers, as to Don Juan, as was moſt proper to their ſeveral tempers and humours, in which he prevailed ſo far over Don Alonzo's own parched ſtupidity, and commending his great abilities in ſtate affairs (in which he was invincibly ignorant) that he thought he had not well enough known him before, and wiſhed he might have credit enough with Don Juan and the Marquis Carracina, that he might be believed in the teſtimony he gave of him. In a very few days he had made himſelf ſo acceptable to all kind of perſons, that he was generally looked upon as a very fine gentleman, and of extraordinary parts; and Don Juan himſelf was very well pleaſed to ſee him frequently, and eſpecially at thoſe ſeaſons when he was moſt vacant to diſcourſe, as at meals and in the evening hours, in all which ſeaſons the other attended very diligently, entertaining him upon all ſubjects with very acute and refined ſpeculations. That prince had very fine natural parts, and had been very converſant in many parts of polite learning, and more with books than that nation uſed to be, and was very much ſuperior to any perſon of what quality ſoever who was about him, ſo that he quickly made it manifeſt, that he was exceedingly delighted to exerciſe thoſe talents in the converſation of a perſon ſo excellently endowed in all parts of literature. In the time Don Juan had ſpent in Italy, he had been, according to the genius of that nation, inclined to examine the art of aſtrology, and was not without a greater opinion of it than he publicly owned. The other had really waded as deep into the examination and ſtudy of it as any man had done; and though he would make many pleaſant diſcourſes upon it, and upon the general incertitude of it, yet he had in truth a greater eſteem and dependence upon it, than he was willing to be thought to have, and had many diſcourſes of the obſervations he had made in Italy, of the great confidence that people had in all their affairs and counſels upon thoſe predictions, of the ſucceſs whereof he would give many inſtances; and his late general the Duke of Modena had much improved his curioſity and knowledge in that ſcience. This argument did not only take up much of the time Don Juan ſpent in public diſcourſe, but diſpoſed him to many private conferences with him; until in the end Don Juan deſired him to examine his horoſcope, which he delivered to him, and the other as willingly received, and undertook the charge: and from this kind of intercourſe, which in the beginning had no other foundation, it was upon the ſudden believed that the prince held other conferences with him upon matters of greater importance, and that he had credit enough with him to prevail in many caſes. So that many perſons of all conditions applied themſelves to him, to promote their pretences to the prince, in reception whereof he was not forward; yet took care to cultivate thoſe imaginations concerning his intereſt in the prince, of which he intended, as he ſhortly after did, to make ſome uſe.

When he had raiſed this opinion of his parts and abilities, his next work was to manifeſt his intereſt, and the power he had to do them ſervice. There were many regiments in the French army, which conſiſted intirely, both officers and ſoldiers, of Iriſh, ſome whereof, during his majeſty's reſidence in France, withdrew themſelves from the Spaniſh ſervice, declaring that they would always ſerve their own king, or in ſuch places as he required them. And they were now as ready to leave that crown and to engage for the Spaniard in Flanders, to which they were the more diſpoſed at this time, by the general rumour (which was known to be well grounded) that the Duke of York would be ſhortly obliged likewiſe to retire himſelf out of France, by ſome obligation the cardinal was engaged in, upon his treaty with Cromwell; and then it was reaſonably enough concluded that his royal highneſs would repair into Flanders to the king his brother, where the Duke of Glouceſter already was, having found it neceſſary not to remain longer with his ſiſter in Holland, where his preſence was not grateful to thoſe ſtates.

The Spaniards having entered into a ſecret treaty with the king, and permitted him to make his abode in

Flanders, which was confined to the city of Bruges, rather as a prince incognito than as a king whoſe quarrel and intereſt they had wedded. As ſoon as they were engaged before Condè, finding that there were ſome Iriſh regiments in that garriſon, they ſent to the king to deſire him that his majeſty would ſend the Marquis of Ormond to the camp, to the end that by his preſence ſome of the Iriſh in the garriſon might be wrought upon, the which his majeſty conſented to, and ſent the marquis accordingly, of which Don Juan found the benefit; for the jealouſy the garriſon had of the Iriſh, made the French commander and governor treat the ſooner upon the ſurrender; and though the Lord Muſkerry, who was nephew to the Marquis of Ormond, and commanded a ſtrong regiment of Iriſh in that town, poſitively refuſed to bring over his regiment to the Spaniard upon the ſurrender of Condè, which he conceived would not be honourable for him to do, yet he declared to his uncle, that as ſoon as he came into France with his men, he would repair to the court, and bare-faced demand from the cardinal a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his men to march into Flanders, according to the ſtipulation agreed between them, That whenever the king ſhould require his ſervice, he ſhould have a paſs to march to him with his whole regiment; that when he had done his part, and the cardinal ſhould refuſe to comply with his engagement, he would take himſelf to be at full liberty, and would with all ſpeed repair to his majeſty, and made no doubt but that his regiment would quickly find themſelves with him, which fell out accordingly; and after the cardinal had endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to diſpoſe and perſuade him to continue in that ſervice with great promiſes of reward and preferment, finding at laſt that he could not be wrought upon, he gave him a licence for his own departure, but refuſed to licence his men; ſaying, That they were readier for the king of England's ſervice whilſt they remained in France, than if they went into Flanders. Whereupon Muſkerry himſelf, with his ſervants and equipage only, repaired to Bruſſels, where he was received with great applauſe, both the colonel and the regiment having made themſelves very ſignal in very remarkable ſervices; and Don Juan no ſooner aſſigned him quarters for the reception of his men, but the whole regiment, by tens and twenties, repaired with their arms to him, inſomuch that there were not above one officer and very few private ſoldiers who were not preſent with him, and there they continued till the making of the peace.

About the ſame time, and towards the end of the campaign, there was a ſtrong garriſon fixt and poſſeſſed by the French at St. Gillen, within five miles of Bruſſels, under the command of Monſieur Schomburgh, who, having been poſſeſſed thereof by the ſpace of above a year, had with great pains and care made it very ſtrong, and was a thorn in the ſide of Flanders, and exceedingly diſcommoded their whole affairs. The Spaniard had attempted the ſurprize of it before it was thoroughly fortified, and made afterwards ſeveral attempts to recover it, but were always beaten off with great loſs, and left hopeleſs of ſucceſs. The major part of this garriſon were Iriſh, whereof moſt of the officers were of one family, and nearly allied to a gentleman who had long ſerved the Marquis of Ormond in the place of a ſecretary. They found means to let this gentleman know that if the king thought it would be for his ſervice, they would undertake, whenever they ſhould be required, to put it into the Spaniard's hands. The ſecretary quickly informed his lord of the overture, and his majeſty approved that the ſecretary ſhould reſort to the army, that Don Juan might know and conſider the propoſition, and whether it might be practicable; and the marquis rather choſe to commit the conduct of it to the gentleman who had made himſelf ſo gracious to Don Juan, than to reſerve it to himſelf, his wiſdom and his honour raiſing many ſcruples in him concerning that negociation; and he was ſtill unſatisfied that the benefits his majeſty received from the Spaniard were not proportionable to the advantages they received from the king.

The ſecretary no ſooner communicated this affair to the other gentleman, but he received it with open arms, and looked upon it as a thing done which his ſtars had contrived for the raiſing and eſtabliſhing his fortune; he made all the promiſes imaginable of managing it for the particular benefit and preferment of the officers and ſoldiers, and then communicated it to Don Juan, as an affair that wholly depended upon him, and upon the entire dependence thoſe officers had upon him.—The overture could not but be very grateful to Don Juan, the reduction of that place being the moſt deſirable thing before them, and to be purchaſed at any price, and therefore all the conditions were readily conſented to, promiſes made for the payment of ſuch and ſuch ſums of money out of hand, ſuch and ſuch penſions to be granted upon funds which could not be diſappointed, and all other things to be done for officers and ſoldiers which they themſelves required; and to this purpoſe a treaty was entered into and ſigned with all requiſite formalities.

This negociation was attended with other conveniencies; he had hitherto appeared only in the quality of a volunteer, which title would be at an end as ſoon as the army retired into their winter quarters, and he had reaſon to apprehend (though there continued all fair weather in Don Juan's countenance) that the Spaniſh council would not be ſo well pleaſed to ſee him frequently in the court, and in private with the prince, upon whoſe temper and inclinations he was already thought to have ſome aſcendant; but this affair of St. Gillen, which was imparted to the principal counſellors, added infinitely to his reputation with them, and made his preſence at Bruſſels to be even abſolutely neceſſary, there being many difficulties which were in view for the execution of the deſign. Schomburgh was known to be an officer of great vigilance and courage, and it was very probable that the daily reſort of ſo many Iriſh into Flanders, who withdrew from the French ſervice, would raiſe a jealouſy of all thoſe of that nation who remained in that ſervice, and therefore if the deſign were not ſpeedily executed, they muſt expect that the garriſon would be reinforced with other men, and the Iriſh removed; and the truth is, this was in Schomburgh's purpoſe from his natural jealouſy of the inconſtancy and infidelity of that nation, without having diſcovered the leaſt circumſtance of the treaty. But from the time of the taking of Condè, which adminiſtered the firſt ſuſpicion of the Iriſh, it was not in his power to draw new forces to him, or to diſmiſs thoſe out of his garriſon whoſe company he leaſt deſired; thereupon he only changed one reſolution he had, which was to make a journey himſelf to Paris, the knowledge and time whereof was the firſt ground that diſpoſed the officers to this undertaking, as his preſence made the work the more difficult; but they were too many, and thoſe too far engaged, to give over the deſign, and therefore the officers within were as ſolicitous for the execution of it as the Spaniards themſelves.

In the depth of winter, about Chriſtmas, in a very great froſt and ſnow, Don Juan aſſembled all his army before St. Gillen, with which Schomburgh was very much ſurpriſed, and knew well that the army could do him no harm if his men were true to him, and therefore concluded that the enemy without depended upon treachery within, and he quickly found, by the frequent aſſembling of many of the Iriſh officers, and by the neglect of his orders, and ſometimes changing the guards, that there was a conſpiracy againſt him, and that ſome religious men had been ſuffered to paſs in and out; and he intercepted one letter by which he found the lieutenant colonel of the Iriſh regiment, of whom he had always had a very good opinion (and he was indeed much ſuperior in abilities to that kind of people) deeply engaged in the deſign, and indeed the whole conductor of it. Whereupon he cauſed him ſuddenly to be apprehended, with a reſolution as ſuddenly to execute him, but the officer adviſed him not to make too much haſte, and reſolutely told him that his own life, and the lives of all who adhered to him, ſhould expiate for the loſs of his; and in the ſame inſtant all the Iriſh betook themſelves to their arms, and poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome of the outworks, and of a place of ſome ſtrength in the town; and a trumpet was ſent from Don Juan with a letter to the governor, in which he let him know that he was very ſure of the place in ſpite of all that he could do, and therefore if he ſhould take away the lieutenant colonel's life, himſelf and all his friends ſhould ſuffer, but if he would preſently treat for the giving up of the place, he would give him conditions worthy of a ſoldier; in this ſtreight the governor found it abſolutely neceſſary for him to treat, and quickly conſented to the conditions propoſed, and marched out with all thoſe who had a mind to follow him, much the major part remaining in the Spaniſh ſervice. And ſo Don Juan returned triumphantly to Bruſſels, where he was the better welcome for having reduced ſo miſchievous a neighbour in the depth of winter, which they durſt not have attempted in the ſpring or ſummer.

This action ſo proſperouſly carried on gave great advantage to the affairs of that country, and the dexterous conduct of it, much reputation to the perſon who had been ſo inſtrumental in it, who was likewiſe liberally conſidered by the Spaniard for the ſervice he had done, beſides the conſideration he took for himſelf out of the monies aſſigned for the officers and ſoldiers;

and he now looked upon himſelf as ſettled in the ſervice of that crown, and in the particular affection of Don Juan, of which he made daily uſe. From the time of his firſt approach into Don Juan's good opinion, he uſed all the ways he could to inculcate into the king the great benefit would accrue to his ſervice by the reputation he had gotten with the prince and in the Spaniſh councils, where he would employ all his talent and his time to promote his majeſty's pretences; and therefore he propoſed to the king, that he might be reſtored to the character of his ſecretary, as he had been to his father, and the place had never been yet diſpoſed of, there being always two ſecretaries of ſtate, one of which, who had been joint officer with him, being then attending upon his majeſty, and ſufficient to diſpatch all the buſineſs of that office. The arguments which he uſed to the king to gratify him in that his deſire, were, that he ſhould be thereby enabled to do his majeſty great ſervice by the reputation that character would give him; that he would not intermeddle with his counſels, otherwiſe than as his majeſty ſhould think fit to communicate them to him, in reference to the tranſactions which were to be made with Don Juan and in the court of Spain; that when the king ſhould find it neceſſary, by the advancement of his affairs in England, to diſpoſe of the place of the ſecretary to a perſon who might merit it by any notable ſervice, he would willingly put it into his majeſty's hands to diſpoſe of, and betake himſelf to any other office he ſhould be aſſigned to.—By theſe inducements he prevailed with his majeſty to admit him into the ſame relation he had formerly to his father, not at all meddling with the buſineſs of the office, nor believing that it would ever come to be an office in England, he being at that time poſſeſſed with as full a deſpair of his majeſty's ever being reſtored to his dominions, as Cromwell himſelf was with a confidence that it could never come to paſs, and ſo modelling all his deſigns to live in a good condition abroad, in which he had hitherto proſpered ſo wonderfully, and all places being alike and equal to him.

Hitherto he avouched nothing more than his being a proteſtant above temptation, frequented the exerciſe of devotion in the king's houſe, and gave all the evidence of his affection that way as could be expected from a man who was long known to have great latitude in religion; and he had lately committed a younger ſon to the care and education of the jeſuits in France, upon ſome promiſe the queen regent had made to him when he was in credit with her, that ſhe would provide a liberal ſupport for him in penſions, and church-livings, the receiving whereof he thought no religion could oblige a man to be averſe from. Soon after his firſt coming into Flanders, and as ſoon as he found he had got credit there (which he ſtill believed to be greater than in truth it was) he ſent into England for a daughter he had there, of a full growth, who lived not eaſily with her mother, in order by his authority to compoſe ſome domeſtic differences, and to finiſh a treaty of marriage for her with a gentleman of the ſame country, who had long made that addreſs. As ſoon as ſhe arrived in Flanders, he provided a private lodging for her in Ghent, which being in the middle between Bruges, where the king reſided, and Bruſſels, where the Spaniſh court was, he thought to be a place where he could probably ſpend moſt part of his time; beſides, having a great reverence for the lady abbeſs of the Engliſh monaſtery there, he had a particular devotion for that city; not without a deſign to have his own devotion the better thought of, his daughter remained very few days in the lodging he had provided for her, before he removed her to the Engliſh cloyſter for her more honourable accommodation, whilſt her ſtay ſhould be neceſſary in thoſe parts. The young lady was as averſe from a monaſtery, and from the religion that is profeſſed there, as is poſſible for a daughter who had been bred from her cradle under the ſevere diſcipline of a mother of another faith, and in an age and region where the Romiſh religion was perfectly deteſted, and ſhe herſelf had always been taught very ſharp objections againſt it; but her father eaſily perſuaded her that there ſhould be no attempt made upon her religion, but that the lodging ſhould be very honourable, and the converſation ſuch as ſhe could not but take delight in, and that ſhe ſhould always be with him when he was in town, only lodge in the monaſtery, and eat there when he was away. And it cannot be denied but that the accommodation was very good, and prudently provided for her, the abbeſs being a lady of great reputation and wiſdom, and the whole community conſiſted of ladies of noble extraction, great beauty, and unblemiſhed virtue; and it was a great reſpect in the abbeſs towards her father, and her dependence upon his great power at court, that perſuaded her to receive his daughter into the monaſtery, where none of any quality had ever been admitted into the incloſure who did not profeſs the Roman religion. But ſhe had been there very few days, when a half-witted man of a good family and a competent fortune, meeting this young lady at ſome houſe whither ſhe uſed to accompany her father, made love to her, and there being a great friendſhip between the abbeſs and the mother of the young gentleman, who was a widow of very great reputation and eſteem in that place, the matter was quickly propoſed to the father, who, according to his natural alacrity, preſently looked upon it as a new manifeſtation of providence, that he and his family ſhould never fall to inſupportable neceſſity; and tranſported with the vanity of the reputation he ſhould acquire, that being deſpoiled of his eſtate, and baniſhed from his country, he ſhould raiſe himſelf to ſuch a reputation with a neighbour nation, as to marry a daughter into one of the beſt families of it, adorned, as he would believe, with an ample revenue, and without any other portion than a promiſe to pay a competent one when he ſhould be able. Without long deliberating on the buſineſs, and without conſidering the weak ſpirit of the young man, which was in truth contemptible, or ſo much as examining the value and yearly revenue of the eſtate, which was not the twelfth part of what he himſelf gave it out to be; he firſt perſuaded his daughter to renounce her own religion, and become a Roman catholic, which was a condition without which the marriage could not be attained to, and then frankly gave her up to perpetual miſery, which ſhe entered into from the day of her marriage: which, conſidering all circumſtances, would have brought much grief of mind to another parent, but he was of that rare conſtitution, that thoſe worldly things never gave him trouble, nor did he more conſider the loſs of a child, in an adventure which probably might bring ſome convenience to him (for himſelf was ſtill firſt, if not ſole in all thoſe conſiderations) than if it were his neighbour's, being abſolutely diveſted of all troubleſome affections which might obſtruct or diſturb his fortune, and with this kind of providence he made proviſion for two of his children.

Hitherto he had preſerved, as he believed, his own reputation, as to being a proteſtant, unblemiſhed.—He had reſiſted the temptations of France without being ſhaken, and though the jeſuits always courted him with wonderful application and obſervance, and he them again with the ſame dexterity, frequently gratifying them with ſome arguments againſt the proteſtants, and acknowledging ſome defects to be in their church, which he could wiſh ſupplied; yet after he had lodged ſix months at Albey, in a college of the jeſuits, where he ſtudied very hard, and read all books recommended by them to him, when the ſuperior came to him at his remove towards Italy, and paſſed many compliments with him of the honour the ſociety had received in entertaining ſo noble a perſon and ſo rarely qualified, he told him, he hoped that the obſervations he had made of their profeſſion and their courſe of life, and the reflections which had occurred unto him upon the arguments he had found in ſuch and ſuch books, had by this time confirmed him in ſuch a reverence towards the catholic church, that, all his former prejudice being removed, he would now throw himſelf into the arms of it. He parted not with him in debt for any good words, commended the catholic religion as containing moſt excellent inducements to a pious life, which could not but be attended with ſalvation; he admired and extolled the inſtitution of the ſociety, and their ſtrict and pious obſervation of the rules preſcribed to them, which in his judgment made them preferable to all other religious orders, and that he would always preſerve a particular devotion for them. But he ſaid, whether it were by the difference of their educations, or the inequality of their underſtandings and judgments, he found that many arguments which appeared to them as infallible demonſtrations, ſeemed in truth to him to carry little weight with them, and ſo briefly enlarged upon ſome particular inſtances with a great ſharpneſs of reaſon, yet with great modeſty, and confeſſion of his own weakneſs; he concluded, that there was ſomewhat wanting in their religion which kept him yet from being reconciled to it, and ſo he took his leave of Albey. But he now found that he muſt calculate his deſigns to another meridian, and that the temper which had done him no harm in France would do him no good in Flanders, that the reputation of being a Chriſtian was a title ſufficient for many preferments, but that not being a catholic, in Spain took away the advantage of being a Chriſtian. He never had any lively hopes of the king's reſtoration, at leaſt that he could ever be reſtored but by catholic arms, and he had juſt now ſeen the moſt probable deſign the king had ever had, upon the hope of the affection and power of his own ſubjects, miſcarry in the attempt of Sir George Booth, which was thought to be founded upon ſo good mediums, that the king had withdrawn privately from Bruſſels incognito, and attended only with four or five ſervants, whereof that perſon was one, to the maritime parts of France, in ſome aſſurance that the rebel's army would find ſo many diverſions in other parts of the kingdom, that he ſhould find a competent body of men to receive him in Kent, with which he might march as he ſhould find it moſt counſellable. But all theſe high imaginations coming to nothing, by the ſudden defeat of Sir George Booth before Cheſter, and the ſurpriſal of many other parties in ſeveral parts of the kingdom before they were well formed, and in a word, the impriſoning of all perſons of honour and reputation throughout the whole kingdom, who were in the leaſt degree ſuſpected to wiſh well to the king, ſeemed at the ſame time to diſcredit and reproach the late too eaſy imaginations, and to pull up by the roots all the king's future hopes of reſtitution, and in this melancholy diſcompoſure of mind the king returned again to Bruſſels, and the other perſon to his retreat at Ghent, to the admired abbeſs and to his beloved daughter.

It was the great benefit and happineſs of his conſtitution, that he never continued long irreſolute, or remained in ſuſpence; if that door was not open which he would chuſe to enter at, the next was welcome to him. His hopes under the king were now blaſted, and though he promiſed himſelf much encouragement from the favour of Don Juan, yet, as was ſaid before, religion was that which could only make a man ſhine in the court of Spain, and he had made as much of his as it would yield him throughout his whole courſe of life, and it was like now to do him no farther ſervice. As ſoon as he came to Ghent he pretended to be very ſick, ſent for phyſicians, deſcribed his diſeaſe to them, and propoſed ſome reaſonable remedies to them; his friend the abbeſs, who was really a much better caſuiſt than her confeſſor, did not fail to adminiſter her ſpiritnal remembrances; and Courtney, the provincial of the Engliſh jeſuits (a man who could never have been too hard for him, if he had not been reduced to great weakneſs) was at hand to do all his offices, and he did it very effectually, though in great ſecret. He ſent then to the marquis of Ormond and his other friend at Bruſſels, upon whoſe friendſhip he had ever depended, and had found him always faſt and unſhaken to him, notwithſtanding his many imbecilities; he conjured them both (who were indeed the two only friends he had in the world) to repair to him at Ghent, for that his condition of health being at that time ſo very doubtful, he had ſomewhat to impart to them of the laſt importance. The enemy had faſtened themſelves in ſome places between Bruſſels and Ghent, and the ſeaſon of the year was not ſo pleaſant as to invite men to unneceſſary journies; it was therefore agreed between them, that the preſence of one of them would ſerve the turn, let the buſineſs be what it would, and ſo the marquis made a journey to him, the other remaining ſtill with the king. When he came to Ghent he found him well recovered of his ſickneſs, of which he made him a large relation; by what degrees it came upon him, and how ſoon it had deprived him of his ſtrength, how his ſleeps forſook him, and that the night yielded him no reſt; that in his agony he had made many reflections upon his paſt condition of life, and principally upon ſome ſcruples in religion, which had been long in his mind; that he had ſent for a learned jeſuit to confer with him, and in a word, that he had received ſo great ſatisfaction from him, that he was become catholic, and was reconciled to the church; which he had no ſooner ſubmitted to, but that he found ſo great a tranquillity and ſerenity of mind, that he had wonderfully recovered in ſo few days his perfect health, and almoſt his former ſtrength. That having thus provided for the ſalvation of his ſoul, all his other thoughts were for the advancement of his majeſty's ſervice, or that at leaſt, that this alteration in him might have no reflection upon the other, and that in this conſideration he deſired a conference with his two beſt friends; and ſince one of them came not, he would deſire the ſame from the other, which he meant to do from both, that he might receive his advice how the ſame might be communicated to the king; and how, and when, and in what manner it ſhould be made known; and that it was hitherto ſo great a ſecret, that it was only known to his confeſſor and himſelf; and that it ſhould remain ſo as long as his majeſty ſhould think it requiſite; that he had in truth himſelf endeavoured, as a thing practicable in his own opinion, that it might have remained ſo entire a ſecret between his confeſſor and himſelf, that he might not only have deferred making his converſion public, but have performed all his uſual offices and ſervices about his majeſty as he had uſed to do, even at his devotions, ſo that no man ſhould have been able to make the leaſt diſcovery. But that his confeſſor, upon great deliberation, and conference with many other very learned men, had declared to him, that what he propoſed was ſo abſolutely unlawful, and inconſiſtent with the catholic religion, that it was not in the power of his holineſs himſelf to diſpenſe with it. This being his caſe, he had no more to do but to deſire that the whole relation might be candidly made to his majeſty, and a gracious interpretation obtained from him upon it. The marquis (who was leſs ſurprized than his other friend, as having leſs opinion of his conſtancy in that particular than the other had) anſwered him only, that he was ſorry for the change, and that he ſhould give his majeſty a full relation of it, and ſo returned to Bruſſels.

Within few days he came thither; and having been very careful to be firſt ſeen by Don Juan at maſs, he attended the king, who received him without any cloudineſs, looking upon him of the ſame religion as he had before underſtood him to be. His majeſty making himſelf very merry with his other friend for being ſo weak a man as to imagine that he could be conſtant to any profeſſion, and made himſelf no leſs merry with the perſon himſelf upon his ſcruples of conſcience, and the method and circumſtances of his converſion, and upon Father Courtney's having gained ſo great an aſcendant over his underſtanding; and he was very glad to compound for being laughed at, and could bear a better part in it, than in the ſerious debate of it. He was exceedingly troubled to find his other friend, whoſe true affection to him had been upon all occaſions ſo manifeſt, ſo ſevere that he could not diſſemble it in his countenance with him; and when the other renewed all profeſſions of kindneſs and friendſhip to him, againſt all perſons and all pretences in the world, and deſired that this alteration in him, which was the effect of conſcience, and for his own ſalvation, might not deprive him of his friendſhip, or alienate his affections from him, he anſwered him very roundly, that he could not diſſemble the trouble he ſuſtained, nor could bear that reproach which would fall upon himſelf if he were thought not to be diſpleaſed with it; that he knew not how he could hereafter bear any part in the king's councils, or how he could be communicated with; that though the profeſſions he made to him of the conſtancy of his friendſhip might be at that time according to his intention, yet that he had no reaſon to believe that they, who had power to prevail over him in this affair of the higheſt importance, would ever be contented that he ſhould retain a friendſhip with a perſon ſo oppoſite to all their practices, and all their principles; againſt which they would always be able to ſpeak more pertinently, both in reaſon and religion, than they had done in any other part of his converſion; which he took very heavily, and could not forbear undervaluing and envying, againſt the whole body of them, with more reproach and contempt, than could have been expected from ſo young a proſelyte. The king had well foreſeen that he could no longer wear the character either of his ſecretary or counſellor, and it may be, that conſideration had made him condeſcend to be ſo merry upon the converſion; and he was very well content that his friend ſhould plainly declare to him in his preſence the neceſſity of his declining being preſent at future councils, and of returning the ſignet to the king; with which, how much ſoever he was ſurpriſed or diſpleaſed, he preſently ſubmitted, and delivered the ſignet the next day.

This was a change he did not expect his converſion would have produced, but had promiſed himſelf more advantage from his character in his new religion than in his old; that there was no more hope now of the proteſtant intereſt, and therefore that the catholic muſt be now wholly applied to, and that thoſe tranſactions could paſs through no other hand but his; and that as the confidence of the catholics ſhould be able to advance the king's ſervice, ſo his ſo near relation to his royal perſon and councils would give him great credit with the catholics. Such a crop of imaginations and preſumptions was always his firſt harveſt upon any notable new deſign or enterprize, but this new excluſion demoliſhed all theſe hopes, and was a greater diſcovery of the king's diſlike of what he had done, than in his calculation of ſtate he thought ſeaſonable for his majeſty's ſervice, and upon that ground was the leſs expected by him; and this he never forgave his old friend, though he continued to make the ſame profeſſions, and ſeemed to take it very unkindly that it ſhould be thought that religion ſhould be able to make any impreſſion on him with reference to the friendſhips which he had contracted. After the firſt congratulation for the becoming a Chriſtian, which thoſe people do very liberally make for a few days, he found no ſunſhine from the change of his climate; that no proffer of place or penſion came from Spain; and that the pope, to whom he had made an early communication of his ſorrow for, and renunciation of his former hereſy, had returned him no other exalted expreſſions, which he expected, than *Tu converſus, converte fratres tuos*; that Don Juan's own countenance was ſo far from ſhedding more graces towards him than it had formerly done, that it was in truth more reſerved; for the Marquis of Carracina, and eſpecially Don Alonzo, who were not pleaſed with the frequent admiſſion he had to Don Juan, and his ſerene countenance towards him, had ſent their advertiſements into Spain little to his advantage, and the prince had received ſome reprehenſion from thence for his conferring thoſe graces. But there happened ſhortly after another inſtance, which manifeſted enough what opinion that court had of him. The treaty between the two crowns being appointed to be at Fontarabia between the cardinal and Don Louis de Haro, Don Louis, who always profeſſed great affection to the king, ſent him a private advice by his reſident in that court, Sir Henry Bennett, to find himſelf there, profeſſing that he would do all he could to engage the cardinal, that the two crowns, being once reconciled, might both engage in his majeſty's intereſt, and at the ſame time adviſed that his majeſty would come with as ſmall a train as he could fitly do, and particularly that by no means he would bring that perſon with him; which was a ſufficient evidence of prejudice. Notwithſtanding which, the cardinal having expreſsly refuſed to grant a ſafe conduct to his majeſty to paſs through France, and as expreſsly diſſuaded his going to the treaty, as a thing which would prove to his diſadvantage, and diſenable his eminence, by the noiſe of it, to do thoſe good offices for his majeſty which he was reſolved to do in his abſence, the king thought fit to follow the advice of the other favourite, and to make a journey thither through France incognito. And to that purpoſe he made choice of four or five ſervants to attend him; and though he liked very well that gentleman's company in thoſe jolly journies, yet at this time, the intimation he had from Spain, and the knowledge he had of the cardinal's particular and irreconcileable diſpleaſure towards him, made him plainly diſcern that it was by no means fit to have him with him. However, the other in the end prevailed ſo far with him, for the experience he had of the ways and places through which they were to paſs, that he was admitted to attend, together with the Marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neale, and three other ſervants; and in that manner they went from Bruſſels with all the ſecreſy imaginable; nor was it known in many days after whither the king was gone. The king was contented to ſee as many conſiderable places as were within any diſtance of the ways through which they were to paſs, and the other, who was the ſole conductor, led him ſo far about, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded before the king came to the borders; and then, upon the general intelligence that the treaty was at an end, and Don Louis returned to Madrid, though the king had ſent the Marquis of Ormond directly to Fontarabia to know the truth, and to inform Don Louis of his majeſty's arrival, yet without ſtaying for his return, the other perſuaded the king, that he ought to make all poſſible haſte to Madrid; and ſo far prevailed, that they went as far as Saragoſa in the kingdom of Arragon, where they received clear information that Don Louis remained ſtill at the place of the treaty. And within a day after, an expreſs arrived from thence, with all the importunity from the Marquis of Ormond and Sir Henry Bennett, that his majeſty would make all poſſible haſte thither; ſignifying further the prejudice he had ſuffered by the delays he had made in his journey, and the unexpreſſible diſpleaſure Don Louis had conceived upon his purpoſe of going to Madrid, which in that conjuncture would have occaſioned great diſorder in the King of Spain's affairs, all which made deep impreſſions in his majeſty, and made him diſcern how inconvenient the fanciful humour of his guide had been to him. The king's reception at Fontarabia, and his treatment there, was agreeable to the Spaniard's cuſtom in thoſe occaſions, full of reſpect and application to his majeſty; and in the ſhort ſtay he made there, the other perſon (who was upon all the diſadvantages mentioned before) had, by his pure dexterity and addreſs, wrought himſelf ſo far into the good opinion of Don Louis, and the other grandees who accompanied him, that when the king returned through France for Bruſſels, he found encouragement to go directly for Madrid, where he was well received by the king, and ſupplied with at leaſt two or three thouſand pound ſterling, and ſtaid there until he heard of the great change of affairs in England, and of his majeſty's reception there, where he found him in the full poſſeſſion and adminiſtration of his regal power.

By this time the king was engaged very far in his treaty with Portugal for the marriage with the queen, all particulars being in the truth upon the matter agreed upon; which no ſooner came to this gentleman's knowledge but he expreſſed a marvellous diſlike of it, and (without any capacity which might entitle him to that preſumption) ſuggeſted all things to the king which the Spaniſh ambaſſador could ſuggeſt to him, and which were moſt like to make ſome impreſſion upon his majeſty; ſuch as the deformity of her perſon, the number of her years, and her incapacity of bearing children; and at the ſame time made offer of the choice of two young ladies of the houſe of Medici, of ſuch rare perfection in beauty as his fancy could deſcribe, and (which is very wonderful) prevailed ſo far privately with the king, to ſend him incognito into Italy to ſee thoſe ladies, with a promiſe not to proceed further in the treaty with Portugal till his return; but upon a ſhort reflection upon the diſhonour of this deſign, his Majeſty put a quick end to it, renewing his old obſervations of the humour and preſumptions of the man. How many extravagant propoſitions and deſigns he afterwards run into, till he ſo far provoked the king that he gave orders for his apprehenſion and commitment to the Tower, is known to all men; and how many more he is like hereafter to fall into of the ſame kind, can hardly be foreſeen, even by thoſe who beſt underſtand his unlimited ambition, and the reſtleſſneſs of his humour.

I did not intend to have reflected upon ſo many particulars, much leſs to have taken any ſurvey of the active life of this very conſiderable perſon; but it was hardly poſſible to give any lively deſcription of his nature and humour, or any character even of his perſon and compoſition, without repreſenting ſome inſtances of particular actions; which, being ſo contradictory to themſelves, and ſo different from the ſame effects which the ſame cauſes naturally produce in other men, can only qualify a man to make a conjecture what his true conſtitution and nature was; and at beſt it will be but a conjecture, ſince it is not poſſible to make a poſitive concluſion or deduction from the whole or any part of it, but that another concluſion may be as reaſonably made from ſome other action and diſcovery. It is pity that his whole life ſhould not be exactly and carefully written, and it would be as much pity that any body elſe ſhould do it but himſelf, who could only do it to the life, and make the trueſt deſcriptions of all his faculties, and paſſions, and appetites, and the full operation of them; and he would do it with as much ingenuity and integrity as any man could do, and expoſe himſelf as much to the cenſure and reproach of other men, as the malice of his greateſt enemy could do; for in truth he does believe many of thoſe particular actions, which ſevere and rigid men do look upon as disfigurings of the other beautiful part of his life, to be great luſtre and ornament to it; and would rather expoſe it nakedly to have the indiſcretion and unwarrantable part of it cenſured, than that the fancy and high projection ſhould be concealed, it being an infirmity that he would not part with, to believe that a very ill thing ſubtilly and warily deſigned, and well and bravely executed, is much worthier of a great ſpirit, than a faint acquieſcence under any infelicity, merely to contain himſelf within the bounds of innocence; and yet if any man concludes from hence that he is of a fierce and impetuous diſpoſition, and prepared to undertake the worſt enterprize, he will find cauſe enough to believe himſelf miſtaken, and that he hath ſoftneſs and tenderneſs enough about him to reſtrain him, not only from ill, but even from unkind and ill-natured actions. No man loves more paſſionately and violently, at leaſt makes more lively expreſſions of it: and that his hatred and malice, which ſometimes break out from him with great impetuoſity, as if he would deſtroy all he diſlikes, is not compounded proportionably out of the ſame fiery materials, appears in this, that he would not only, upon very ſhort warning and very eaſy addreſs, truſt a man who had done him injury to a very notable degree, but even ſuch a man, as he himſelf had provoked beyond the common bounds of reconciliation: he doth not believe that any body he loves ſo well, can be unloved by any body elſe; and, that whatever prejudice is contracted againſt him, he could remove it, if he were but admitted to conference with them which own it. No man can judge, hardly gueſs, by what he hath done formerly, what he will do in the time to come; whether his virtues will have the better, and triumph over his vanities, or whether the ſtrength and vigour of his ambition, and other exorbitances, will be able to ſuppreſs, and even extinguiſh his better diſpoſed inclinations and reſolutions, the ſucceſs of which will always depend upon circumſtances and contingencies, and from ſomewhat without, and not within himſelf. I ſhould not imagine that ever his activity will be attended with ſucceſs or ſecurity; but without doubt, if ever his reflections upon the vanity of the world diſpoſe him to contemn it, and to betake himſelf to a contemplation of God, and nature, or to a ſtrict and ſevere devotion, to which he hath ſometimes ſome temptation, if not inclination; or if a ſatiety in wreſtling and ſtruggling in the world, or a deſpair of proſpering by thoſe ſtrugglings, ſhall prevail with him to abandon thoſe conteſts, and retire at a good diſtance from the court to his books and a contemplative life, he may live to a great and a long age; and will be able to leave ſuch information and advertiſements of all kinds to poſterity, that he will be looked upon as a great mirror by which well-diſpoſed men may learn to dreſs themſelves in the beſt ornaments, and to ſpend their lives to the beſt advantage of their country.

Montpelier, April 1669.

NATURAL HISTORY.

The Natural Hiſtory of the different Serpents *in the* Eaſt-Indies, *from the Eſſays of Monſ.* F. d'Obſonville, *on the nature of various foreign Animals, tranſlated by* T. Holcroft.

THESE animals, which, as they wind and twiſt themſelves, advance ſilently by a progreſſive undulation; and when they ſleep or reſt, form their bodies into a number of circles, of which the head is the centre: which, after they have caſt their ſkins, appear all at once with a renovated brilliancy; theſe animals, ſo dangerous if they are irritated, were the ſymbols of wiſdom, prudence, and immortality, among the ancient philoſophers. They are divided into a multitude of ſpecies, that differ by the intenſity of their poiſon, the ſize of their bodies, the colours with which their ſkins are ſpotted; and, though moſt common in marſhy grounds, are found alſo in the ſea, on rocky mountains, and in barren places. They are all carnivorous, and there are ſome ſpecies that devour the others. I ſhall ſpeak particularly of ſome of thoſe only that are leaſt known in Europe, and which I have had opportunities of obſerving with conſiderable attention.

Serpent Marin, or Sea Serpent *.—The approach of the coaſts of India is almoſt always known by theſe Serpents, which are met at from twenty to thirty leagues diſtance. Their bite may be mortal, if not timely counteracted by ſome of the ſpecifics hereafter mentioned. Theſe reptiles appeared to me to be from three to four feet long; I do not know if there are any larger. I do not believe they are preciſely amphibious, that is to ſay, that they have the power alſo of living on land. I have often ſeen them on the ſhore, but they have always been thrown there by the ſurges, and were either dead or dying.

Serpent couronné. The crowned or hooded Serpent. This ſpecies extends from five to ſix feet in length; the ſkin is divided in ſmall regular compartments, which being contraſted and ſeparated, more or leſs, with green, yellow, and brown, have a tolerably beautiful effect. It is called hooded from the Portugueſe word *capelo*, becauſe it has a looſe ſkin under its head, which can be extended to both ſides; and, when it is ſo, forms a ſort of hood, on which is drawn the reſemblance almoſt of a pair of ſpectacles. This looſe ſkin never takes that form but when the animal rears itſelf, agitated by fear, rage, or aſtoniſhment; in a word, by ſome object that affects it forcibly. In which caſe it raiſes the fore part of its body to nearly a third of its length; its head is then almoſt in continual action, it ſeems to look all around, but remains in the ſame place, or creeps ſlowly on its hind parts. Whence this ſpecies is in India, more than any other, the emblem of prudence; but when it eats, ſleeps, or is purſued, its hood is not extended, becauſe the muſcles are then either relaxed or differently employed. This Serpent is an object of ſuperſtitious veneration among the Gentoo Indians, founded on ſome traits of legendary mythology: they ſeldom name it without adding ſome epithet, ſuch as the royal, the good, the holy. Some of them are happy to ſee it go and come in their houſes; whence many have received irreparable injuries: for it is very poſſible to hurt it unintentionally, without ſeeing it, or during ſleep, and it immediately revenges itſelf with fury. Its bite is ſometimes mortal in two or three hours, eſpecially if the poiſon has penetrated the larger veſſels or muſcles.

---

* The Serpent is called *Mar*, in Perſian; *Hai*, and *Laiſſa*, in Arabic; *Neah*, or *Pampou*, in Tamoul; and *Samp*, *Kakoutia*, *Boura*, and *Tchilli*, in Indoſtan. The Sea Serpent, *Cadel Pampou*, in Tamoul. The Hooded Serpent, *Nalle Pampou*, in Tamoul; *Cokra*, in Indoſtan. The Javeline, Green, or Flying Serpent, *Pache Pampou*, in Tamoul; and *Marperende*, in Perſian. The Viper, *Maraſi*, in Perſian.

This reptile, more than any other, is attentive to the ſound of a ſort of flageolet or pipe. The Indian jugglers play a certain monotonous air, ſlow and unharmonious, which at firſt ſeems to create aſtoniſhment, preſently it advances, ſtops, rears itſelf, and extends its hood; ſometimes it will remain an hour in that poſition, and then, by gentle inclinations of the head, indicate that theſe ſounds impreſs a ſenſe of pleaſure on its organs. Of this I have ſeveral times been convinced, by proofs made on this kind of Serpents, which have never been trained to that exerciſe, and particularly upon one that I caught in my garden. I do not however deny, that ſome *are* trained to this exerciſe: the jugglers, when called to clear a houſe of them, will ſometimes artfully drop one of theſe, which will immediately appear at the ſound of the pipe, to which it has been accuſtomed.

Serpent javelot, or green Serpent. The green Serpent is found, in the Indies and the countries eaſt of the Peninſula, four and five feet long; its bite is held to be at leaſt as dangerous as that of the hooded ſnake: they generally remain on the tops of trees, watching for birds and inſects. Suſpended or laid along the branches, which they embrace with the tip of the tail, they appear immoveable, when, preſently, with an oſcillatory motion, they will reach to another bough, or ſeize upon their prey. Hence it is probable, that from a ſuperficial view of the manner in which theſe reptiles obtain their ſubſiſtence, ſome travellers have ſaid, that they have a particular delight to dart upon the eyes of paſſengers. For my own part, I am well perſuaded, that when they dart, or rather when they glide along at the approach of man, it is only to avoid him, except, perhaps, when they have been wounded or irritated; ſo at leaſt has it happened, for more than ten times that I have ſeen them. I preſume, that this reptile is of the ſame ſpecies with one of a darker colour, found alſo on the coaſts of Perſia and Arabia, where it is known by the improper name of the Flying Serpent.

Serpent amphiſbæna, or double-headed Serpent. Some of the reptiles, claſſed under this name, are found in the Indies; their colour is a deep dirty brown, mixed with a tint of yellow, their ſpots ſomething darker; their head is narrow, and rounded on the ſides; and their body, which is ſeldom more than a foot long, is nearly, from one end to the other, about the thickneſs of the thumb. One conſequence of this formation is, that at a diſtance the tail may appear to have been cut off, or may look like another head: I ſay at a diſtance, for in fact it has, at this extremity, a pointed bit of fleſh that reſembles the beginning of a lizard's tail, and which being plucked off, begins to grow again. Beſides, as they ſeldom remove far from the crevices of rocks, or old ruins, it is very poſſible, that they may have been ſeen at the entry of their holes retiring backwards. However this may be, and without pretending to deny the poſſibility of ſuch ſports of nature, it is certain, and I am myſelf a witneſs of it, that the ſpecies to which they have given the name of double-headed Serpents, has, in reality, but one head. I never knew any perſon who had been bit by them, but I have been aſſured their poiſon is not more dangerous than that of the hooded Serpent.

Serpent poiſon, or poiſon Serpent. Among the Serpents of India, that which I believe to be moſt formidable is but about two feet long, and very ſmall. Its ſkin is freckled with little traits of brown, or a pale red, and contraſted with a ground of dirty yellow; it is moſtly found in dry and rocky places, and its bite mortal in leſs than one or two minutes. In the year 1759, and in the province of Cadapet, I ſaw ſeveral inſtances of it; and among others, one very ſingular, in the midſt of a corps of troops, commanded by M. de Buſſy. An Indian Gentoo merchant perceived a Mahometan ſoldier of his acquaintance going to kill one of theſe reptiles, which he had found ſleeping under his packet. The Gentoo flew to beg its life, proteſting, that it would do no hurt if it was not firſt provoked; paſſing, at the ſame time, his hand under its belly to carry it out of the camp, when ſuddenly it twiſted round, and bit his little finger; upon which this unfortunate martyr of a fanatic charity gave a ſhriek, took a few ſteps, and fell down inſenſible. They flew to his aſſiſtance, applied the ſerpent-ſtone, fire, and ſcarifications, but they were all ineffectual, his blood was already coagulated. About an hour after I ſaw the body as they were going to burn it, and I thought I perceived ſome indications of a complete diſſolution of the blood.

I do not believe there are many Gentoos enthuſiaſtic enough to become the victims of ſuch abſurd benevolence; ſeveral, at preſent, make no great difficulty of killing theſe Serpents, or at leaſt of ſeeing them killed. It is however certain, that moſt of them are unwilling to aſſiſt in killing the hooded Serpent, and eſpecially thoſe which creep into, and are therefore under the protection of their temples.

Serpent brulan, or burning Serpent. This reptile is nearly of the ſame form with the laſt-mentioned: its ſkin is not quite ſo deep a brown, and is ſpeckled with dark green ſpots; its poiſon is almoſt as dangerous, but it is leſs active, and its effects are very different: in ſome perſons it is a devouring fire, which, as it circulates through the veins, preſently occaſions death; the blood diſſolves into a lymphatic liquor, reſembling thin broth, without apparently having paſſed through the intermediate ſtate of coagulation, and runs from eyes, noſe, and ears, and even through the pores. In other ſubjects, the poiſon ſeems to have changed the very nature of the humours in diſſolving them; the ſkin is chapped, and becomes ſcaly, the hair falls off, the members are tumified, the patient feels all over his body the moſt racking pains, then numbneſs, and is not long in periſhing. It is ſaid, however, that people have been cured by remedies well and ſoon applied. Be that as it may, it ſeems to me, that the poiſon of theſe different reptiles is in general more powerful, the more they live in hot and dry places, where they feed upon inſects that are full of ſaline, volatile, and acrimonious particles.

Serpent nain, or dwarf Serpent. One day, as I was removing ſome ſtones in the Indies, I found two of theſe little animals, which at firſt ſight might be taken for worms. I took up the ſtrongeſt, and amuſed myſelf ſome time in conſidering it with attention. Its body was near five inches long, and about the ſixth part of an inch in diameter; and I afterwards learnt, that it rarely exceeds ſix inches in length. Its ſkin was a dirty brown, ſpotted on the ſides with ſmall lengthened points of a darker colour; the belly was thinly ſpeckled, and of a ſomething lighter colour, like the generality of reptiles. Its eyes, notwithſtanding their exceſſive ſmallneſs, were apparently black and ſparkling; its mouth was exceedingly wide, inſomuch that without the leaſt violence I could introduce a body of more than a line in diameter; its teeth were as fine as the points of needles, but ſo ſhort and compact, that it did not appear poſſible for it to bite a man, or at leaſt for it to penetrate beyond the epidermis. The chief of the village where I was, told me, that the only thing to be apprehended from this inſect was, leſt it ſhould introduce itſelf into the mouth or noſtrils.

Serpent titan, or giant Serpent.—The mountains leaſt frequented in India and other parts of Aſia, ſerve for the retreat of a race of Serpents that I call Titan, becauſe they grow to the length of twenty and twenty-five feet, and even, according to ſome, to half as much more. I never ſaw but one young one, ſhut up in a cage, and exceedingly ill at his eaſe. It was eleven or twelve feet long, and fourteen or fifteen inches in circumference; its ſkin was a tawny ground, but ſpeckled with colours richly varied, though rather dark. They ſay this reptile ſurprizes and feeds upon large animals; but whatever may be ſaid upon this ſubject, its form ſeems to indicate, that its ſtrength cannot be compared to that of a crocodile of equal ſize: and as it is heavy, and not common, it is, in reality, one of the leaſt dangerous of its tribe. I may add, with reſpect to theſe animals, that in all the ſpecies I have obſerved, thoſe which were of the two extremes of ſize, large and ſmall, were feweſt in number.

Natural Hiſtory of the Ichneumon *; *from the ſame Work.*

"THE ancients have obſerved, that the *Ichneumon* is one of the moſt formidable enemies of the crocodile at his birth; for after he has left the egg, he is in daily danger of being devoured by it for the firſt months. Not that I ſuppoſe the ichneumon to have any particular and inſtinctive antipathy to the crocodile: he equally attacks all ſpecies of reptiles, and does not ſpare even rats or poultry. I had one of them very young, and brought it up: I fed it at firſt with milk, and afterwards with baked meat mixed with rice; and caſtrated it at four months old. It became tamer than a cat, for it came when called, and followed me, though at liberty, into the country.

One day I brought him a ſmall water-ſerpent alive, being deſirous to know how far his inſtinct would carry him againſt a being with which he was hitherto unacquainted. His firſt emotion ſeemed to be aſtoniſhment mixed with anger, for his hair became erect, but in an inſtant after he ſlipped behind the reptile, and with a remarkable ſwiftneſs and agility leaped upon its head, ſeized it, and cruſhed it between his teeth. This eſſay and new aliment ſeemed to have awakened in him his innate and deſtructive voracity, which, till then, had given way to the gentleneſs of his education. I had about my houſe ſeveral curious kinds of fowls, among which he had been brought up, and which, till then, he had ſuffered to go and come unmoleſted and unregarded; but a few days after, when he found himſelf alone, he ſtrangled them every one, eat a little, and, as it ſeemed to me, had drank the blood of two.

The *Ichneumon* may attain the ſize of a common cat, but is ſomething longer in the body, and ſhorter in the legs; its fur contains tints of white, of brown, of fawn-colour, and of a dirty grey ſilver. Theſe ſhades, which are on each hair, compoſe a whole, which, though not ſoft to the touch, is agreeable to the eye. Its form, and particularly the head, is ſomething like that of the polecat; its eyes are ſmall, but inflamed, and ſparkle with a ſingular vivacity; its nails are not very pointed, nor do they extend and contract like thoſe of the cat, but as its claws are rather long, it ſeizes between its paws, and retains with force, the prey that it devours.

As it is a great deſtroyer of reptiles, it is very poſſible that it may ſometimes receive a bite, in which caſe it is pretended, that it has recourſe to the plant which is called after its name; but as it ſubſiſts, and always with the ſame inclinations, in many places where this plant is not at hand, and is not even to be found, perhaps it is the fleſh of the reptiles which ſerves for an antidote, or perhaps it is the quality of its blood not to be affected by this kind of poiſon."

---

* The Ichneumon, better known by the name of Mangouſt among the Indian Europeans, is called Tkill, in Malabar; and Mongoueſſe, in Tamoul.

Natural Hiſtory of the Thevangua, *or* Tatonneur *; *from the ſame.*

"THE Thevangua lives retired among the rocks and woods of the moſt ſolitary and ſouthern parts of India, and in the iſland of Ceylon. Notwithſtanding ſome ſimilarity of organization, he neither appertains to the monkey nor makis ſpecies. This race is pure, ſeparate, and diſtinct, as well in conformation as in faculties and manners; and as he is little known, I ſhall give ſome deſcription of his form, and particularly of his characteriſtic habits.

The Thevangua is quadrumane, and would be well deſcribed by the name of the *pigmy cynocephalus night-walker*. In 1755, one of thoſe Indian pioneers, who always wander with their families, ſold me one. He was not quite a foot high when erect, though I have heard they are ſometimes a little taller: mine was quite formed, and, during a year that I kept him, I could not find that he had increaſed in height. His ears and the back part of his head reſembled thoſe of the monkey, but his front was proportionably large and more flattened; his noſe, as ſlender and more ſhort than that of the pole-cat, projected juſt below the eyes, ſomething like the muzzle of a ſmall Spaniſh dog; his mouth, exceedingly wide and well garniſhed, was armed with four long and pointed canine teeth; his eyes large, and even with the face, the iris apparently of a brown-grey, mixed with a tint of yellow; his neck ſhort, his body very long, and his ſize, above his hips, at leaſt three inches in circumference. I had him caſtrated, and his teſticles, though proportionably very large, were abſolutely ſhut up in the belly; his penis was well detached from his body, and covered with a prepuce.

Many other parts, likewiſe, of theſe ſingular animals, appear to be formed in miniature on the model of man. Thus they have no tail, their buttocks are fleſhy, and without calloſities; their breaſt large, their hands and arms well turned, and ſo are their legs, except that their great toes are too much ſeparated, like thoſe of the monkey †; the hair of their head and back is of a dirty

---

* The animal I deſcribe by the name of Tatonneur (creeper) on account of his mode of walking, is well characterized in India by the Tamoul word Thevangua. He is called Tongre likewiſe; that is to ſay, the ſleeper. This is the animal which M. de Buffon has called Loris (after the article Makis) which name was given it by the Dutch, who ſaw it in the iſland of Ceylon. I preſume, that at a diſtance they imagined they diſcovered a reſemblance between the cry of this animal and that of a parrot, really called Loris, which is found in the iſles to the eaſt of India. Such reſemblances naturally occaſion miſunderſtandings.

† The figure of the Thevangua, or Loris, in M. de Buffon, is very correct, except that the bones, and eſpecially the articulations of the hands and feet, do not appear ſo prominent in the living animal. But ſuch little irregularities are to be found in the features of every ſubject, as ſoon as the fleſh and muſcles become dry, and are deprived of that roundneſs which gives beauty and proportion.

M. de Buffon, in the ſhort deſcription he has given of this animal, mentions a remarkable circumſtance, and perhaps unique, which is, " that the female urines a dirty grey, a little inclinable to the fawn; but on the fore-part of their body it is much leſs deep and thick, and leaves the fleſh viſible, which is of a ſoft, fair, and animated colour.

The Thevangua uſually goes on all fours, but with a kind of conſtraint, inſomuch, that when he wiſhes to make haſte, he ſcarcely runs four fathoms in a minute, which tardineſs originates in his conformation and habits; his legs and thighs, as well as man's, are apparently too long to run after the manner of quadrupedes; and it has always ſeemed to me, that when the one I had was obliged, by carrying ſomething in his arms, to walk upright, he went with greater freedom.

This animal has a modulation in his voice, a kind of whiſtling tha is not unpleaſant. I could eaſily diſtinguiſh the cry of pain or pleaſure, or even that of chagrin or impatience: if, for example, I pretended to rob him of his prey, his countenance changed, and he inwardly uttered a tremulous, more acute, and painful tone. The Indian, of whom I bought mine, told me, that their mode of copulation was face to face, cloſe, and crouching on their hams.

The Thevangua differs greatly from the monkey in his exterior form, but more ſtill in his character and manners. He is by nature melancholy, ſilent, patient, carnivorous, and noctambulous. Retired, and living only with his little family, he remains crouching all day, with his head reſting upon his hands, and his elbows between his thighs. But in the midſt of this ſleep, or ſtate of inertia, though his eyes are cloſed, his ears remain exceedingly ſenſible to all impreſſions from without, and he never neglects to ſeize whatever prey ſhall inconſiderately venture within his reach. Though I believe the glare of the ſun diſpleaſes him, yet I never could find that the pupil of his eye ſuffered any extraordinary contraction, or was fatigued by day-light. It is, without doubt, this happy conformation which preſerves him, though feeble and ſlow, from other ferocious beaſts, and gives him a ſuperiority over the leſs and nimbler creatures, on which he uſually feeds.

I kept mine, during the firſt month, tied round the waiſt by a cord, which, without attempting to untie, he ſometimes lifted up with an air of grief. I took charge of him myſelf, and he bit me at the

---

urines through the clitoris, which has a paſſage like the penis of the male, and theſe two parts have a perfect reſemblance both in length and thickneſs."

Having never heard of this ſingularity in India, I confeſs I made no enquiries on the ſubject; and if the remark has been tranſmitted to Europe by an exact obſerver, I am wrong to doubt the fact. I will relate, however, what has ſtruck me on this matter, with reſpect to wild ſhe-apes: many of theſe have the clitoris ſo long, that it often projects forward, and, at firſt ſight, appears like the penis of the male; but it is not ſo ſituated, has no paſſage, and is leſs. If we ſuppoſe that the female Thevangua ſometimes has this ſmall muſcular body, equally projecting, it is not at all impoſſible, but that a traveller, not very attentive, and perhaps a little in love with the marvellous, may have imagined he has really ſeen them urine through that part. However, I ſhould be far from denying a fact, becauſe it was a little more or leſs out of the common order of nature. I only mention my ſuſpicions.

beginning four or five times, for offering to diſturb or take him up; but gentle chaſtiſement having ſoon corrected theſe little paſſions, I afterwards gave him the liberty of my bed-chamber. Towards night he would rub his eyes, then looking attentively round, would walk upon the furniture, or oftener upon ropes that I had placed on purpoſe.

A little milk, or very juicy fruits, were not diſagreeable to him; but this was a laſt reſource, he was only fond of ſmall birds and all ſorts of inſects. If he beheld game of this kind, which I uſed to tie at the part of the chamber oppoſite to him, or ſhew him and invite him to me, he would preſently approach with a long careful ſtep, like a perſon walking on tip-toe going to ſurpriſe another. When he was within a foot of his prey, he would ſtop, and raiſing himſelf upright, advance gently, ſtretching out his arm, then at once ſeizing, would ſtrangle it with remarkable celerity.

This little animal periſhed by accident. He appeared much attached to me; it was my cuſtom to careſs him, eſpecially after feeding: his return of affection conſiſted in taking the end of my fingers, preſſing them to his boſom, and fixing his eyes half open upon mine."

Particulars relative to the Nature and Cuſtoms of the Indians *of* North-America. *By Mr.* Richard M'Cauſland, *Surgeon to the King's or Eighth Regiment of Foot. Communicated by* Joſeph Planta, *Eſq. Sec. R. S. From Vol.* LXXVI. *of the* Philoſophical Tranſactions.

IT has been advanced by ſeveral travellers and hiſtorians that the Indians of America differed from other males of the human ſpecies in the want of one very characteriſtic mark of the ſex, to wit, that of a beard. From this general obſervation, the Eſquimaux have been excepted; and hence it has been ſuppoſed, that they had an origin different from that of the other natives of America. Inferences have alſo been drawn, not only with reſpect to the origin, but even relative to the conformation of Indians, as if this was in its nature more imperfect than that of the reſt of mankind.

It appears ſomewhat ſingular that authors, in deducing the origin both of the Eſquimaux and of the other Indians of America from the old world, ſhould never have explained to us how the former came to retain their beards, and the latter to lay them aſide. To aſcertain the authenticity of this point may perhaps prove of little real utility to mankind; but the ſingularity of the fact certainly claims the attention of the curious: and as it is impoſſible to fix any limits to the inferences which may at one time or another be drawn from alledged facts, it muſt always be of conſequence to enquire into the authenticity of thoſe facts, how little intereſting ſoever they may at preſent appear.

I will not by any means take upon me to ſay that there are not nations of America deſtitute of beards; but ten years reſidence at Niagara, in the midſt of the Six-Nations (with frequent opportunities of ſeeing other nations of Indians) has convinced me, that *they* do not differ from the reſt of men, in this particular, more than one European differs from another; and as this imperfection has been attributed to the Indians of North America, equally with thoſe of the reſt of the Continent, I am much inclined to think, that this aſſertion is as void of foundation in one region as it is in the other.

All the Indians of North America (except a very ſmall number, who, from living among white people, have adopted their cuſtoms) pluck out the hairs of the beard; and as they begin this from its firſt appearance, it muſt naturally be ſuppoſed, that to a ſuperficial obſerver their faces will ſeem ſmooth and beardleſs. As further proof that they have beards, we may obſerve, firſt, that they all have an inſtrument for the purpoſe of plucking them out. Secondly, that when they neglect this for any time, ſeveral hairs ſprout up, and are ſeen upon the chin and face. Thirdly, that many Indians allow tufts of hair to grow upon their chins or upper lips, reſembling thoſe we ſee in different nations of the old world. Fourthly, that ſeveral of the Mohocks, Delawares, and others, who live amongſt white people, ſometimes ſhave with razors, and ſometimes pluck their beards out. Theſe are facts which are notorious amongſt the army, Indian traders, &c.; and which are never doubted in that part of the world by any perſon in the leaſt converſant with Indians: but as it is difficult to tranſport a matter of belief from one country to another diſtant one, and as the authors who have maintained the contrary opinion are too reſpectable to be doubted upon light grounds, I by no means intend to reſt the proofs upon what has been ſaid, or upon my ſingle aſſertion.

I have provided myſelf with two authorities, which I apprehend may in this caſe be deciſive. One is Colonel Butler, deputy ſuperintendant of Indian affairs, well known in the late American war, whoſe great and extenſive influence amongſt the Six-Nations could not have been acquired by any thing leſs than his long and intimate knowledge of them and their language. The other authority is that of *Thayendanega*, commonly known by the name of Captain Joſeph Brant, a Mohock Indian of great influence, and much ſpoken of in the late war. He was in England in 1775, and writes and ſpeaks the Engliſh language with tolerable accuracy. I ſhall therefore only ſubjoin their opinions upon this matter, the originals of which I have under their own ſignatures.

Colonel BUTLER'S.

The men of the Six-Nation Indians have all beards naturally, as have all the other nations of North America which I have had an opportunity of ſeeing. Several of the Mohocks ſhave with razors, as do likewiſe many of the Panees who are kept as ſlaves by the Europeans. But in general the Indians pluck out the beard by the roots from its earlieſt appearance; and as their faces are therefore ſmooth, it has been ſuppoſed that they were deſtitute of beards. I am even of opinion, that if the Indians were to practiſe ſhaving from their youth, many of them would have as ſtrong beards as Europeans.

(Signed)
JOHN BUTLER,
Agent of India Affairs.
Niagara, April 12, 1784.

Captain BRANT'S.

The men of the Six-Nations

have all beards by nature; as have likewiſe all other Indian nations of North America which I have ſeen. Some Indians allow a part of the beard upon the chin and upper lip to grow, and a few of the Mohocks ſhave with razors in the ſame manner as Europeans; but the generality pluck out the hairs of the beard by the roots as ſoon as they begin to appear; and as they continue this practice all their lives, they appear to have no beard, or at moſt only a few ſtraggling hairs which they have neglected to pluck out. I am however of opinion, that if the Indians were to ſhave they would never have beards altogether ſo thick as the Europeans; and there are ſome to be met with who have actually very little beard.

(Signed)

JOS. BRANT THAYENDANEGA.

Niagara, April 19, 1783.

Upon this ſubject I ſhall only further obſerve, that it has been ſuppoſed by ſome, that this appearance of beard on Indians ariſes only from a mixture of European blood; and that an Indian of pure race is entirely deſtitute of it. But the nations amongſt whom this circumſtance can have any influence, bear ſo ſmall a proportion to the multitude who are unaffected by it, that it cannot by any means be conſidered as the cauſe; nor is it looked upon as ſuch, either by Captain Brant or Colonel Butler.

I ſhall here ſubjoin a few particulars relative to the Indians of the Six-Nations, which, as they ſeem not to be well underſtood even in America, are probably ſtill leſs known in Europe. My authorities upon this ſubject, as well as upon the former, are the Indian Captain Brant and Colonel Butler.

Each nation is divided into three or more tribes; the principal of which are called the turtle-tribe, the wolf-tribe, and the bear-tribe.

Each tribe has two, three, or more chiefs, called Sachems; and this diſtinction is always hereditary in the family, but deſcends along the female line: for inſtance, if a chief dies, one of his ſiſter's ſons, or one of his own brothers, will be appointed to ſucceed him. Among theſe no preference is given to proximity or primogeniture; but the Sachem, during his life-time, pitches upon one whom he ſuppoſes to have more abilities than the reſt; and in this choice he frequently, though not always, conſults the principal men of the tribe. If the ſucceſſor happens to be a child, the offices of the poſt are performed by ſome of his friends until he is of ſufficient age to act himſelf.

Each of theſe poſts of Sachem has a name which is peculiar to it, and which never changes, as it is always adopted by the ſucceſſor; nor does the order of precedency of each of theſe names or titles ever vary. Neverthelefs, any Sachem, by abilities and activity, may acquire greater power and influence in the nation than thoſe who rank before him in point of precedency; but this is merely temporary, and dies with him.

Each tribe has one or two chief warriors, which dignity is alſo hereditary, and has a peculiar name attached to it.

Theſe are the only titles of diſtinction which are fixed and permanent in the nation; for although any Indian may by ſuperior talents, either as a counſellor or as a warrior,

rior, acquire influence in the nation, yet it is not in his power to tranſmit this to his family.

The Indians have alſo their *great women* as well as their *great men*, to whoſe opinions they pay great deference; and this diſtinction is alſo hereditary in families. They do not ſit in council with the Sachems, but have ſeparate ones of their own.

When war is declared, the Sachems and great women generally give up the management of public affairs into the hands of the warriors. It may however ſo happen, that a Sachem may at the ſame time be alſo a chief warrior.

Friendſhips ſeem to have been inſtituted with a view towards ſtrengthening the union between the ſeveral nations of the confederacy; and hence friends are called the ſinews of the Six-Nations. An Indian has therefore generally one or more friends in each nation. Beſides the attachment which ſubſiſts during the life-time of the two friends, whenever one of them happens to be killed, it is incumbent on the ſurvivor to replace him, by preſenting to his family either a ſcalp, a priſoner, or a belt conſiſting of ſome thouſands of wampum; and this ceremony is performed by every friend of the deceaſed.

The purpoſe and foundation of war parties therefore, is in general, to procure a priſoner or ſcalp to replace the friend or relation of the Indian who is the head of the party. An Indian who wiſhes to replace a friend or relation preſents a belt to his acquaintance, and as many as chuſe to follow him accept this belt, and become his party. After this, it is of no conſequence whether he goes on the expedition or remains at home (as it often happens that he is a child) he is ſtill conſidered as the head of the party. The belt he preſented to his party is returned fixed to the ſcalp or priſoner, and paſſes along with them to the friends of the perſon he replaces. Hence it happens, that a war party, returning with more ſcalps or priſoners than the original intention of the party required, will often give one of theſe ſupernumerary ſcalps or priſoners to another war party whom they meet going out; upon which this party, having fulfilled the purpoſe of their expedition, will ſometimes return without going to war.

Some particulars of the preſent ſtate of Mount Veſuvius. *Extracted from a letter from Sir* William Hamilton, *K. B. F. R. S. and A. S. to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. P. R. S. From the ſame.*

Naples, January 24, 1786.

"Sir,

THE eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which began in the month of November, 1784, nearly at the moment of my return from England to this capital, and which continued in ſome degree till about the 20th of laſt month, has afforded much amuſement to travellers unacquainted with this wonderful operation of nature, but no new circumſtance that could juſtify my troubling you with a letter on the ſubject. The lava either overflowed the rim of the crater, or iſſued from ſmall fiſſures on its borders, on that ſide which faces the mountain of Somma, and ran more or leſs in one, and at times in three or four channels,

nels, regularly formed, down the flanks of the conical part of the volcano; ſometimes deſcending and ſpreading itſelf in the valley between the two mountains; and once, when the eruption was in its greateſt force, in the month of November laſt, the lava deſcended ſtill lower, and did ſome damage to the vineyards, and cultivated parts at the foot of Veſuvius, towards the village of St. Sebaſtiano; but generally the lava, not being abundant, ſtopped and cooled before it was able to reach the valley. By the accumulation of theſe lava's on the flanks of Veſuvius, its form has been greatly altered; and by the frequent exploſion of ſcoriæ and aſhes, a conſiderable mountain has been formed within the crater, which now riſing much above its rim has likewiſe given that part of the mountain a new appearance. Juſt before I left Naples, in May 1783, I was at the top of Veſuvius. The crater was certainly then more than 250 feet deep, and was impracticable, its ſides being nearly perpendicular. This eruption, however, has been as ſatisfactory as could be deſired by the inhabitants of this city, a prodigious quantity of lava having been diſgorged; which matter, confined within the bowels of the earth, would probably have occaſioned tremors; and even ſlight ones might prove fatal to Naples, whoſe houſes are, in general, very high, ill built, and a great number in almoſt every ſtreet already ſupported by props, having either ſuffered by former earthquakes, or from the looſe volcanic ſoil's having been waſhed from under their foundations by the torrents of rain-water from the high grounds which ſurround Naples, and on which a great part of the town itſelf is built.

From the time of the laſt formidable eruption of Mount Veſuvius, in Auguſt 1779 (deſcribed in one of my former communications to the Royal Society) to this day, I have, with the aſſiſtance of the Father Antonio Piaggi *, kept an exact diary of the operations of Veſuvius, with drawings, ſhewing, by the quantity of ſmoke, the degrees of fermentation of the volcano; alſo the courſe of the lava's during this laſt eruption, and the changes that have been made in the form of the mountain itſelf by the lava's and ſcoriæ that have been ejected. This journal is becoming very curious and intereſting; it is remarkably ſo with reſpect to the pointing out a variety of ſingular effects that different currents of air have upon the ſmoke that iſſues from the crater of Veſuvius, elevated (as you know, Sir) more than 3600 feet above the level of the ſea; but, except the ſmoke increaſing conſiderably and conſtantly when the ſea is agitated, and the wind blows from that quarter, the operations of Veſuvius appear to be very capricious and uncertain. One day there will be the appearance of a violent fermentation, and the next all is calmed again: but whenever the ſmoke has been attended with conſiderable ejections of ſcoriæ and

---

* This Padre Antonio Piaggi is the ingenious Monk who invented the method of unfolding and recovering the burnt ancient manuſcripts of Herculaneum, and who reſides conſtantly at Reſina, at the foot, and in full view, of Mount Veſuvius.

cinders, I have conſtantly obſerved that the lava has ſoon after made its appearance, either by boiling over the crater, or forcing its paſſage through crevices in the conical part of the volcano. As long as I remain in this country, and have the neceſſary aſſiſtance of the above-mentioned ingenious Monk (who is as excellent a draughtſman as he is an accurate and diligent obſerver) the Veſuvian diary ſhall be continued; and I hope one day to have the honour of preſenting theſe curious manuſcripts (which begin now to be voluminous) to the Royal Society, if it ſhould think them worthy of a place in the Library of the Society."

An account of a new Electrical Fiſh. In a letter from Lieutenant William Paterſon *to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. P. R. S. From the ſame.*

Sir,

WHILE at the iſland of Johanna, one of the Comora iſlands, in my way to the Eaſt-Indies, with the 98th regiment, I met with an electrical fiſh, which has hitherto eſcaped the obſervation of naturaliſts, and ſeems in many reſpects to differ from the electrical fiſhes already deſcribed; which induces me to ſend you the following account of it, with a very imperfect drawing, and to beg that, if you think it deſerves attention, you will do me the honour of preſenting it to the Royal Society. The ſituation of a ſubaltern officer, in an army upon foreign ſervice, will, I hope, ſufficiently apologize for my ſending you ſo very imperfect a ſketch of the fiſh, which was made in the field, in a hot climate, under every diſadvantage.

The fiſh is ſeven inches long, two inches and a half broad, has a long projecting mouth, and ſeems to be of the genus Tetrodon. The back of the fiſh is a dark brown colour, the belly part of ſea-green, the ſides yellow, and the fins and tail of a ſandy green. The body is interſperſed with red, green, and white ſpots, the white ones particularly bright; the eyes large, the iris red, its outer edge tinged with yellow.

The iſland of Johanna is ſituated in latitude 12° 13′ ſouth. The coaſt is wholly compoſed of coral rocks, which are in many places hollowed by the ſea. In theſe cavities I found ſeveral of the electrical fiſhes. The water is about 56° or 60° of heat of Fahrenheit's thermometer. I caught two of them in a linen bag, cloſed up at one end, and open at the other. In attempting to take one of them in my hand, it gave me ſo ſevere an electrical ſhock, that I was obliged to quit my hold. I however ſecured them both in the linen bag, and carried them to the camp, which was about two miles diſtant. Upon my arrival there, one of them was found to be dead, and the other in a very weak ſtate, which made me anxious to prove, by the evidence of others, that it poſſeſſed the powers of electricity, while it was yet alive. I had it put into a tub of water, and deſired the ſurgeon of the regiment to lay hold of it between his hands; upon doing which he received an evident electrical ſtroke. Afterwards the adjutant touched it with his finger upon the back, and felt a very ſlight ſhock, but ſufficiently ſtrong to aſcertain the fact.

After ſo very imperfect an account, I will not trouble you with any obſervations of my own upon this ſingular fiſh; but beg you will conſider this only as a direction to others who may hereafter viſit that iſland, and from their ſituation, and knowledge in natural hiſtory, may be better able to deſcribe the fiſh, and give an account of its electrical organs.

I have the honour to be, with great eſteem, &c.

W. PATERSON,
Lieutenant 98th regiment.

Advertiſement of the expected return of the Comet of 1532 *and* 1661 *in the year* 1788. *By the Rev.* Nevil Maſkelyne, *D. D. F. R. S. and Aſtronomer Royal. From the ſame.*

THE comet of 1531, 1607, and 1682, having returned in the year 1759, according to Dr. Halley's prediction in his *Synopſis Aſtronomiæ Cometicæ*, firſt publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions in 1705, and re-publiſhed with his Aſtronomical Tables in 1749, there is no reaſon to doubt that all the other comets will return after their proper periods, according to the remark of the ſame author.

In the firſt edition of the *Synopſis* he ſuppoſed the comets of 1532 and 1661, from the ſimilarity of the elements of their orbits, to be one and the ſame; but in the ſecond edition he has ſeemed to leſſen the weight of his firſt conjecture by not repeating it. Probably he thought it beſt to eſtabliſh this new point in aſtronomy, the doctrine of the revolution of comets in elliptic orbits, as all philoſophical matters in the beginning ſhould be, on the moſt certain grounds; and feared that the vague obſervations of the comet, made by Apian in 1532, might rather detract from, than add to, the evidence ariſing from more certain *data*. Aſtronomers, however, have generally acquieſced in his firſt conjecture of the comets of 1532 and 1661 being one and the ſame, and to expect its return to its perihelium accordingly in 1789.

The interval between the paſſages of the comet by the perihelium in 1532 and 1661 is 128 years, 89 days, 1 hour, 29 minutes, (32 of the years being biſſextile) which, added to the time of the perihelium in 1661, together with 11 days to reduce it from the Julian to the Gregorian ſtile, which we now uſe, brings out the expected time of the next perihelium to be April 27th, 1 h. 10′ in the year 1789.

The periodic times of the comet, which appeared in 1531, 1607, and 1682, having been of 76 and 75 years alternately, Dr. Halley ſuppoſed, that the ſubſequent period would be of 76 years, and that it would return in the year 1758; but, upon conſidering its near approach to Jupiter, in its deſcent towards the ſun in the ſummer of 1681, he found, that the action of Jupiter upon the comet was, for ſeveral months together, equal to one-fiftieth part of the ſun upon it, tending to increaſe the inclination of the orbit to the plane of the ecliptic, and lengthen the periodic time. Accordingly, the inclination of the orbit was found by the obſervations made in the following year 1682 to be 22′ greater than in the year 1607. The effect of the augmentation of the periodic time could not be ſeen till the next return, which he ſuppoſed would be protracted by Jupiter's piter's action to the latter end of the year 1758, or the beginning of 1759. M. Clairaut, previous to its return, took the pains to calculate the actions both of Jupiter and Saturn on it during the whole periods from 1607 to 1682, and from 1682 to 1759, and thence predicted its return to its perihelium by the middle of April; it came about the middle of March, only a month ſooner, which was a ſufficient approximation to the truth in ſo delicate a matter, and did honour to this great mathematician, and his laborious calculations.

The comet in queſtion is alſo, from the poſition of its orbit, liable to be much diſturbed both by Jupiter and Saturn, particularly in its aſcent from the ſun after paſſing its perihelium, if they ſhould happen to be near it, when it approaches to or croſſes their orbits; becauſe it is very near the plane of them at that time. When it paſſed the orbit of Jupiter in the beginning of February 1682, O. S. it was 50° *in conſequentia* of that planet; and when it paſſed the orbit of Saturn in the beginning of October 1663, it was 17° *in conſequentia* of it. Hence its motion would be accelerated while it was approaching towards the orbit of either planet by its ſeparate action, and retarded when it had paſſed its orbit; but, as it would be ſubjected to the effect of retardation through a greater part of its orbit than to that of acceleration, the former would exceed the latter, and conſequently the periodic time would be ſhortened; but probably not much, on account of the conſiderable diſtance of the comet from the planets when it paſſed by them; and therefore we may ſtill expect it to return to its perihelium in the beginning of the year 1789, or the latter end of the year 1788, and certainly ſome time before the 27th of April 1789. But of this we ſhall be better informed after the end of this year, from the anſwers to the prize queſtion propoſed by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, to compute the diſturbances of the comet of 1532 and 1661, and thence to predict its return *.

If it ſhould come to its perihelium on the 1ſt of January 1789, it might probably be viſible, with a good achromatic teleſcope, in its deſcent to the ſun, the middle of September 1788, and ſooner or later, according as its perihelium ſhould be ſooner or later. It will approach us from the ſouthern parts of its orbit, and therefore will firſt appear with conſiderable ſouth latitude and ſouth declination; ſo that perſons reſiding nearer the equator than we do, or in ſouth latitude, will have an opportunity of diſcovering it before us. It is to be wiſhed that it may be firſt ſeen by ſome aſtronomer in ſuch a ſituation, and furniſhed with proper inſtruments for ſettling its place in the heavens, the earlieſt good obſervations being moſt valuable for determining its elliptic orbit, and proving its identity with the comets of 1532 and 1661. The Cape of Good Hope would be an excellent ſituation for this purpoſe.

---

* Since this was written, I received the unwelcome news, in a letter from M. Mechain, of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, that the Academy has not received ſatisfactory anſwers concerning the diſturbances of the comet between 1532 and 1661, and 1661 and the approaching return, and that the prize is referred to be adjudged of at Eaſter 1788, and that it will be 6000 livres. N. M.

In order to aſſiſt aſtronomers in looking out for this comet, I have here given its heliocentric and geocentric longitudes and latitudes, and correſpondent diſtances from the ſun and earth, on ſuppoſition that it ſhall come to its perihelium on January 1, 1789. But if that ſhould happen ſooner or later, the heliocentric longitudes and latitudes, and diſtances from the ſun, will ſtand good if applied to days as much earlier or later, as the time of the perihelium may happen ſooner or later; and the geocentric longitudes and latitudes, and diſtances from the earth, muſt bere-computed accordingly. The calculations are made for a parabolic orbit from the elements, determined by Dr. Halley from Hevelius's obſervations in 1661, only allowing for the preceſſion of the equinoxes. The elements made uſe of were as follows:

Time of perihelium January 1, 1789, at noon.

Perihelium diſtance, 0,44851.

Place of aſcending node 2^{s} 24° 18′.

Inclination of orbit to the ecliptic 32° 36′.

Perihelium forwarder in orbit than the aſcending node 33° 28′.

Its motion is direct.

Computed places of the Comet, on ſuppoſition that it ſhall return to its perihelium January 1, 1789, *at noon.*

Times.	Diſt. from ☉	Diſt. from the earth.	Heliocentric longitude.	Heliocentric latitude.	Geocentric longitude.	Geocentric latitude.	Product of diſtances from ☉ and earth.
1788			S. D. M.	D. M.	S. D. M.	D. M.	
Apr. 23, 7	4, 0	4,52	11 3 54	30 56 S	11 16 30	27 5 S	18,07
June 4, 1	3, 5	3,54	11 7 6	31 25	11 26 31	31 4	12,38
July 14, 5	3,	2,57	11 11 16	31 55	0 3 21	38 11	7,70
Aug. 2,46	2,75	2,15	11 13 47	32 10	0 4 8	42 59	5,90
—— 20,43	2, 5	1,79	11 16 39	32 22	0 2 0	48 16	4,48
Sept. 7, 3	2,25	1,51	11 20 9	32 32	11 25 6	53 28	3,39
—— 24, 0	2,	1,29	11 24 16	32 36	11 13 12	56 45	2,58
Oct. 10,26	1,75	1,13	11 29 24	32 30	10 28 22	56 36	1,75
—— 26,64	1,50	1,01	0 5 51	32 4	10 15 50	52 6	1,51
Nov. 9,34	1,25	0,88	0 14 19	31 0	10 8 36	46 47	1,10
—— 23,39	1, 0	0,76	0 26 4	28 32	10 4 10	39 0	0,76
Dec. 7,21	0,75	0,62	1 13 58	22 29	9 29 18	27 45	0,46
—— 23,32	0,50	0,50	2 20 58	2 8	9 14 31	2 7 S	0,25
—— 24,35	0,49	0,51	2 24 18	0 0	9 12 58	0 0	0,25
1789							
Jan. 1, 0	0,45	0,59	3 23 25	17 17 N	9 2 50	13 8 N	0,26

The laſt obſervation made by Hevelius on the comet in 1661 was when its diſtance from the earth was 0,986, and from the ſun 1,37, with what he calls a very long and good teleſcope; at which time it appeared faint and ſmall with it, though ſtill ſufficiently viſible. Let us ſuppoſe this to have been a teleſcope of 9-feet focal length, with an aperture of 1,65 inch; then, becauſe the diameter of the aperture of a teleſcope ſufficient to render the comet equally viſible ſhould be as the product of its diſtances from the ſun and earth, and the product of the numbers abovementioned 0,986 and 1,37 is 1,35, we ſhall have the following analogy to find the aperture of a refracting teleſcope ſufficient to ſhew the comet as it appeared to Hevelius. As 1,35 : 1,65 inch :: 9 : 11 inches, ſo is the product of diſtances from the ſun and earth to the diameter of the aperture required in inches.

Obſervations on Longevity. *By* Anthony Fothergill, *M. D. F. R. S. Communicated in a Letter to Dr.* Percival. *From Memoirs of the Literary and Philoſophical Society of* Mancheſter.

Dear Sir,

I Have often thought, it would be an uſeful undertaking to collect into one point of view the memorable inſtances of long-lived perſons, whoſe ages are recorded by monumental inſcriptions, biographical writings, or even by the public prints. The only judicious attempt I have yet ſeen of this kind, was by the ingenious Mr. Whitehurſt, a few years ago, in his Inquiry into the Origin and Formation of the Earth. To the examples of longevity mentioned by him, as collected by a perſon of veracity from the above ſources, I have now added ſundry remarkable inſtances of a ſimilar kind, as they have occurred to me in the courſe of reading; and have annexed the authorities, (ſo far as was practicable) that you may be enabled to judge of the degree of credibility, that may ſeem due to the reſpective facts, and of the allowance which it may appear neceſſary to make, for that natural propenſity, which mankind have ever betrayed for the marvellous. Now, admitting that many of the ages may have been ſomewhat exaggerated, yet ſtill there can be no poſſible doubt, that even theſe have extended far beyond the ordinary period of life, and may therefore be entitled to a place in the following tables, which I ſubmit to your conſideration, as a ſmall ſpecimen of what might be more worthy your attention, if conducted hereafter on a larger ſcale, and purſued with chronological accuracy.

TABLE I.

OF LONGEVITY.

Names of the Perſons.	Ages	Places of Abode.	Living or Dead.
Thomas Parre	152	Shropſhire	Died Nov. 16, 1635. Phil. Tranſ. No. 44.
Henry Jenkins	169	Yorkſhire	Died Dec. 8, 1670. Phil. Tranſ. No. 221.
Robert Montgomery	126	Ditto	Died in 1670.

James

James Sands	140	Staffordſhire	Died 1770. Fuller's Worthies, p. 47.
His Wife	129	Ditto	
Counteſs of Deſmond	140	Ireland	Raleigh's Hiſt. p. 166.
——— Ecleſton	143	Ditto	Died - 1691 (*a*)
J. Sagar	112	Lancaſhire	- - 1668 (*b*)
— Laurence	140	Scotland	Living - - (*c*)
Simon Sack	141	Trionia	Died May 30, 1764
Col. Thomas Winſlow	146	Ireland	—— Aug. 26, 1766
Francis Conſiſt	150	Yorkſhire	—— Jan. - 1768
Chriſt. J. Drakenberg	146	Norway	—— June 24, 1770 (*d*)
Margaret Forſter	136	Cumberland	Both living 1771
—— her Daughter	104	Ditto	
Francis Bons	121	France	Died Feb. 6, 1769
John Brookey	134	Devonſhire	Living - - 1777 (*e*)
James Bowels	152	Killingworth	Died Aug. 15, 1656 (*f*)
John Tice	125	Worceſterſhire	—— March 1774 (*g*)
John Mount	136	Scotland	—— Feb. 27, 1776 (*h*)
A. Goldſmith	140	France	—— June 1776 (*i*)
Mary Yates	128	Shropſhire	- - - 1776 (*k*)
John Bales	126	Northampton	—— April 5, 1706 (*l*)
William Ellis	130	Liverpool	—— Aug. 16, 1780 (*m*)
Louiſa Truxo, a Negreſs in S. America	175	Tucuman, S. America	Living Oct. 5, 1780 (*n*)
Margaret Patten	138	Lockneugh near Paiſley	Lynche's Guide to Health
Janet Taylor	108	Fintray, Scotland	Died Oct. 10, 1780
Richard Loyd	133	Montgomery	Lynche's Guide to Health
Suſannah Hilliar	100	Piddington, Northamptonſhire	Died Feb. 19, 1781 (*o*)
James Hayley	112	Middlewich, Cheſhire	—— March 17, 1781 (*p*)
Ann Cockbolt	105	Stoke-Bruerne, Northamptonſhire	—— April 5, 1775 (*q*)

William Walker, aged 112, not mentioned above, who was a ſoldier at the battle of Edge-hill.

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 140.
(*b*) Phil. Tranſ. abridged by Lowthorp, Vol. III. p. 306.
(*c*) Derham's Phyſico Theology, p. 173.
(*d*) Annual Regiſter.
(*e*) Daily Advertiſer, Nov. 18, 1777.
(*f*) Warwickſhire.
(*g*) Daily Advertiſer, March 1774.
(*h*) Morning Poſt, Feb. 29, 1776.
(*i*) Daily Advertiſer, June 24, 1776.
(*k*) Ibidem, Aug. 22, 1776.
(*l*) See Inſcription in the Portico of All-Saints Church.
(*m*) London Even. Poſt, Aug. 22, 1780.
(*n*) London Chronicle, Oct. 5, 1780.
(*o*) Northamp. Mercury, Feb. 19, 1781.
(*p*) Gen. Evening Poſt, March 24, 1781.
(*q*) Well known to Perſons of Credit at Northampton.

If we look back to an early period of the chriſtian æra, we ſhall find that Italy has been, at leaſt about that time, peculiarly propitious to longevity. Lord Bacon obſerves, that the year of our Lord 76, in the reign of Veſpaſian, was memorable; for in that year was a taxing, which afforded the moſt authentic method of knowing the ages of men. From it, there were found in that part of Italy, lying between the Apennine mountains and the river Po, one hundred and twenty-four perſons who either equalled or exceeded one hundred years of age, namely:

TABLE II.

	54	Perſons	of	100	Years each.
	57	- -	of	110	
	2	- -	of	125	
	4	- -	of	130	
	4	- -	of	136	
	3	- -	of	140	
In Parma	3	- -	of	120	Years each.
	2	- -	of	130	
In Bruſſels	1	- -	of	125	
In Placentia	1	- -	of	131	
In Faventia	1	- -	of	132	
	6	- -	of	110	
	4	- -	of	120	
In Rimino	1	- -	of	150	Years, viz. Marcus Aponius.

Mr. Carew, in his ſurvey of Cornwall, aſſures us, that it is no unuſual thing, with the inhabitants of that county, to reach ninety years of age and upwards, and even to retain their ſtrength of body, and perfect uſe of their ſenſes. Beſides Brown, the Corniſh beggar, who lived to one hundred and twenty, and one Polezew to one hundred and thirty years of age, he remembered the deceaſe of four perſons in his own pariſh, the ſum of whoſe years, taken collectively, amounted to three hundred and forty. Now, although longevity evidently prevails more in certain diſtricts than in others, yet it is, by no means, confined to any particular nation or climate; nor are there wanting inſtances of it, in almoſt every quarter of the globe, as appears from the preceding, as well as the ſubſequent table.

TABLE

TABLE III.

OF LONGEVITY.

Names of the Perſons.	Age.	Places of Abode.	Where recorded.
Hippocrates, Phyſician	104	Iſland of Cos	Lynche on Health, Ch. 3.
Democritus, Philoſopher	109	Abdera	Bacon's Hiſtory, 1095.
Galen, Phyſician	140	Pergamus	Voſſ. Inſt. or Lib. 3.
Albuna Marc	150	Ethiopia	Hawkewell's ap. Lib. 1.
Dumitur Raduly	140	Haromſzeck, Tranſilvania	Died Jan. 18, 1782, Gen. Gazetteer, April 18th.
Titus Fullonius	150	Bononia	Fulgoſus, Lib. 8.
Abraham Paiba	142	Charles-town, S. Carolina	General Gazetteer.
L. Tertulla	137	Arminium	Fulgoſus, Lib. 8.
Lewis Cornaro	100	Venice	Bacon's Hiſt. of Life, &c. p. 134.
Robert Blakeney, Eſq.	114	Armagh, Ireland	General Gazetteer,
Margaret Scott	125	Dalkeith, Scotland	See Inſcrip. on her Tomb in Dalkeith Ch. Yard.
W. Gulſtone	140	Ireland	Fuller's Worthies.
J. Bright	105	Ludlow	Lynche on Health.
William Poſtell	120	France	Bacon's Hiſt. p. 134.
Jane Reeves	103	Eſſex	St. J. Chron. June 14, 1781.
W. Paulet, Marquis of Wincheſter	106	Hampſhire	Baker's Chron. p. 502.
John Wilſon	116	Suffolk	Gen. Gaz. Oct. 29, 1782.
Patrick Wian	115	Leſbury, Northumberland	Plempius Fundammed. Sec. 4, Chap. 8.
M. Laurence	140	Orcades	Buchanan's Hiſt. of Scot.
Evan Williams	145	Carmarthen Workhouſe, ſtill alive	Gen. Gazetteer, Oct. 12, 1782.

The antediluvians are purpoſely omitted, as bearing too little reference to the preſent race of mortals, to afford any ſatisfactory concluſions; and the improbable ſtories of ſome perſons, who have almoſt rivalled them in modern times, border too much upon the marvellous, to find a place in theſe tables. The preſent examples are abundantly ſufficient to prove, that longevity does not depend ſo much, as has been ſuppoſed, on any particular climate, ſituation, or occupation in life. For we ſee, that it often prevails in places where all theſe are extremely diſſimilar; and it would, moreover, be very difficult, in the hiſtories of the ſeveral perſons above-mentioned, to find any circumſtance common to them all, except, perhaps, that of being born of healthy parents, and of being inured to daily labour, temperance, and ſimplicity of diet. Among the inferior ranks of mankind, therefore, rather than amongſt the ſons of eaſe, and luxury, ſhall we find the moſt numerous inſtances of longevity; even frequently, when other external circumſtances ſeem extremely unfavourable: as in the caſe of the poor ſexton of Peterborough, who, notwithſtanding his unpromiſing occupation among dead bodies, lived long enough to bury two crowned heads, and to ſurvive two complete generations*. The livelihood of Henry Jenkins, and old Parr, is ſaid to have conſiſted chiefly of the coarſeſt fare, as they depended on precarious alms. To which may be added, the remarkable inſtance of Agnes Milburne, who, after bringing forth a numerous offspring, and being obliged, through extreme indigence, to paſs the latter part of her life in St. Luke's work-houſe, yet reached her hundred and ſixth year, in that ſordid, unfriendly ſituation †. The plain diet, and invigorating employments of a country life, are acknowledged, on all hands, to be highly conducive to health and longevity, while the luxury and refinements of large cities are allowed to be equally deſtructive to the human ſpecies: and this conſideration alone, perhaps, more than counterbalances all the boaſted privileges, of ſuperior elegance and civilization, reſulting from a city life.

From country villages, and not from crouded cities, have the preceding inſtances of longevity been chiefly ſupplied. Accordingly it appears from the London bills of mortality, during a period of thirty years, viz. from the year 1728 to 1758, the ſum of the deaths amounted to 750,322, and that, in all this prodigious number, only two hundred and forty-two perſons ſurvived the hundredth year of their age! This overgrown metropolis is computed, by my learned friend Dr. Price, to contain a ninth part of the inhabitants of England, and to conſume annually ſeven thouſand perſons, who remove into it from the country every year, without increaſing it. He moreover obſerves, that the number of inhabitants in England and Wales has diminiſhed, about one fourth part, ſince the revolution, and ſo rapidly of late, that, in eleven years, near 200,000 of our common people have been loſt ‡! If the calculation be juſt, however alarming it may appear in a national view, there is this conſolation, when conſidered in a philoſophical light, that without partial evil, there can be no general good; and that, what a nation loſes in the ſcale of population at one period, it gains at another; and thus, probably, the average number of inhabitants on the ſurface of the globe continues, at all times, nearly the ſame. By this medium the world is neither overſtocked with inhabitants, nor kept too thin, but life and death keep a tolerably equal pace. The inhabitants of this iſland, comparatively ſpeaking, are but as the duſt of the balance; yet, inſtead of being diminiſhed, we are aſſured by other writers, that within theſe thirty years, they are greatly increaſed ‖.

---

* Fuller's Worthies, p. 293, from a memorial in the cathedral at Peterborough.

† Lynche's Guide to Health, C. III.

‡ Obſervations on Population, &c. p. 305.

‖ The Rev. Mr. Howlet, Mr. Wales, and others.

The deſire of ſelf-preſervation, and of protracting the ſhort ſpan of life, is ſo intimately interwoven with our conſtitution, that it is juſtly eſteemed one of the firſt principles of our nature, and in ſpite even of pain and miſery, ſeldom quits us to the laſt moments of our exiſtence. It ſeems, therefore, to be no leſs our duty than our intereſt, to examine minutely into the various means that have been conſidered as conducive to health and long life; and, if poſſible, to diſtinguiſh ſuch circumſtances as are eſſential to that great end, from thoſe which are merely accidental. But here, it is much to be regretted, that an accurate hiſtory of the lives of all the remarkable perſons in the above table, ſo far as relates to the diet, regimen, and the uſe of the *non-naturals*, has not been faithfully handed down to us; without which, it is impoſſible to draw the neceſſary inferences. Is it not then a matter of aſtoniſhment, that hiſtorians and philoſophers have hitherto paid ſo little attention to longevity? If the preſent imperfect liſt ſhould excite others, of more leiſure and better abilities, to undertake a full inveſtigation of ſo intereſting a ſubject, the enquiry might prove not only curious, but highly uſeful to mankind. In order to furniſh materials for a future hiſtory of longevity, the bills of mortality, throughout the kingdom, ought firſt to be reviſed, and put on a better footing; agreeably to the ſcheme which you pointed out ſome time ago, and of which Mancheſter and Cheſter have already given a ſpecimen, highly worthy of imitation. The plan, however, might be further improved, with very little trouble, by adding a particular account of the diet and regimen of every perſon who dies at eighty years of age or upwards, and mentioning whether his parents were healthy, long-lived people, &c. &c. An accurate regiſter thus eſtabliſhed throughout the Britiſh dominions, would be productive of many important advantages to ſociety, not only in a medical and philoſophical, but alſo in a political and moral view. It is therefore to be hoped, that the legiſlature will not long delay taking an object of ſuch great utility into their ſerious conſideration.

All the circumſtances that are moſt eſſentially neceſſary to life, may be compriſed under the ſix following heads:

1. Air and climate.
2. Meat and drink.
3. Motion and reſt.
4. Sleep and watching.
5. The ſecretions and excretions.
6. Affections of the mind.

Theſe, though all perfectly natural to the conſtitution, have by writers been ſtyled *non-naturals*, by a ſtrange perverſion of language; and have been all copiouſly handled under that improper term. However, it may not be amiſs to offer a few ſhort obſervations on each, as they are ſo immediately connected with the preſent ſubject.

1. Air, &c.—It has long been known, that freſh air is more immediately neceſſary to life than food; for a man may live two or three days without the latter, but not many minutes without the former. The vivifying principle contained in the atmoſphere, ſo eſſential to the ſupport of flame, as well as animal life, concerning which

authors have propoſed ſo many conjectures, appears now to be nothing elſe but that pure dephlogiſticated fluid lately diſcovered by that ingenious philoſopher, Dr. Prieſtley. The common atmoſphere may well be ſuppoſed to be more or leſs healthy, in proportion as it abounds with this animating principle. As this exhales, in copious ſtreams, from the green leaves of all kinds of vegetables, even from thoſe of the moſt poiſonous kind, may we not, in ſome meaſure, account why inſtances of longevity are ſo much more frequent in the country than in great cities, where the air, inſtead of partaking ſo largely of this ſalutary impregnation, is daily contaminated with noxious animal effluvia, and phlogiſton?

With reſpect to climate, various obſervations conſpire to prove, that thoſe regions, which lie within the temperate zones, are beſt calculated to promote long life. Hence, perhaps, may be explained, why Italy has produced ſo many long livers, and why iſlands in general are more ſalutary than continents; of which Bermudas, and ſome others, afford examples. And it is a pleaſing circumſtance, that our own iſland appears from the above table, (notwithſtanding the ſudden viciſſitudes to which it is liable) to contain far more inſtances of longevity than could well be imagined. The ingenious Mr. Whitehurſt aſſures us, from certain facts, that Engliſhmen are, in general, longer lived than North Americans; and, that a Britiſh conſtitution will laſt longer, even in that climate, than a native one*. But it muſt be allowed in general, that the human conſtitution is adapted to the peculiar ſtate and temperature of each reſpective climate; ſo that no part of the habitable globe can be pronounced too hot, or too cold, for its inhabitants. Yet, in order to promote a friendly intercourſe between the moſt remote regions, the Author of Nature has wiſely enabled the inhabitants to endure great and ſurpriſing changes of temperature with impunity†.

2. Foods and drink.—Though foods and drink of the moſt ſimple kinds are allowed to be the beſt calculated for the ſupporting the body in health, yet it can hardly be doubted, but variety may be ſafely indulged occaſionally, provided men would reſtrain their appetites within the bounds of temperance. For bountiful nature cannot be ſuppoſed to have poured forth ſuch a rich profuſion of proviſions, merely to tantalize the human ſpecies, without attributing to her the part of a cruel ſtep-dame, inſtead of that of the kind and indulgent parent. Beſides, we find, that by the wonderful powers of the digeſtive organs, a variety of animal and vegetable ſubſtances, of very diſcordant principles, are happily aſſimilated into one bland homogeneous chyle; therefore, it ſeems natural to diſtruſt thoſe cynical writers, who would rigidly confine mankind to one ſimple diſh, and their drink to the mere water of the brook. Nature, it is true, has

---

* Enquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth.

† See remarkable inſtances of this, in the account of experiments in a heated room, by Dr. George Fordyce, and others.

Phil. Tranſ. Vol. LXIX.

pointed out that mild, inſipid fluid, as the univerſal diluent; and, therefore, moſt admirably adapted for our daily beverage. But experience has equally proved, that vinous and ſpiritous liquors, on certain occaſions, are no leſs ſalutary and beneficial, whether it be to ſupport ſtrength againſt ſickneſs, or bodily fatigue, or to exhilarate the mind under the preſſure of heavy misfortunes. But alas! what nature meant for innocent and uſeful cordials, to be uſed only occaſionally, and according to the direction of reaſon; cuſtom and caprice have, by degrees, rendered habitual to the human frame, and liable to the moſt enormous and deſtructive abuſes? Hence, it may be juſtly doubted, whether gluttony and intemperance have not depopulated the world, more than even ſword, peſtilence, and famine. True, therefore, is the old maxim, "*Modus utendi ex veneno facit Medicamentum, ex Medicamento, venenum.*"

3. and 4. Motion and reſt, ſleep and watching.—It is allowed, on all hands, that alternate motion and reſt, and ſleep and watching, are neceſſary conditions to health and longevity; and that they ought to be adapted to age, temperament, conſtitution, temperature of the climate, &c. but the errors which mankind daily commit in theſe reſpects become a fruitful ſource of diſeaſes. While ſome are bloated and relaxed with eaſe and indolence, others are emaciated, and become rigid, thro' hard labour, watching, and fatigue.

5. Secretions and excretions.—Where the animal functions are duly performed, the ſecretions go on ſo regularly; and the different evacuations ſo exactly correſpond to the quantity of aliment taken in, in a given time, that the body is found to return daily to nearly the ſame weight. If any particular evacuation happen to be preternaturally diminiſhed, ſome other evacuation is proportionally augmented, and the equilibrium is commonly preſerved; but continued irregularities in theſe important functions cannot but terminate in diſeaſe.

6. Affections of the mind.—The due regulation of the paſſions, perhaps, contributes more to health and longevity, than that of any other of the *non-naturals*. The animating paſſions, ſuch as joy, hope, love, &c. when kept within proper bounds, gently excite the nervous influence, promote an equable circulation, and are highly conducive to health; while the depreſſing affections, ſuch as fear, grief, and deſpair, produce the contrary effect, and lay the foundation of the moſt formidable diſeaſes.

From the light which hiſtory affords us, as well as from ſome inſtances in the above table, there is great reaſon to believe, that longevity is, in a great meaſure, hereditary; and that healthy, long-lived parents would commonly tranſmit the ſame to their children, were it not for the frequent errors in the *non-naturals*, which ſo evidently tend to the abbreviation of human life.

Whence is it, but from theſe cauſes, and the unnatural modes of living, that, of all the children which are born in the capital cities of Europe, nearly one half die in early infancy? To what elſe can we attribute this extraordinary mortality? Such an amazing proportion of premature deaths is a circumſtance unheard of among ſavage nations, or among the young of other animals! In the earlieſt ages, we are informed, that human life was protracted to a very extraordinary length; yet how few perſons, in theſe later times, arrive at that period which nature ſeems to have deſigned! Man is, by nature, a field-animal, and ſeems deſtined to riſe with the ſun, and to ſpend a large portion of his time in the open air, to inure his body to robuſt exerciſes, and the inclemency of the ſeaſons, and to make a plain homely repaſt, only when hunger dictates. But art has ſtudiouſly defeated the kind intentions of nature; and by enſlaving him to all the blandiſhments of ſenſe, has left him, alas! an eaſy victim to folly and caprice! To enumerate the various abuſes, which take place from the earlieſt infancy, and which are continued through the ſucceeding ſtages of modiſh life, would carry me far beyond my preſent intention. Suffice it to obſerve, that they prevail more particularly among people, who are the moſt highly poliſhed and refined.—To compare their artificial mode of life, with that of nature, or even with the long livers in the liſt, would, probably, afford a very ſtriking contraſt; and, at the ſame time, ſupply an additional reaſon why, in very large cities, inſtances of longevity are ſo very rare. Of late years, the increaſing luxury and diſſipation of the age, no longer confined to the metropolis, have ſpread their contagion far and wide into the country, ſo as to afford the ſage divine, and ſpeculative moraliſt, a more melancholy proſpect of the apparent degeneracy of the human race, than perhaps was ever before exhibited*!

That ſo complicated a machine, as the human body, ſo delicate in its texture, and ſo exquiſitely formed in all its parts, ſhould continue, for ſo many years, to perform its various functions, even under the moſt prudent conduct, is not a little ſurprizing: but that it ſhould ever hold out to any advanced period, under all the rude ſhocks it ſo often meets with from riot and intemperance, which lay it open to all the various "ills that fleſh is heir to," is ſtill more truly miraculous! But here, perhaps, it may be alledged, that it never can be ſuppoſed, all the long livers purſued one uniform, regular courſe of life, ſince it is well known, that ſome of the moſt noted ones were ſometimes guilty of great deviations from ſtrict temperance and regularity. Let not this, however, encourage the giddy libertines of the preſent age to hope to render their continued ſcenes of intemperance and debauchery compatible with health and longevity. The duties and occupations of life will not, indeed, permit the generality of mankind to live by rule, and ſubject themſelves to a preciſe regimen. Fortunately, this is not neceſſary: for the divine Architect has, with infinite wiſdom, rendered the human frame ſo ductile, as to admit of a very conſiderable *latitude of health*; yet this has its bounds, which none can long tranſgreſs with impunity. For if old *Parr*, notwithſtanding ſome exceſſes and irregularities, arrived at ſo aſtoniſhing an age, yet we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that theſe were far from being habitual; and may alſo conclude, that had it not been for theſe abuſes, his life might have been ſtill conſiderably protracted.

---

* I ſay *apparently*, becauſe mankind, in reality, have been equally prone to vice and folly in all ages; only theſe have aſſumed different appearances, according to the taſte and manners of the times: not that the human heart has been ſucceſſively growing more and more depraved, as the poet ſatirically exclaims,

> Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
> Nos nequiores; mox daturos
> Progeniem vitioſiorem! Hor. Lib. III. Ode 6.

On the whole, though ſome few exceptions may occur to what has been already advanced, yet it will be found, in general, that all extremes are unfriendly to health and longevity. Exceſſive heat enervates the body; extreme cold renders it torpid: ſloth and inactivity clog the neceſſary movements of the machine; inceſſant labour ſoon wears it out. On the other hand, a temperate climate, moderate exerciſe, pure country air, and ſtrict temperance, together with a prudent regulation of the paſſions, will prove the moſt efficacious means of protracting life to its utmoſt limits.— Now if any of theſe require more peculiar attention than the reſt, it is, undoubtedly, the laſt: for the ſocial paſſions, like gentle gales, fan the brittle veſſel calmly along the ocean of life, while, on the other hand, rough, turbulent ones daſh it upon rocks and quickſands. Hence, perhaps, it may be explained, why the cultivation of philoſophy, muſic, and the fine arts, all which manifeſtly tend to humanize the ſoul, and to calm the rougher paſſions, are ſo highly conducive to longevity. And, finally, why there is no ſure method of ſecuring that habitual calmneſs and ſerenity of mind, which conſtitute true happineſs, and which are, at the ſame time, ſo eſſential to health and long life, without virtue.

"*Æquanimitas ſola, atque unica felicitas.*"

I hope you will excuſe the prolixity of this letter, and believe me to be, with the higheſt eſteem,

Dear Sir, your ſincere friend, and faithful humble ſervant,

A. Fothergill.

London, Nov. 23, 1782.

Reſult of ſome Obſervations relative to Army Diſeaſes, *made by* Benjamin Ruſh, *M. D. Profeſſor of Chemiſtry in the Univerſity of* Philadelphia, *during his attendance as Phyſician General of the Military Hoſpitals of the United States of America, in the late War. Communicated by Mr.* Thomas Henry, *F. R. S. &c. From the ſame.*

To Mr. THOMAS HENRY.

Dear Sir,

THE incloſed obſervations are at your ſervice. Inſtead of dilating them with theories and caſes, which would add only to the number of books, but not to the ſtock of facts, I ſend them to you in as ſhort a compaſs as poſſible. They are not ſo fit for the public eye as I could wiſh; but if you think them worthy of a place in your Tranſactions, you are welcome to them.

Be aſſured, Dear Sir, of the great regard of your friend and humble ſervant,

Benjamin Rush.

Philadelphia, July 22, 1785.

Reſult *of* Obſervations, *&c.*

1. The principal diſeaſes were putrid fevers. Men, who came into the hoſpitals with pleuriſies, rheumatiſms, &c. ſoon loſt the types of their original diſeaſes, and ſuffered, or died, with the putrid fever.

2. This putrid fever was often artificial, produced by the want of ſufficient room and cleanlineſs.

3. It always prevailed moſt, and with the worſt ſymptoms, in winter: a free air, which could only be obtained in ſummer, always prevented or checked it.

4. Soldiers, billeted in private houſes, eſcaped it, and generally recovered ſooneſt from all their diſeaſes.

5. Convaleſcents, and drunken ſoldiers, were moſt expoſed to putrid fevers.

6. The remedies that appeared to do moſt ſervice in this diſeaſe, were tartar emetic in the beginning, gentle doſes of laxative ſalts, bark, wine, (two or three bottles a day in many caſes) and ſal volatile.

7. In all thoſe caſes where the contagion was received, cold ſeldom failed to render it active. Whenever an hoſpital was removed in winter, one half of the patients generally ſickened in the way, or ſoon after their arrival at the place to which they were ſent.

8. The army, when it lay in tents, was always more ſickly than when it lay in the open air; it was always more healthy when kept in motion, than when it lay in an encampment.

9. Militia officers, and ſoldiers, who enjoyed health during a campaign, were often ſeized with fevers upon their return to the *vita mollis*, at their reſpective homes. There was one inſtance of a militia captain, who was ſeized with convulſions the firſt night he lay on a feather-bed, after lying ſeveral months on a matraſs and on the ground. The fever was produced by the ſudden change in the manner of ſleeping, living, &c. It was prevented, in many caſes, by the perſon lying, for a few nights after his return to his family, on a blanket before the fire.

10. I met with ſeveral inſtances of buboes, and ulcers in the throat, as deſcribed by Dr. Don. Monro: they were miſtaken by ſome of the junior ſurgeons for venereal ſores, but they yielded to the common remedies of putrid fevers.

11. Thoſe patients in putrid fevers, who had large ulcers, and even mortifications on their backs or limbs, generally recovered.

12. There were many inſtances of patients in putrid fevers, who, without any apparent ſymptoms of diſſolution, ſuddenly fell down dead, upon being moved; this was more eſpecially the caſe, when they aroſe to go to ſtool.

13. Thoſe officers, who wore flannel ſhirts or waiſtcoats next to their ſkin, in general eſcaped fevers, and diſeaſes of all kinds.

14. Lads under twenty years of age were ſubject to the greateſt number of camp diſeaſes.

15. The ſouthern troops were more ſickly, than the northern or eaſtern troops.

16. The native Americans were more ſickly than the Europeans.

17. Men above thirty and thirty-five years of age, were the hardieſt ſoldiers in the army. Perhaps this was the reaſon, why the Europeans were more healthy than the native Americans; they were more advanced in life.

18. The troops from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, ſickened for the *want* of ſalt proviſions. Their ſtrength and ſpirits were only to be reſtored to them by means of ſalt bacon. I once ſaw a private in a Virginia regiment throw away his ration of choice freſh beef, and give ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence ſpecie for a pound of ſalt meat.

19. Moſt of the ſufferings, and mortality in our hoſpitals, were occaſioned not ſo much by actual want or ſcarcity of any thing, as by the ignorance, negligence, &c. in providing neceſſaries for them. After the *purveying*, and *directing* apartments were ſeparated (agreeably to the advice of Dr. Monro) in the year 1778, very few of the American army died in our hoſpitals.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Obſervations on the uſe of Acids in bleaching of Linen. By Dr. Eaſon. *From the foregoing work.*

THE uſe of acids in bleaching of linen, has been long known. Formerly milk was chiefly employed; but it had ſeveral inconveniences. The quantity requiſite could ſcarcely be obtained; its effect was ſlow; and, containing animal matter, it was apt to rot and ſpoil the cloth.

About thirty years ago it was diſcovered, that the foſſil acids, when properly diluted with water, anſwered much better, and would do more in a few hours, than animal acids could do in a week, in facilitating the whitening of cloth.

At firſt it was imagined that the mineral acids would be apt to burn or corrode linen ſubſtances, when immerſed in them. But experience ſoon diſpelled ſuch fears, and convinced bleachers, that, by proper management, the danger was next to none.

According to the ſtrength of the acids, they muſt be mixed with water, ſometimes to ſeven hundred times their bulk.

The nitrous acid, being the moſt corroſive, and moſt expenſive, has not been uſed.

The vitriolic acid is that which has univerſally been employed: not becauſe it is preferable to the muriatic acid, but becauſe it was to be bought in large quantities, and at a ſmall expence.

The muriatic acid being now ſold nearly as cheap as the vitriolic, and anſwering in a ſuperior degree, will, in a ſhort time, I am convinced, be generally adopted by bleachers.

As I muſt confeſs my ignorance in the art of bleaching, it may ſeem preſumptuous in me to hazard a conjecture concerning the manner in which acids act in whitening cloth; but it ſeems probable, that alkaline ſalts, which are uſed in waſhing out the oil and glutinous parts of flax, on which the green colour depends, depoſit an earth in the pores of the cloth. As it is known that acids will alſo diſſolve the earthy parts of vegetables, that acid ſhould be preferred which will keep earthy particles ſuſpended in water. The vitriolic, therefore, is not ſo proper; becauſe, with earthy ſubſtances, it forms immediately a ſelenite, a ſubſtance only ſoluble in a very large quantity of water. This ſelenitic matter, adhering to the threads of the cloth, will injure it, and make it feel hard to the touch, and probably is the reaſon why ſome linens wear ſo badly.

When the muriatic acid is uſed, no ſelenite is formed. Whatever quantity of earthy matter is diſſolved by it, is eaſily waſhed out by pure ſoft water, and the cloth having a ſoft ſilky feel, ſeems to ſtrengthen this conjecture.

As the muriatic acid is now ſold at three-pence per pound, and the common vitriolic acid at four-pence halfpenny; and as the muriatic acid will, in proportion, acidulate a larger quantity of water than the vitriolic, beſides the great probability of its anſwering better in whitening of cloth, the bleachers in this part of the world would do well to give it a fair trial.

Experiments and Obſervations on Ferments and Fermentation; by which a Mode of exciting Fermentation in Malt Liquors, without the aid of Yeaſt, is pointed out; with an Attempt to form a new Theory of that Proceſs. By Thomas Henry, *F. R. S. From the ſame.*

> Nec manet ulla ſui ſimilis res; omnia migrant;
> Omnia commutat Natura et vertere cogit.
>
> LUCRETIUS.

OF all the proceſſes of chemiſtry, there is, perhaps, none, the phenomena of which have been leſs ſatisfactorily explained, than thoſe of fermentation. The writers on chemiſtry have been content to deſcribe the ſeveral appearances, the progreſs and reſult of fermentation, and have declined any inquiry into its primary cauſes, or into the mode by which the changes, induced by it, are effected in bodies, which are the objects of its action.

Within theſe few years, great changes have taken place in the theory of chemiſtry. The important diſcoveries of Black and Prieſtley, and of ſeveral other philoſophical chemiſts, who have endeavoured to emulate their examples, have happily explained many of the operations of chemiſtry, which were, before, wholly unintelligible: and the preſent time forms one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed æras in the hiſtory of that ſcience. We now underſtand the nature of lime and of alkalis; the difference between a metal and its calx; the cauſe of the increaſe of weight in the latter, and of its decreaſe when returned to a metallic form. The conſtitution of atmoſpheric air has been demonſtrated.—Various gaſes, reſembling air in many points, but differing from it in others, have been diſcovered; and, among theſe, an æthereal fluid, ſuperior in its properties to common air, and capable of ſupporting life and combuſtion more vigorouſly and durably. Our acquaintance with this pure fluid, which forms the vital part of common air, ſeems to promiſe much enlargement to our chemical knowledge, in the inveſtigation of its various combinations; and we have already derived much information, relative to the conſtitution of the acids, and of water, from the reſearches of philoſophers into the nature of pure air.

Of the gaſes which have ſo much engaged the attention of the pneumatic chemiſts, fixed air, or, as it has more properly been denominated by Sir Torbern Bergman, aërial acid, was that which firſt attracted their notice. This gas, which had been remarked, even by Van Helmont, to be diſcharged in great quantities from liquors, in the vinous fermentation, was found by Dr. Prieſtley to be again miſcible with them; and he proved that, on the preſence of this gas, the briſkneſs and pleaſantneſs of theſe liquors depended, and that, when deprived of it, they became vapid and flat.

But though the Hon. Mr. Cavendiſh had proved the ſeparation, and aſcertained the quantity of this gas, diſcharged in fermentation, and though Dr. Prieſtley had early made the above-mentioned obſervations, it does not appear to have occurred to theſe philophers, that this gas was the exciting cauſe, as well as the product, of fermentation.

It is a fact well known to brewers of malt-liquors, that wort, contrary to what takes place in liquors more purely ſaccharine, as the juice of the grape, cannot be brought into the vinous fermentation, without the addition of a *ferment*; for which purpoſe yeaſt or barm, which is a viſcid frothy ſubſtance, taken from the ſurface of other maſſes of fermenting liquor, has been commonly uſed.

But the nature of this ſubſtance, much leſs its mode of action, has not been conſidered with that degree of attention, which one would have expected ſhould have been excited by ſo extraordinary an agent. We are told indeed, that a vinous ferment induces the vinous, that a ferment of an acetous kind brings on the acetous fermentation, and a putrid one, that fermentation which ends in putrefaction. But we receive no more information relative to the manner in which they produce theſe effects, than we do with regard to fermentation itſelf.

Before I endeavour to deliver any theory of ferments or of fermentation, I ſhall relate a number of facts which have led to a few thoughts on the ſubject; and having mentioned the phenomena attendant on the proceſs, as deſcribed by other chemiſts, ſhall then proceed to offer an hypotheſis, with the greateſt diffidence—a diffidence which nothing could enable me to ſurmount, but the kind indulgence I have ſo often experienced in this ſociety. And on no occaſion have I ſtood more in need of their candour than on the preſent one; as the obſcurity and intricacy of the path, on which I am entering, the almoſt total want of guides, and my inadequate abilities to clear away the obſtacles, throw light on the dark parts, and point out thoſe that may be traverſed with eaſe and certainty, place me in a ſituation truly difficult. Indeed I was in hopes to have rendered what I have to offer leſs imperfect, but my ſon's unfortunate accident has ſo engaged my thoughts, and added ſo much to my neceſſary avocations, that I have been able to devote but a ſmall portion of my time to ſcientific purſuits.

Soon after Dr. Prieſtley had publiſhed his method of impregnating water with fixed air, I began to prepare artificial Pyrmont water, by that means; and early obſerved that water, ſo impregnated, though it at firſt ſhewed no ſparkling when poured into a glaſs, yet after it had been kept in a bottle, cloſely corked, for ſome days, exhibited, when opened, the ſparkling appearance of the true Pyrmont water.

ter *. This I attributed, and perhaps not unjuſtly, to the gas, which had been more intimately combined with the water, and reduced to a kind of latent ſtate, recovering its elaſticity, and endeavouring to eſcape.

Having one day made ſome punch with this water, and having about a pint of it remaining, after my friends had retired I put it into a bottle, capable of containing a quart, and corked the bottle. On opening it, at the diſtance of three or four days, the liquor, when poured out, creamed and mantled, like the briſkeſt bottled cyder. An old gentleman, to whom I gave a half pint glaſs full of it, called out in raptures to know what delicious liquor he had been drinking, and earneſtly deſired that, if I had any more of the ſame, I would give him another glaſs.

Dr. Prieſtley, as has been already mentioned, had informed us that fixed air, thrown into wine or malt liquor, grown vapid, reſtored to them their briſkneſs and pleaſant taſte. On impregnating ſome vapid ale with fixed air, I was diſappointed in not finding the effect immediately produced. But after bottling the ale, and keeping it cloſely ſtopped for four or five days, it was become as briſk as ale which, in the common way, has been bottled ſeveral months.

In the year 1778, I impregnated with fixed air a quantity of milk whey, which I had clarified for the purpoſe of preparing ſome ſugar of milk, and bottled it. In about a week, the whey in one of the bottles, which had been ſo looſely corked, that the liquor had partly oozed out, was remarkably briſk and ſparkling. Another bottle, which was not opened till the ſummer of 1782, contained the liquor not in ſo briſk a ſtate, but become evidently vinous, and without the leaſt acidity, perceptible to the taſte.

I now began to ſuſpect that fixed air is the efficient cauſe of fermentation; or, in other words, that the properties of yeaſt, as a ferment, depend on the fixed air it contains; and that yeaſt is little elſe than fixed air, enveloped in the mucilaginous parts of the fermenting liquor. I therefore determined to attempt the making of artificial yeaſt.

For this purpoſe, I boiled wheat-flour and water to the conſiſtence of a thin jelly, and, putting the mixture into the middle part of Nooth's machine, impregnated it with fixed air, of which it imbibed a conſiderable quantity. The mixture was then put into a bottle, looſely ſtopped, and placed in a moderate heat.

The next day the mixture was in a ſtate of fermentation, and, by the third day, had acquired ſo much of the appearance of yeaſt, that I added to it a proper quantity of flour, kneaded the paſte, and after ſuffering it to ſtand, during five or ſix hours, baked it, and the product was bread, tolerably well fermented.

I now determined to make a more ſatisfactory experiment. The wort, obtained from malt, it is known cannot be brought into a ſtate of fermentation, without the aid of a

---

* Various methods have ſince been deviſed of forcing ſuch a quantity of gas to combine, or, at leaſt, to mix, with water, as immediately to communicate to it this appearance.

ferment; for which purpoſe yeaſt is always uſed. If, therefore, by impregnating wort with fixed air, I could bring on the vinous fermentation, if I could carry on this fermentation ſo as to produce ale, and, from the ale, procure ardent ſpirit, I imagined that I ſhould be able to announce to the world a mode of procuring newly-fermented liquors, in moſt climates and in moſt ſituations.

I accordingly procured from a public-houſe two gallons of ſtrong wort. It had a diſagreeable bitter taſte, owing either to bad hops, or to ſome ſubſtitute for hops. A large part of the liquor was impregnated, in Nooth's machine, with fixed air, which it ſeemed to abſorb very rapidly and in large quantity. When it was thus impregnated, it was mixed with the other part, and poured into a large earthen jug, the mouth of which was ſtopped with a cloth, and placed in a degree of heat, varying from 70° to 80°. In twenty-four hours the liquor was in briſk fermentation, a ſtrong head of yeaſt began to collect on its ſurface; and, on the third day, it appeared to be in a ſtate fit for tunning. It was therefore put into an earthen veſſel, ſuch as is uſed in this country by the common people as a ſubſtitute for a barrel, for containing their ſmall brewings of fermented liquors. During the ſpace of near a week, previous to the ſtopping up of this veſſel, much yeaſt was collected on its ſurface, and occaſionally taken off; and by means of this yeaſt, I fermented wheat-flour, and procured as good bread as I could have obtained by uſing an equal quantity of any other yeaſt.

The veſſel was now ſtopped up; and in about a month tapped. The liquor was well fermented, had a head or cream on its ſurface; and though, as might be expected from the deſcription of the wort, not very pleaſant, yet as much ſo, as the generality of the ale brewed at public-houſes.

A part of the ale was ſubmitted to diſtillation; and, from it, a quantity of vinous ſpirit was produced, which is ſubmitted to the examination of the ſociety. But the veſſel being broken before the diſtillation was finiſhed, the quantity it would have yielded was not aſcertained. However, that which was obtained, appeared not to differ much in quantity from what an equal portion of common ale would have afforded.

As I had loſt my notes, and was obliged to make out the preceding account from memory, I deſigned to repeat the experiments again; but various engagements prevented me, till the latter end of Auguſt 1784. Of theſe experiments the following notes are taken from my journal:

Auguſt 30, I procured two gallons of common ale wort, two quarts of which were, in the evening, impregnated, but not ſaturated, with fixed air. The impregnated liquor was then added to the other part, and, about midnight, placed in a large jug, within the air of the kitchen fire, where it remained during the night. In the morning no ſigns of fermentation. At five o'clock P. M. only a ſlight mantling on the ſurface. Apprehending the quantity of gas to have been too ſmall, a bottle, with a perforated ſtopper and valve, containing an effervescing mixture of chalk and vitriolic acid, was let down into the wort. At nine o'clock, the diſcharge of air, from the bottle, was going on briſkly, and the wort ſeemed to be fermenting. At eleven o'clock the bottle was withdrawn, the fermentation being commenced beyond a doubt; the ſurface of the liquor having a pretty ſtrong head. Temperature of the wort 80°—at the outſide of the veſſel 78°.

September 1ſt, ſeven o'clock, A. M. the fire having been low during the night, the fermentation was leſs briſk—temperature of the wort reduced to 72, and probably had been lower during the night, as the fire was now increaſed. The liquor was ſtirred up, placed in a ſituation where the thermometer pointed to 82°, and the effervefcing mixture was again immerſed. It was withdrawn at noon, and the thermometer ſtanding at 92°, the wort was removed farther from the fire—At four o'clock, P. M. the head of yeaſt was ſtrong, and at eleven o'clock was increaſed.

September 2d, nine o'clock, A. M. the liquor was judged to be in a proper ſtate for tunning. It was accordingly removed into the veſſel before deſcribed, and carried into the cellar at eleven—at noon, a high head of yeaſt was running over the top of the veſſel—ſome of it was taken of, and in two hours the head was equally ſtrong.

September 3d, the fermentation proceeded regularly this day; and on the 4th I had collected ſo much yeaſt as to make a loaf with it, which, when baked, weighed about two pounds. The loaf was well fermented, good bread, having no peculiar taſte, except a ſlight bitterneſs, proceeding from the wort having had too large a proportion of hops. Though, from the time in which the yeaſt had been collecting from ſo ſmall a quantity of liquor, its fermenting power might have been expected to have been impaired.

September 5th, the liquor was again covered with a plentiful head of yeaſt; and the fermentation was ſuffered to proceed to the 12th, when the veſſel was cloſed, in the uſual manner.

I intended, in a few weeks, to have committed the liquor to diſtillation; but my thoughts were unfortunately directed to an object which engaged my moſt anxious attention; and my wort was neglected till the latter end of February; when, on tapping the veſſel, the liquor, from having been kept ſo long, under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances, and, perhaps, from too great heat in the fermentation, and the too long continuance of it, had paſſed from the vinous to the acetous ſtate, and was become excellent alegar.

As I had obtained a vinous ſpirit from the former parcel of wort, I was not ſorry for this event, as it was going a ſtep farther than I expected. For I had now obtained yeaſt, bread, ale, ardent ſpirit, and acetous acid. A ſpecimen of the laſt is now produced to the ſociety.

I flatter myſelf that theſe experiments may be of extenſive utility, and contribute to the accommodation, the pleaſure, and the health of men, in various ſituations, who have hitherto, in a great degree, been precluded from the uſe of fermented liquors; and be the means of furniſhing important articles of diet, and of medicine. Not only at ſea, but in many ſituations in the country, and at particular ſeaſons, yeaſt is not to be procured.

By the means I have ſuggeſted, in theſe experiments, freſh bread and newly fermented malt or ſaccharine liquors may at any time be procured; and of how much importance this may be, and how great the improvement to the malt decoctions recommended by the late Dr. Macbride, I ſhall not at preſent ſtay to expatiate on; as the ſubject may be too much connected with the practical part of phyſic, to come within the limitations drawn by the ſociety. But, in domeſtic œconomy, its uſes are very obvious; and perhaps none more ſo than the ready mode which the preceding experiments teach, of reviving fermentation when too languid—the ſinking of a bottle, ſuch as I have deſcribed in my eſſay on the preſervation of water at ſea, &c.* with an effervescing mixture of chalk and vitriolic acid, appearing to be fully adequate to the purpoſe, and would, I believe, be ſufficient for impregnating the wort, without any other contrivance. This diſcovery therefore may, perhaps, be of no ſmall utility in public breweries, and I would recommend it to the attention of perſons concerned in the brewing trade.

Let us now proceed to deſcribe the circumſtances neceſſary to, and the phenomena attending fermentation, as deſcribed by chemical writers; and then endeavour to form ſome theory which may account for them.

Sugar, the juices of ripe fruit, and malt, are all more or leſs diſpoſed to run into fermentation. But before this can take place, it is neceſſary they ſhould be diluted with water, ſo as to bring them to a liquid ſtate. A due degree of heat is alſo requiſite, as the fermentation ſucceeds beſt when the temperature varies from 70 to 80 degrees.

When the fermentation takes place, a briſk inteſtine motion is obſervable in the liquor; it becomes turbid, ſome fæculæ ſubſide, while a frothy ſcum ariſes to the ſurface. A hiſſing noiſe is obſerved, and a quantity of gas is diſcharged, which has been proved to be fixed air. The liquor acquires a vinous ſmell and taſte; and, from being heavier, becomes ſpecifically lighter than water. During the progreſs of the proceſs, the temperature of the liquor is higher than that of the ſurrounding atmoſphere, with which it is neceſſary that a communication be preſerved. After ſome days, theſe appearances begin to decline. If the proceſs be rightly conducted, and ſtopped at a proper period, a liquor, capable of yielding vinous or ardent ſpirit, is the reſult. If the proceſs has been too ſlow, and the degree of heat inſufficient, the liquor will be flat and ſpiritleſs; but if theſe have been too rapid and exceſſive, it will paſs into the acetous fermentation; to which indeed it is continually tending. But the more ardent ſpirit is generated, the leſs ſpeedy will be the change to the acetous ſtate.

During the progreſs of the acetous fermentation, which will even proceed in cloſely ſtopped veſſels, no ſeparation of air is obſervable, nor any ſtriking phenomena. The liquor gradually loſes its vinous taſte, and becomes ſour, and a groſs ſediment falls to the bottom; while a quantity of viſcid matter ſtill remains,

---

* London, 1781.

mains, enveloping the acid, which may be ſeparated from much of the impurity by diſtillation.

The progreſs of theſe proceſſes is accelerated by the addition of ferments, to the action of which it has been ſuppoſed neceſſary, that they ſhould have paſſed through the ſtate of fermentation into which they are intended to bring the liquor to which they are added; and that it was not poſſible to bring the farinaceous infuſions into the vinous fermentation without the aid of matter already in that ſtate. This the preceding experiments have proved to be an ill-founded notion, as it appears that fixed air, obtained from calcareous earth by means of acids, produces the effect, as perfectly as when the ferment has been taken from a fermenting liquor.

In fermentation, it is ſaid, new arrangements take place in the particles of the liquor, and the properties of the ſubſtance become different from what it before poſſeſſed. But what theſe arrangements are, or how theſe properties are changed, we are not told. Dr. Black, I am informed, declares he is unacquainted with any ſatisfactory theory.

But perhaps facts, eſpecially ſome *late* chemical diſcoveries, may throw light on the matter, and enable us to advance ſome conjectures that may tend, at leaſt, to lay the *foundation* of a theory.

1. Sugar is an eſſential ſalt, containing much oily, viſcid matter. During its combuſtion it repeatedly explodes; a proof that it contains not only much inflammable matter, but alſo a quantity of air. Malt is ſaccharine, united to much viſcid mucilaginous matter.

2. If nitrous acid be added to ſugar, the inflammable principle of the latter is ſeized by the acid; the whole, or at leaſt one of the conſtituent parts of which, is thereby converted into nitrous gas, and flies off in that form. By repeated affuſions of this acid, more gas is formed, and the remainder of the ſugar is changed into cryſtals, having the properties of an acid, *ſui generis*, and which has been denominated, by Bergman, ſaccharine acid*.

3. Saccharine acid is reſolvable by heat into ſome phlegm, a large quantity of inflammable and fixed air (both of which contain latent heat) and into a browniſh reſiduum, amounting to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the weight of the acid. Fixed air is ſuppoſed to conſiſt of pure air united to phlogiſton; and inflammable air, to be almoſt pure phlogiſton.

4. Water is found to be formed by the union of pure air, and inflammable gas, deprived of their latent heat; for, if theſe two elaſtic fluids be exploded together, in a cloſe veſſel, over mercury, the whole is converted into water of the ſame weight as that of the air and gas jointly. In the proceſs much heat is evolved. Again, if water, in the form of ſteam, be forced to paſs through a tube, containing iron ſhavings, ſtrongly heated, the water, according to Meſſrs. Watt and Lavoiſier, is decompoſed; the phlogiſton paſſes off, united with heat, in the form of inflammable gas, while the *humor*, or dephlogiſticated water, unites to the calx of the

---

* Bergmani Opuſcula Chemica, Vol. I. Art. de Acids Sacchari.

metal, from which it may be again obtained, in the form of pure air, or of äerial acid, according to the degree in which the calx has been dephlogiſticated. It has been already obſerved, that ſaccharine matter cannot be brought to ferment without water.

5. A vinous liquor, on diſtillation, yields an ardent ſpirit.

6. Spirit of wine has had the whole of its inflammable part diſſipated by combuſtion; after which, Mr. Lavoiſier found the watery part increaſed in weight, from ſixteen to eighteen ounces, by the abſorption of the air, decompoſed by the combuſtion.

7. The reſiduum, after the diſtillation of ardent ſpirit from fermented liquors, is *acid.*

8. Mr. Lavoiſier has ſuppoſed pure air to be the acidifying principle of all the acids; and that their difference from each other conſiſts in the baſis united to this pure air.

As our experiments were made with an infuſion of malt, and with fixed air, employed as a ferment, let us endeavour to account for the ſeveral phenomena and reſults of fermentation, as appearing in theſe experiments.

The wort being impregnated with fixed air, and placed in ſuch a ſituation as to bring it to the degree of heat, at which wort is commonly mixed with yeaſt, the gas for ſome time remains in a latent or quieſcent ſtate; but, from its tendency to recover its elaſtic form, aided by heat, it preſently begins to burſt from the bonds in which it was confined. By this effort the mucilaginous parts of the infuſion are attenuated; the ſaccharine matter is developed; and, the ſame cauſe continuing to act, the conſtituent parts of the matter are ſeparated, and the particles of the component principles being by this means placed beyond the ſphere of their mutual attraction, begin to repel each other. A large quantity of phlogiſton is diſcharged, together with ſome pure air. The greateſt part of the inflammable principle enters into a new combination, joining the phlogiſtic part of the water, and, in proportion, ſeparating from it the pure air, while another, but much ſmaller portion, uniting in its naſcent ſtate with this pure air, forms fixed air; which, in its attempt to eſcape, carries up with it much of its viſcid confinement. In the converſion of the pure into fixed air, a conſiderable portion of heat is rendered ſenſible. And this heat contributes to the farther decompoſition of the ſaccharine ſubſtance. The viſcid matter collecting on the ſurface, prevents the eſcape of too much of the gas, and promotes its re-abſorption, that thereby the briſk and agreeable taſte of the liquor may be formed; while the inflammable principle, accumulating and becoming condenſed in it, forms the ardent ſpirit.

Thus a decompoſition of the water takes place, ſomewhat ſimilar to what Mr. Watt has ſuppoſed in the production of pure air from nitre. The nitrous acid, ſeizing on the phlogiſton of the water, dephlogiſticates the humor or other part of the water, which, combining with the matter of heat, paſſes off in the form of pure air.

The veſſel being ſtopped, ſome of the ſaccharine matter being not decompoſed, the liquor will continue to have a ſweetiſh taſte. But, the fermentation ſtill going on, in a more a more gradual manner, the liquor will become leſs ſweet, and, proportionably, more impregnated with ardent ſpirit; and the fæculæ ſubſiding in the form of lees, it will be now fully fermented, mellow, and pellucid *.

But if the ſaccharine matter be too much diluted, or the veſſel be placed in a warm ſituation, the liquor will then paſs from the vinous to the acetous fermentation.

In the formation of the ſaccharine acid, by means of nitrous acid, the laſt is ſuppoſed, by carrying off the phlogiſton of the ſugar, to develope the ſaccharine acid. Or, according to Mr. Lavoiſier's hypotheſis, one of the conſtituent parts of the nitrous acid performs this office, while the other, or pure air, uniting to the peculiar baſis, contained in the ſugar, forms ſaccharine acid.

So in the acetous fermentation, if it happen that the phlogiſton is not in ſufficient quantity, or the force with which it is combined in the liquor be weakened, by a long application of heat or other cauſes, it will begin to ſeparate from the other conſtituent parts of the liquor. The ardent ſpirit, thus decompoſed, diſappears gradually, the humor or dephlogiſticated water, or, in other words, the baſis of pure air, predominates; and this, combining with the ſaccharine baſis, but ſtill retaining ſome portion of phlogiſton, forms the acetous acid.

Thus the acetous fermentation acts in a manner, in ſome reſpects, analogous to the action of nitrous acid on ſugar. In the latter caſe, the phlogiſton is ſeparated more rapidly; and the acid, reſulting from the proceſs, is that called ſaccharine acid. In the former, the changes are more ſlowly produced; the phlogiſton flies off more gradually; and from a different modification, in conſequence of theſe varieties, the product is not ſaccharine acid, but vinegar. And perhaps it may ſerve to give ſome appearance of probability to the above theory, to recollect, that the reſiduum of fermented liquors, after the ſeparation of the ardent ſpirit, which appears to be water ſuperſaturated with phlogiſton, is *acid*.

I have avoided carrying theſe reflections to the phenomena which appear in the putrid fermentation, as not ſo immediately connected with ſaccharine ſubſtances; and from a conviction that I have already engroſſed too much of the ſociety's time.—If I have contributed any thing to their entertainment, or that may tend to enlarge the bounds of ſcience, I ſhall eſteem myſelf happy; and, more ſo, if what has been advanced may prove uſeful and advantageous to my fellow-creatures.—Senſible that one ſuch fact is of more real worth than the moſt ingenious and well-wrought hypotheſis.

---

* In the fermentation of wine, a ſubſtance is depoſited at the ſides and bottom of the caſk, called tartar; which is lately diſcovered to conſiſt of pure vegetable alkali, united to a ſuperabundant quantity of a peculiar acid. But as this is not produced by malt liquors, it has not been noticed in the eſſay.

A Syſtem of Kentiſh *Agriculture, tranſmitted by the Rev. Mr.* Hill, *of* Eaſt Malling, *near* Maidſtone, Kent; *being his anſwers to the queries propoſed to him by the* Bath *Agriculture Society. Extracted from vol.* iii. *of their Letters and Papers.*

Gentlemen,

IN reply to the queries ſent to me by your ſecretary, I ſend you the following anſwers. Permit me to repeat my beſt wiſhes for the proſperity of your ſociety, and the ſucceſs of their very laudable endeavours to promote the advancement of agriculture; and to aſſure you that I am, with great ſincerity,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,
DANIEL HILL.

Eaſt-Malling, July 16, 1785.

Query 1ſt. What are the kinds of ſoil from which you generally obtain the beſt crops of wheat, barley, peaſe, oats, beans, vetches, turnips, carrots, and cabbages; and what are the uſual quantities of ſeed ſown, and the average produce per ſtatute acre, Wincheſter meaſure?

Anſwer. Our beſt crops are generally obtained from hazel loams; and if they are ſomewhat ſtiff and inclining to clay, the better. On ſuch lands, the uſe of heavy large harrows and rollers in the ſpring, to break and pulverize the ſoil, cannot be too much recommended.

On ſuch lands ſo pulverized, we frequently get of wheat from four to five quarters, beans from five to ſeven quarters, barley and oats ſix, and often ſeven quarters per acre.

The quantity of ſeed generally ſown per acre, is, of beans, peaſe, wheat *, and barley, three buſhels; of oats, from four to five buſhels.

Q. 2d. What is the uſual courſe of crops adopted by your beſt farmers on the different ſoils?

A. Our beſt lands never lie fallow; and the order of our crops is,

1. Wheat.
2. Barley or oats.
3. Peaſe or beans;—the latter always in rows, hand-hoed twice with a two-inch hoe near and between the beans; horſe-hoed twice, and laſtly earthed with a horſe-hoe. After the beans are off, we plough ſhallow with a broad ſhare, and harrow up, and burn the weeds if any remain, thus preparing a good tilth for wheat.

On our ordinary, ſandy, or ſtone ſhattery [ſtone braſh] land, our courſe of crops is different.

1. Wheat.

After that (before Michaelmas) ſow winter vetches or rye, and eat them off with ſheep and bullocks in the ſpring.

Then plough for turnips three or four times, each time harrowing off and burning the weeds; then lay on forty cart-loads of dung per acre. We always carefully hand-hoe the turnips, as the charge is amply repaid by the crop. Sometimes, in a kindly ſeaſon, we get a good crop of turnips after early peaſe.

Oats and barley will produce (eſpecially oats) from five to ſeven quarters per acre, after a good turnip ſeaſon, and the crop well fed off with ſheep, eſpecially if good hay and oil-cake be given them at the ſame time.

---

* Is it not ſurpriſing, that in a county where agriculture is arrived to ſuch perfection, farmers ſhould ſow three buſhels of wheat per acre? Certainly two buſhels, even in the broad-caſt way, would be fully ſufficient.

With barley and oats we ſow clover; next year wheat, and laſtly turnips.

Q. 3d. What manure now generally in uſe do you find moſt ſerviceable, on the following ſoils reſpectively, viz. ſtiff clays, light ſand, gravelly, moory, cold and wet, or what is called ſtone braſh land?—In what quantities are the ſeveral manures laid on per acre; at what ſeaſon; and how long will each laſt without renewal?

A. On ſtiff clays or ſand, or gravelly cold wet land, lay marle or chalk early in the winter, at the rate of eighty cart-loads per acre, which will laſt twenty years; beſide this, dung and lime is ſometimes added.

Q. 4th. Have you diſcovered any *new* manure more efficacious than thoſe generally uſed, and which may eaſily be obtained in large quantities? If ſo, what is it, when and how applied?

A. Dung made by fat bullocks fed on hay and oil-cakes, and of ſheep fed on the ſame on turnip lands. Large oxen will eat twenty pounds of oil-cake per day, but Welch heifers will thrive well with half the quantity.

Q. 5th. What is the beſt top-dreſſing for cold wet paſtures which cannot eaſily be drained?

A. Wood-aſhes, coal-aſhes, with fowls or pigeons dung ſpread thin.

Q. 6th. What materials do you find beſt and moſt laſting for covered drains or land ditches?

A. Ragged ſtones or brickbats, or rather flat ſtones, two ſet on edge eight or ten inches aſunder, and a third over; and where theſe cannot be had, black-thorn or other buſhes. Some perſons uſe turf with the graſs ſide downwards, leaving a hollow below for the water.

Q. 7th. What are the kinds of wood which you have found from experience to thrive beſt on bleak barren ſoils, cold ſwampy bogs, and black moory ground?

A. Scotch firs on bleak barren ſoils, eſpecially in a northern aſpect. On cold ſwampy bogs, the Dutch willow will do great things; but aſh will ſucceed better, and is far more uſeful and profitable.

Q. 8th. What are your methods of raiſing lucern, ſaintfoin, and burnet; on what lands do you find them to anſwer beſt; and what the average produce?

A. Lucern ſucceds beſt in drills one foot aſunder *, and kept clean by a ſmall plough drawn by one horſe. Saintfoin flouriſhes moſt on chalky, and dry ſtone ſhattery land, on which it will produce two tons per acre on an average, for fourteen or fifteen years. Burnet is in diſgrace with us, and generally laid aſide as uſeleſs.

Q. 9th. How is your turnip huſbandry conducted; and what is the beſt method of preventing or ſtopping the ravages of the fly on the young plants?

A. The firſt part of this query is anſwered in the ſecond. To prevent the ravages of the fly, ſome good is ſometimes done by running a light roller over them with a bundle of black-thorn faſtened behind it.

---

* We apprehend a diſtance of at leaſt eighteen inches would be better; and occaſion leſs damage to the plants by the horſe going between the rows. From various experiments made to aſcertain the beſt diſtance between the rows of lucern, the fineſt and heavieſt crops have been from rows two feet apart.

Q. 10*th*. Do you prefer the drill to the broad-caſt method of ſowing grain; in what inſtances, and on what ſoils?

A. When lands are foul and weedy, the drill is certainly preferable to the broad-caſt; as by that means, the horſe-hoe may be uſed.

Q. 11*th*. What is the comparative advantage of uſing oxen inſtead of horſes in huſbandry?

A. Where a farm conſiſts of arable land and good paſture, the uſe of oxen is deemed preferable to that of horſes, where men can be procured to drive them.

Q. 12*th*. Omitted.

Q. 13*th*. What new improvements have you made, or adopted in implements of huſbandry?

A. Our improvements in implements of huſbandry have of late years been great and various, particularly in drill ploughs, which by dropping the ſeed regularly, and depoſiting it at a proper depth, ſave a great deal of grain. Of carts we have a great variety, ſome for dung made ſtrong with two wheels for two horſes, and three wheels for one horſe; and others of lighter kinds.

I ſubmitted your queries to a very ſkilful farmer, from whom I received the following anſwers for land of a *middling kind:*

To the firſt query.—We have moſt wheat, beans, and vetches, if in proper tilth, from ſtiff land. The moſt barley, peaſe, and oats, from a lighter ſoil. Wheat on an average twenty-eight buſhels per acre. We ſow three buſhels.

One ſack of barley ſown per acre produces five quarters after turnips. Five buſhels of peaſe per acre, produce from three to four quarters.—Four buſhels of beans, and five buſhels of oats per acre, produce from five to ſix quarters.

Vetches, &c. fed off, make a good wheat ſeaſon.

2d query.—A clean fallow, and ſowed with clover; after clover, wheat or beans the enſuing ſpring on one earth. Turnips on four ploughings and dunged; hand-hoeing twice. Then barley and clover; next wheat.

3d query. Our beſt manure is dung from beaſts fatted with oil-cakes, and fit for all ſoils. We lay on ſixty cart-loads per acre, (each cart holding thirty buſhels of coal) which for turnips or wheat, will laſt ſix years.

5th query.—Wood-aſhes are the beſt, and will kill ruſhes.

6th query.—Green alder poles, ſuch as we uſe for hops, ſixteen or eighteen feet long, two at the bottom and one at top; or green black-thorn covered with heath, or looſe ſtones will do.

7th and 8*th queries.*—The ſame anſwer as from Mr. Hill.

9th query.—Four ploughings, ſixty cart-loads of dung, and hoe twice.

10*th query.*—Same anſwer as from Mr. Hill.

12*th query.*—Kill your ſheep as ſoon as the rot appears.

Culture, expences, and produce of ſix acres of Potatoes, being a fair part of near ſeventy acres, raiſed by John Billingſley, *Eſq; of and for which the premium was granted him by the* Bath *Society, in the year* 1784. *From the ſame.*

Expences.	*£.*	*s.*	*d.*
PLOWING an oat-ſtubble in October 1783, at 4s. per acre	1	4	0
Croſs - ploughing, in March 1784 —	1	4	0
Harrowing, 2s. per acre	0	12	0
180 cart-loads of compoſt manure, 3l. per acre — —	18	0	0
42 ſacks of ſeed potatoes (each ſack weighing 240 lb.) of the white ſort — —	10	10	0
Cutting the ſets, 6d. per ſack — —	1	1	0
Setting on ridges 8 feet wide (leaving an interval of 2 feet for an alley) 6d. for every 20 yards —	10	12	0
Hoeing, at 5s. per acre	1	10	0
Digging up the two feet interval, and throwing the earth on the plants, at 10s. per acre	3	0	0
Digging up the crop, at 8d. for every twenty yards in length, the breadth being 8 feet	14	6	0
Labour and expence of ſecuring in pits, wear and tear of baſkets, ſtraw, reed, ſpikes, &c. 10s. per acre — —	3	0	0
Rent — —	6	0	0
Tithe — —	1	10	0
	72	9	0
Profit — —	73	11	0
	£. 146	0	0

Produce.	*£.*	*s.*	*d.*
600 ſacks of beſt potatoes, at 4s. —	120	0	0
120 ſacks middle ſized, 3s. 6d. — —	21	0	0
50 of ſmall, 2s. —	5	0	0
	£. 146	0	0

N. B. Each ſack 240lb.

Some perſons may object to the above price, as being too high; but I can aſſure them, that they are worth more as a food for hogs; beſide, I have ſold potatoes within the laſt two years at 12s. per ſack, but I never before knew them at ſo low a price as the preſent.

At 6s. per ſack, the profit would be more than 24l. per acre, and at 8s. per ſack, 36l.

Gentlemen,

It may be proper to remark, that the field on which the above experiment was made, was an oat ſtubble in the autumn of 1783. In October it was ploughed, and left in a rough ſtate during the winter. In April it was croſs-ploughed and harrowed.

On the 8th of May I began planting, by marking out the field into beds or ridges eight feet wide, leaving a ſpace of two feet wide for an alley between every two ridges. The manure (a compoſt of ſtable dung, virgin earth, and ſcrapings of a turnpike road) was then brought on the land, and depoſited in ſmall heaps on the centre of each ridge, in the proportion of about thirty cart-loads to each acre. A trench was then opened with a ſpade, breadth way of the ridge, about four inches deep; in this trench the potatoe ſets were placed, at the diſtance of nine inches from each other; the dung was then ſpread in a trench on the ſets, and a ſpace or plit of fourteen inches in breadth, dug in upon them.

When the plants were about ſix inches high, they were carefully hoed, and ſoon after the two-feet intervals between the ridges were dug, and the contents thrown around the young plants. This refreſhment, added to the ample manuring previouſly beſtowed, produced ſuch a luxuriance and rapidity of growth, that no weed could ſhew its head. I need not add, that the land is now in a ſtate of the higheſt fertility, perfectly clean, and in moſt excellent preparation either for wheat or ſpring corn.

It may be alſo remarked, that in this mode of planting, a very ſmall ſpace of ground is left unoccupied, and the crop more abundant, than any I ever before experienced.

If this experiment be thought worthy of imitation, and the culture of this excellent root be thereby in any degree extended, it will afford great ſatisfaction to the ſociety's well-wiſher,

And moſt obedient ſervant,

J. BILLINGSLEY.

Aſhwick-Grove, Nov. 5, 1784.

P. S. I did not think it neceſſary to ſend particulars of my whole potatoe crop, as it would be in a great meaſure a recapitulation of the foregoing account.

An Account of the origin, progreſs, and regulations, with a deſcription of the newly-eſtabliſhed Bridewell, or Penitentiary Houſe, at Wymondham, *in* Norfolk. *By Sir* Thomas Beevor, *Bart. addreſſed to the Secretary of the* Bath *Society; extracted from the ſame work.*

Sir,

ONE avocation in which I have lately been engaged, I will relate to you. Having read Mr. Howard's book deſcribing the ſtate and condition of our priſons, it naturally led my thoughts to that ſubject. The idea that *as many priſoners died yearly in England by the gaol diſtemper, as by all the executions put together*; and the accounts of the diſſoluteneſs and profligacy, which by the intermixture of them were learnt and practiſed in thoſe places of confinement; determined me to attempt, at leaſt, a reformation of thoſe crying evils in this county.

Happily my wiſhes met the ideas of the other gentlemen acting in the commiſſion of the peace here; and to their great honour, by their unanimous concurrence and aſſiſtance, I have been able to get erected a new bridewell and penitentiary houſe at Wymondham, built upon ſuch a plan as enables the governor to keep the ſexes and degrees of offenders entirely ſeparate from each other, and under ſuch regulations and diſcipline, as promiſe (with God's bleſſing) to work a thorough reformation in their manners, whereby they may, and many probably will, again become uſeful members of ſociety. The houſe is conſtructed agreeable to the directions of the late act of parliament, and ſo contrived, that there are ſeparate cells for each priſoner, airy, neat, and healthy, in which they ſleep, and, when neceſſary, work the whole day alone. This ſolitude is found to affect the moſt unfeeling and hardened among them, beyond fetters or ſtripes; and is that part of their puniſhment from which reformation is chiefly expected. Their cells are all arched, ſo that no fire can reach beyond the cell in which it begins. The rules and orders for the government of the houſe were, at the deſire of the juſtices at their quarter ſeſſions, drawn up from, and according to, the directions of the ſaid act, by myſelf, and have met with their approbation.

Lord Loughborough, who came this circuit at our laſt aſſizes, expreſſed himſelf ſo well pleaſed with the plan and regulations, that he told me he would ſend thither every convict ſentenced to confinement, and accordingly ſent ſix from the aſſizes. As this attention to the lives and morals of thoſe unhappy members of ſociety ſhould be extended, I will by the firſt opportunity (if you deſire it) ſend you a copy of the rules and orders of the houſe, together with the returns conſtantly made by the governor to each quarter ſeſſions, by which you will ſee effected, what Mr. Howard deſpaired of, viz. "that the priſoners' earnings in the houſe "have uniformly exceeded the ſum "expended for their maintenance." I wiſh and hope this example may excite a like attention in other counties.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

Hethel-Hall, Norfolk,
Dec. 21, 1784.

LETTER II.

Hethel, Jan. 20, 1785.

Sir,

I herewith tranſmit you a copy of the rules, orders, and regulations, to be obſerved and enforced at the houſe of correction at Wymondham; and which are alſo now extended to the other houſes of correction in this county. If they appear ſevere, let it be underſtood they are the ſeverities of the legiſlature, not of the compiler. The firſt ſeven rules are inſerted verbatim from the ſchedule to the act of the 22d of his preſent majeſty.—The reſt are either included in the body of the ſame act, or required by the act of the 19th, called *The Penitentiary Act*. But I will make no apology for them, nor can I with any propriety deem them too harſh, ſince they have met with the entire approbation of the gentlemen of this county, as well as that of the judges of the aſſize, who have peruſed them.

Priſons ſurely ſhould be places of real puniſhment, and even carry terror in their name. I am certain they ought not to afford either indulgencies or amuſements to the perſons conſigned to them. However I muſt obſerve, that perſons committed for ſmall offences, or on light ſuſpicion, are under leſs reſtraint. They are allowed to work in ſome ſort of ſociety, two, three, or four together; and if the houſe be full, they ſometimes lodge two in a cell, and are never fettered. All the priſoners, when ſick, are attended by a ſurgeon or apothecary, with as much aſſiduity and tenderneſs as the greateſt humanity can require.

I have ſent you likewiſe a table of the priſoners' fare or diet in the houſe, by which you will ſee, that although not *pampered*, they are *wholeſomely* fed. Experience juſtifies me in ſaying this; for, except ſuch as were diſeaſed when they entered the houſe, I have not known one priſoner who has been ſick in it for theſe twelve months paſt. Included is alſo the form of a return made by the keeper of the houſe, to every quarter ſeſſions of the peace, whereby the ſtate of the priſon is conſtantly known to the juſtices, and all abuſes obviated or ſpeedily remedied.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

Rules, orders, and regulations, to be obſerved and enforced at the Houſes of Correction *in the county of* Norfolk.

I. That the ſeveral perſons committed to the houſes of correction, to be kept to hard labour, ſhall be employed (unleſs prevented by ill health) every day (except Sundays, Chriſtmas-day, and Good-Friday) for ſo many hours as the day-light in the different ſeaſons of the year will admit, not exceeding twelve hours, being allowed to reſt half an hour at breakfaſt, an hour at dinner, and half an hour at ſupper, and that the intervals ſhall be noticed by the ringing of a bell.

II. That the governor of each houſe of correction ſhall adapt the various employment directed by the juſtices, at their quarter ſeſſions, to each perſon, in ſuch manner as ſhall be beſt ſuited to his or her ſtrength and ability, regard being had to age and ſex.

III. That the males and females ſhall be employed, and ſhall eat and be lodged in ſeparate apartments, and ſhall have no intercourſe or communication with each other.

IV. That every perſon ſo committed ſhall be ſuſtained with bread, and any coarſe, but wholeſome food, and water; but perſons under the care of the phyſician, ſurgeon, or apothecary, ſhall have ſuch food and liquor as he ſhall direct.

V. That the governor, and ſuch other perſons (if any) employed by the juſtices to aſſiſt the governor, ſhall be very watchful and attentive in ſeeing that the perſons ſo committed are conſtantly employed during the hours of work; and if any perſon ſhall be found remiſs or negligent in performing what is required to be done by ſuch perſon, to the beſt of his or her power and ability, or ſhall wilfully waſte, ſpoil, or damage the goods committed to his or her care, the governor ſhall puniſh every ſuch perſon in the manner hereafter directed.

VI. That if any perſon ſo committed ſhall refuſe to obey the orders given by the governor, or ſhall be guilty of profane curſing or ſwearing, or of any indecent behaviour or expreſſion, or of any aſſault, quarrel, or abuſive words, to or with any other perſon, he or ſhe ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame in the manner hereafter directed.

VII. That the governor ſhall have power to puniſh the ſeveral offenders, for the offences herein before deſcribed, by cloſer confinement, and ſhall enter in a book (to be kept by him for the inſpection of the juſtices, at the quarter ſeſſions, and the viſiting juſtice or juſtices) the name of every perſon who ſhall be ſo puniſhed, expreſſing the offence, and the duration of the puniſhment inflicted.

VIII. That the governor ſhall prevent all communication between the perſons committed upon charges of felony, or convicted of any theft or larceny, and the other priſoners.

IX. That the governor ſhall employ in ſome work or labour (which is not ſevere) all ſuch priſoners as are kept and maintained by the county, though by the warrant of commitment ſuch priſoner was not ordered to be kept to hard labour; and he ſhall keep a ſeparate account of the work done by priſoners of this deſcription, and ſhall pay half of the net profits to them on their diſcharge, and not before.

X. That the governor, nor any one under him, ſhall ſell any thing uſed in the houſe, nor have any benefit or advantage whatſoever, directly or indirectly, from the ſale of any thing, under the penalty of ten pounds, and diſmiſſion from his employment; neither ſhall he ſuffer any wine, ale, ſpirituous or other liquors, to be brought into the houſe, unleſs for a *medical* purpoſe, by a written order from the ſurgeon or apothecary uſually attending there.

XI. That clean ſtraw to lodge upon, ſhall be allowed to each priſoner weekly, or oftener if neceſſary, and that the priſoners be obliged to ſweep out and clean their rooms every day, and the dirt and duſt be conveyed out of the priſon daily.

XII. That no perſon, without permiſſion of a viſiting juſtice, ſhall go into the lodging-rooms, or ſee or converſe with any priſoner committed upon a charge of felony, or convicted of any theft or larceny; and all the priſoners ſhall every night in the year be locked up, and all lights extinguiſhed, at or before the hour of nine, and ſhall, during reſt, be kept entirely ſeparate, if rooms ſufficient can be found for that purpoſe, and during their labour as much ſeparate as their employment will admit of.

XIII. That the governor may put handcuffs or fetters upon any priſoner who is refractory, or ſhews a diſpoſition to break out of priſon, but he ſhall give notice thereof to one of the viſiting juſtices, within forty-eight hours after the priſoner ſhall be ſo fettered, and he ſhall not continue ſuch fettering longer than ſix days, without an order in writing from one of the viſiting juſtices.

XIV. That every priſoner be obliged to waſh his face and hands once, at leaſt, every day, before his bread be given to him.

XV. That each priſoner be allowed a clean ſhirt once in a week.

XVI. That the three prohibitory clauſes of the 24th Geo. II. chap. 40, be painted on a board, and hung up in ſome conſpicuous part of the priſon, together with a printed copy of theſe rules, orders, and regulations.

A Table of Diet.

	Breakfaſt.	*Dinner.*
Sunday,	A Penny Loaf	Hanway's Soups of Ox cheek, &c.
Monday,	Ditto	A penny loaf
Tueſday,	Ditto	Potatoes
Wedneſday,	Ditto	Boiled peaſe
Thurſday,	Ditto	A penny loaf
Friday,	Ditto	Potatoes
Saturday,	Ditto	Boiled peaſe

LETTER III.

Deſcription of the Priſon.

Hethel, Feb. 12, 1786.

Sir,

In compliance with your requeſt, I now tranſmit to you a deſcription of the priſon which has been erected at Wymondham, in this county; the ſucceſs of which having ſo much exceeded the expectations, and ſo fully anſwered the wiſhes of the gentlemen here, as to encourage them to alter, and make additions to all the other bridewells within their juriſdiction, and to put each of them under the ſame regulations.

The new buildings of the Wymondham Bridewell, added to the former old houſe (which is now appropriated to the uſe of the governor) conſiſt of two wings, which are attached to the old houſe, and joined by a building in front, containing a large room, in which is placed a mill for cutting logwood, or any other wood for the uſe of dyers, and beating hemp; together with a ſtable, and ſtore-rooms for lodging the materials uſed by the priſoners in their work. The whole of theſe buildings form a quadrangle, incloſing an area or yard, of about eighty feet by ſeventy feet; in which ſome of the priſoners are allowed occaſionally to take the air. In the two wings only (to both which there is a paſſage from the governor's houſe) are the offenders confined; and in each of them there are on the ground-floor ſeven ſeparate rooms, or cells, for the *men* priſoners, of fourteen feet eight inches by ſeven feet four inches, with a work-room of twenty feet ſix inches by ten feet.

On the floor above, which is chiefly uſed for the women and leſs dangerous priſoners, are, in each wing, four ſeparate rooms or cells, of the ſame dimenſions with thoſe below; with a work-room to each wing, the ſame as on the ground-floor; together with an infirmary of ten feet ſix inches by fourteen feet eight inches, and a ſcullery, cloſet, and neceſſary to each. The cells, both above and below, are all arched, to prevent the poſſibility of fire, or any probable communication of infectious diſorders. They are all ten feet high; and the windows of theſe rooms looking into the quadrangle, and being grated inſide and outſide with iron, and ſeven feet high from the floor of the rooms, afford the priſoners no poſſibility of looking out, or having the leaſt intercourſe with any other perſon. The cells are airy, having only wooden ſhutters to the windows; and by a ſlip or wicket in the doors, a thorough air is admitted, whereby they are always free from any ill ſcent. This is however with an exception to *one* cell on the upper floor in each wing, and to the infirmaries; for the windows of theſe are glazed, and have caſements to open occaſionally; being moſtly kept for the uſe of women having infant children with them, and for the weak and convaleſcent priſoners. But as the conſtruction of this building would little anſwer the purpoſe of its erection, without a correſpondent management and conduct in the interior government of it, good care has been taken to enforce the rules, orders, and regulations eſtabliſhed; and returns are regularly made by the governor to the juſtices at every quarter ſeſſions.

The manufactory eſtabliſhed here at preſent, is that of cutting logwood for the dyers at Norwich, and beating, heckling, and ſpinning hemp. In the labour of heckling, a tolerable workman will earn from eight ſhillings to ten ſhillings per week. The women and girls ſpin it by a wheel ſo contrived as to draw a thread with each hand; by which means, *two* of them can earn at leaſt equal wages with *three* women ſpinning with one hand only. If the building ſhould be enlarged, and the number of priſoners increaſe, ſome of them will then be inſtructed in the art of weaving the yarn made in the houſe. At preſent, both the tow and the yarn is ſold to the different houſes of induſtry eſtabliſhed in this county, and at Norwich. In the laſt return of the governor to the quarter ſeſſions, we had the ſatisfaction to find, that the money ariſing from the earnings of the priſoners, was one pound eight ſhillings and ten-pence more than *double* the ſum expended for their maintenance.

This, though it cannot be deemed more than a *ſecondary* conſideration, is ſurely no trifling one to derive a *profit* from the labour of ſuch perſons as were heretofore loſt to, or become a burden upon the public; and it ſtrongly marks the impolicy of ſending theſe unhappy objects out of the kingdom. This ſum indeed was further increaſed about five guineas, by adding to it the profit from the trade account; but as to have this become the general reſult, muſt depend greatly, perhaps chiefly, upon the choice of the governor, and ſomewhat on the activity of the magiſtrates, too much care cannot be taken in the firſt, eſpecially as it will be the probable means of exciting the latter. We have been ſo fortunate as to meet with a governor who relieves us from a great part of our attention to, and direction of him.

The ſilence and peaceable demeanour, the cleanlineſs and induſtry, of thoſe unhappy perſons who are the inhabitants of this houſe, are really admirable; and ſuch as greatly encourages the pleaſing expectation, that their puniſhment will have that effect upon their future lives and conduct, which every humane benevolent mind muſt ſincerely wiſh for. And they leave *me* without a doubt, that bridewells, with proper attention paid to them, may in future be made ſeminaries of induſtry and reformation, inſtead of receptacles of idleneſs and corruption. To effect theſe purpoſes, it will be neceſſary to provide the priſoners with ſuitable and conſtant work. This in moſt counties will neceſſarily vary, but may be eaſily obtained, eſpecially if, by an allowance to the governor out of their earnings, it be made his *intereſt* as well as his *duty* to look carefully to the performance of it. The allowance given at this houſe, is *three-pence* in every ſhilling of the *nett* earnings, and this is conſidered as a part of his ſalary.

I muſt not omit to inform you, that in this ſolitary confinement, and thus employed, it has not yet been found neceſſary to puniſh any of the priſoners with irons; and that, ſince the new erection and regulation of this priſon, the magiſtrates in the vicinity; as well as the keeper of it, have obſerved, that in no one equal period of time has there been ſo few commitments to it.

This *preventive* juſtice, ſo preferable to *punitive* juſtice, moſt fully evinces the propriety and humanity of the undertaking, and muſt naturally excite a hope, that ſimilar plans will be adopted in every county. This indeed I am ſtrongly induced to believe will ſoon be the caſe, as I have already received letters from different gentlemen in Gloceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Wilts, Hertfordſhire, Hampſhire, Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Suffolk, Wales, and Scotland, requeſting the plan, rules, orders, table of diet, and returns; informing me, that in their reſpective counties they had determined upon building, and putting their houſes of correction under ſimilar regulations. The gentlemen of the city of Norwich have alſo ſent a deputation of their magiſtrates to view the priſon; upon whoſe report, they mean inſtantly to enter upon a reformation of their own priſons.

If in this letter I may appear to have been either prolix, or frivolous, but ſhould notwithſtanding have been able to convey any uſeful hints to the public, I ſhall be ſatisfied in having ſacrificed the reputation of ability at the ſhrine of duty, and with pleaſure ſubſcribe myſelf, &c.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

[N. B. In another letter, dated Feb. 18th, Sir Thomas Beevor has added the following remarks:—

"In proof of the cleanlineſs, and healthineſs of this priſon, no perſon who entered it in health has hitherto fallen ſick in it. I have never had any complaint againſt any one for immorality or prophaneneſs. The effect of the ſolitarineſs and mechanical regularity of the place is ſuch, as to render them ſo contrite and ſubdued, that it not only promiſes fair for a laſting reformation in theſe poor unfortunate wretches, but, what is a ſtill better and more pleaſing conſideration, that it may prove a preventive of crimes in others. For, from an examination of the commitments to this houſe, before and ſince the preſent regulation took place, it appears, that one-third fewer have been confined in it ſince the latter period; and it is ſomewhat remarkable, that, except in one inſtance, no priſoner has been a ſecond time committed to it."]

On the uſe of ſteeping Seed-Barley in a dry ſeaſon. By Mr. James Chapple; *addreſſed to the Secretary of the* Bath *Society. From the ſame work.*

Sir,

MY great ſucceſs in making the following experiment, occaſions my communicating an account of it to you, for the benefit of the public, if thought worthy a place in the third volume of the Bath Society's experimental papers.

The laſt ſpring being remarkably dry, I ſoaked my ſeed-barley in the black water taken from a reſervoir which conſtantly receives the draining of my dung heap and ſtables. As the light corn floated on the top I ſkimmed it off, and let the reſt ſtand twenty-four hours. On taking it from the water, I mixed the ſeed grain with a ſufficient quantity of ſifted wood aſhes to make it ſpread regularly, and ſowed three fields with it. I began ſowing the 16th, and finiſhed the 23d of April. The produce was ſixty buſhels per acre, of good clean barley, without any *ſmall* or *green* corn, or weeds at harveſt. No perſon in this country had better grain.

I ſowed alſo ſeveral other fields with the ſame ſeed dry, and without any preparation; but the crop, like thoſe of my neighbours, was very poor; not more than twenty buſhels per acre, and much mixed with *green* corn and weeds when harveſted. I alſo ſowed ſome of the ſeed dry on one ridge in each of my former fields, but the produce was very poor in compariſon of the other parts of the field.

I am, &c.

JAMES CHAPPLE.

Bodmin, March 12, 1784.

[We conſider this experiment as a very intereſting one, and recommend general trials to be made, both in wet and dry ſpring ſeaſons.]

An Account of a new kind of Cement, *peculiarly hard and laſting, made from ſome* Red Earth *or* Puzzolana, *found in* Jamaica. *Extracted from* Tranſactions *of the* Society *inſtituted at* London *for the* Encouragement *of* Arts, Manufactures, *and* Commerce.

IN the year 1774, the ſociety received from one of their correſponding members in Jamaica a caſk of red earth, a proper quantity of which was ſent to ſeveral architects, for trial.

The gentleman from whom it came thought it a kind of *Puzzolana*, and deſcribed his method of uſing it as follows: "To one meaſure of the red earth, add two of the ſame meaſure of well ſlackt lime, and one of ſand, and then let them be well mixed and wrought like common mortar, with fair water, and ſo made up in a heap, but in about eight hours it will begin to acquire a hardneſs, and the heap muſt be cut down, and well wet with water, and ſmartly worked and mixed over again, and ſo ſmartly worked and wet morning and evening, for a whole week, before it is fit for uſe; and after it is laid on, it muſt be ſtrictly attended while it dries and hardens, to cloſe any crack that may appear in the drying, for about forty-eight hours, and then it is generally out of danger.

But if any cracks, &c. ſhould appear after it is quite dry, as ſuppoſe the covering of a building, ciſtern, &c. a labourer, with a little ſand or brick-duſt, and a little common white-waſh, thrown over the crack and ſmartly rubbed in with a brickbat, or ſandy ſtone, the crack will ſoon diſappear, and the work will be as good as ever.

Ciſterns, reſervoirs, canals, and all manner of conveniencies to collect rain-water and retain it, of any reaſonable dimenſions, may at a very ſmall expence be made, and completely finiſhed with this compoſition, to contain and ſecure rain-water.

By means of this compoſition, a mortar may be made (far exceeding any other) wherewith to lay the foundation, and raiſe the ſuperſtructure of any dam, bridge, or guttering; and in ſhort, any kind of building where water, or any kind of liquid, is to be concerned, becauſe the ſoft new-made mortar will harden, and ſoon become like a ſtone totally immerſed in water.

Of this compoſition may be made the beſt coverings for all manner of buildings, witneſs my own houſe, that has been covered with this compoſition (though not at that time brought to its preſent perfection) theſe twenty years, and is not a pin the worſe.

In regard to matters of pleaſure, terrace-walks, canals, flower-pots, urns, obeliſks, ſtatues, and even coloſſal ſtatues, and other ornaments for gardens, may be made of or with this compoſition, as it reſiſts rain, and every ſort of moiſture, and nothing but violence will make the leaſt impreſſion, ſo that the five orders of architecture, with their various ornaments, may be moſt elegantly expreſſed on the outſide or inſide of buildings, in the plaiſterers way, and laſt for ages, if no violence is uſed to them.

In covering a building, I would chooſe to lay it on ſix inches thick, upon a flat ſtrong-framed well-lathed roof, as it will ſhrink in drying, and is the beſt and cheapeſt cover I know of, as I have experienced ever ſince 1747."

The following are two letters from Mr. Mylne, *addreſſed to the ſecretary of the above-mentioned ſociety, relative to his experiments on the* Red Earth.

Sir,

"I have made a fair trial of the Puzzolana earth, received ſome years ſince from the ſociety for encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and although it has lain long by me, it turns out a very good ſubſtitute to Dutch terras, or Italian Puzzolana, for works immerſed in water. As you have informed me, there ſtill remains a quantity of it in the ſociety's poſſeſſion, I ſhall be glad of ſome to make further trials in other ſituations, and ſhall be glad to know the particular place in Jamaica from whence it came, and the chriſtian name of Mr. Brown, by whom it was ſent. It was tried againſt ſome Britiſh materials, and proved far better than any of them.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

ROBERT MYLNE."

New River Head,
Nov. 30, 1784.

MR. MORE.

"Sir,

"I have it now in my power to write you decidedly on the red earth, of which I received a ſpecimen for trial in water works.

"I have put it to very ſevere trials, and have found it anſwer extremely well, as a ſubſtitute for Dutch terras, or Puzzolana earth from Italy; they are all three volcanic ſubſtances, and have the ſame peculiar qualities. Beſides what I received from you, I obtained by means of a friend, a quantity from Jamaica, which on comparative trials proved the ſame as that you ſent me, it is found in vaſt quantities on the eſtate of Mr. Brown, in the pariſh of St. Elizabeth, in Jamaica. There are many acres of it, for it lies on the ſurface of the ground; in this it is different from Puzzolana, which lies in ſtrata under ground, like coal. Dutch terras is a *tufa* ſtone, found on the rocky banks of the Rhine, and reduced to powder by mills in Holland.

"Mr. Brown, who ſent this Jamaica terras to the ſociety, is now dead, and the eſtate on which it is found is called Dettingen, and is now the property of his ſon, a very intelligent gentleman.

"On enquiry into the means of bringing it into this country, I find the expence of carriage to the water ſide there, and freight to this country, will prevent the uſe of it here. I wiſh it however to be made as public as poſſible. It may be of uſe to the inhabitants of the Weſt India iſlands and ſome other of our colonies.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
ROBERT MYLNE."

New River Head,
Feb. 28, 1786.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

A deſcription of Thebes, *from* Diodorus Siculus *and* Strabo. *State of that city under the* Perſians, Roman, *and* Turkiſh *Emperors. The porticos, ſphinx-avenues, edifices, and ruins of the great temple, near* Carnac, *in the eaſtern part of* Thebes, *which building and ruins are half a league in circumference. The plain of* Carnac, *leading to* Luxor, *which formerly was covered with houſes, cultivated at preſent. The remains of the temple of* Luxor, *and the magnificent obeliſks, which are the moſt beautiful in* Egypt, *or the whole world, deſcribed: Extracted from the tranſlation of Monſ.* Savary*'s Letters on* Egypt, Vol. II.

Grand Cairo.

"GOING from Cous towards Aſſouan, we leave the town of Nequada on the right. The Mahometans have ſeveral moſques, and a Coptic biſhop reſides there. The iſland of Matara is very near it, and two leagues further we diſcover the ruins of Thebes, the magnificence of which poets and hiſtorians have alike been eager to deſcribe. Citations from the ancients, who ſaw this city, will give you, Sir, an idea of what it formerly was; and an exact account of the monuments ſtill in being, will enable you to judge what degree of credit thoſe recitals deſerve. The dotted line in the map, paſſing by Carnac, Luxor, Medinet-Abou, and Gournou, will indicate what the extent was of this once famous city.

"The great Dioſpolis," ſays Diodorus Siculus *, "which the Greeks have named Thebes, was ſix leagues in circumference. Buſiris, who founded it, adorned it with magnificent edifices and preſents. The fame of its power and wealth, celebrated by Homer, has filled the world. Its gates, and the numerous veſtibules of its temples, occaſioned this poet to give it the name of Hecatompylis. Never was there a city that received ſo many offerings, in ſilver, gold, ivory, coloſſal ſtatues and obeliſks, each cut from a ſingle ſtone. Four principal temples are eſpecially admired there, the moſt ancient of which was ſurpriſingly grand and ſumptuous. It was thirteen ſtadia in circumference †, and ſurrounded by walls twenty-four feet in thickneſs, and forty-five cubits high. The riches and workmanſhip of its ornaments were correſpondent to the majeſty of the building, which many kings contributed to embelliſh. The temple ſtill is ſtanding, but it was ſtripped of its ſilver, gold, ivory, and precious ſtones, when Cambyſes ſet fire to all the temples of Egypt."

---

* Lib. I.

† Diodorus Siculus includes the ſphinx-avenues, and the porticos, edifices, and courts which are built round the temple, properly ſo called; and we ſhall find he was very near the truth.

I have only quoted the principal facts which that hiſtorian writes concerning the flouriſhing ſtate of Thebes, they being ſufficient to convey an idea of its beauty; what I ſhall cite from Strabo will give a picture of its decline, ſuch as it was eighteen centuries ago.

"Thebes, or Dioſpolis, preſents only remains of its former grandeur, diſperſed over a ſpace eighty ſtadia in length. Here are found a great number of temples, in part deſtroyed by Cambyſes: its inhabitants have retired to ſmall towns, eaſt of the Nile, where the preſent city is built; and to the weſtern ſhore, near Memnonium *, at which place we admire two coloſſal ſtone figures, ſtanding on each ſide; the one entire, the other in part thrown down, it has been ſaid, by an earthquake †. There is a popular opinion, that the remaining part of this ſtatue, towards the baſe, utters a ſound once a day. Curioſity leading me to examine the fact, I went thither with Ælius Gallus, who was accompanied by his numerous friends, and an eſcort of ſoldiers. I heard a ſound, about ſix o'clock in the morning, but dare not affirm whether it proceeded from the baſe, from the coloſſus, or had been produced by ſome perſon preſent; for one is rather inclined to ſuppoſe a thouſand different cauſes, than that it ſhould be the effect of a certain aſſemblage of ſtones. Beyond Memnonium are the tombs of the kings, hewn out of the rock. There are about forty, made after a marvellous manner, and worthy the attention of travellers; near them are obeliſks, bearing various inſcriptions, deſcriptive of the wealth, power, and extenſive empire of thoſe ſovereigns, who reigned over Scythia, Bactriana, India, and what is now called Ionia. They alſo recount the various tributes thoſe kings had exacted, and the number of their troops, which amounted to a million of men."

Before I tell you, Sir, how many of the monuments deſcribed by theſe hiſtorians ſtill exiſt, it is neceſſary to inform you of the diſtribution of the ornaments, veſtibules, courts, and edifices of the Egyptian temples, leſt we ſhould loſe ourſelves amidſt their ruins.

"In front of each of the temples of Egypt is a paved avenue, a hundred feet wide, and three or four hundred in length. Two rows of ſphinxes, twenty cubits or more diſtant from each other, adorned the ſides of theſe avenues, at the end of which porticos were built, but not in any fixed number. Theſe porticos lead to a magnificent open ſpace, which fronts the temple. Beyond is the ſanctuary, which is ſmaller, and in which no human figures are ever ſculptured, and very ſeldom thoſe of animals.—Walls, of an equal height with the temple, form the ſides of this open ſpace. Theſe walls run in diverging lines, and are wideſt at the end

---

* Strabo calls the temple, near which was the ſtatue of Memnon, Memnonium.

† Strabo is the only ancient writer who attributes the fall of this coloſſus to an earthquake; the reſt all ſay it was thrown down by order of Cambyſes.

fartheſt from the temple by fifty or ſixty cubits. They abound in ſculptured figures, after the manner of the ancient Greek and Etruſcan works. There is uſually a ſpacious edifice, ſupported by a prodigious number of columns, beſide theſe temples*." Having nothing to conſult but monuments mutilated by men or by time, I hope the above deſcription will ſupply the imperfection of mine. Thus guided, let us advance to the ſouth of Carnac, where we find the remains of one of the four principal temples mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. Here are eight entrances, three of which have each a ſphinx of enormous ſize ſtanding in front; with two coloſſal ſtatues, on each ſide the ſphinx, which are each cut from a ſingle block of marble, in the antique taſte. Croſſing theſe majeſtic avenues, we come to four porticos, each thirty feet wide, fifty-two in height, and one hundred and fifty in length. The entrance to theſe is through pyramidal gates, and the ceiling is formed of ſtones of an aſtoniſhing ſize, ſupported by the two walls.

The firſt of theſe porticos is entirely of red granite, perfectly poliſhed. Without are four rows of hieroglyphics, within only three. On each of the latter, I remarked two human figures, larger than life, and ſculptured with great art. Coloſſal figures, riſing fifteen feet above the bottom of the door, decorate its ſides; without are two ſtatues, thirty-three feet high, the one of red granite, the other ſpotted with black and grey; and within is another, of a ſingle block of marble, wanting the head, each bearing a kind of croſs in its hand, that is to ſay, a *phallus*, which, among the Egyptians, was the ſymbol of fertility.

The ſecond portico is half deſtroyed; the gate has only two rows of hieroglyphics, of gigantic ſize, one towards the ſouth, the other towards the north. Each front of the third portico is covered with hieroglyphics of coloſſal figures, and at the entrance of the gate are the remains of a ſtatue of white marble, the trunk of which is fifteen feet in circumference, and wearing a helmet, round which a ſerpent is twined. The fourth portico is little more than walls, almoſt entirely deſtroyed, and heaps of rubbiſh, among which are parts of a coloſſus, of red granite, the body of which is thirty feet round.

Beyond theſe porticos the high walls, which form the firſt court of the temple, began. The people entered at twelve gates; ſeveral are deſtroyed, and others very ruinous. That which has ſuffered leaſt from time, and the outrages of barbarians, faces the weſt. Before it is a long ſphinx-avenue. The dimenſions of this gate are forty feet in width, ſixty high, and forty-eight thick at the foundation. In the front are two rows of ſmall windows, and the remains of ſteps in its ſides, leading to its ſummit. This gate, ſo maſſy as to appear indeſtructible, is in the ruſtic ſtile, without hieroglyphics, and magnificent in ſimplicity. Through this we enter the great court, on two of the ſides of which are terraces, eighty feet in width, and raiſed ſix feet above the ground. Along theſe run two beautiful colonnades. Beyond is the ſecond court, which leads to the temple, and, by its extent,

---

* Strabo, lib. 17.

extent, equals the majeſty of the building. It is likewiſe embelliſhed by a double colonnade; each column is above fifty feet high, and eighteen in circumference at the baſe. Their capitals are in the form of a vaſe, over which a ſquare ſtone is laid, which probably ſerved as a pedeſtal for ſtatues. Two prodigious coloſſal figures, mutilated by violence, terminate theſe colonnades. Standing at this place, the aſtoniſhed eye ſurveys the temple, the height of which is moſt ſurpriſing, in all its immenſity. Its walls of marble appear everlaſting. Its roof, which riſes in the centre, is ſuſtained by eighteen rows of columns. Thoſe ſtanding under the moſt lofty part are thirty feet in circumference, and eighty in height; the others are one third leſs. The world does not contain a building the character and grandeur of which more forcibly impreſs awe and majeſty: it ſeems adequate to the high idea the Egyptians had formed of the Supreme Being; nor can it be entered or beheld but with reverence. Its ſides, both within and without, are loaded with hieroglyphics, and extraordinary figures. On the northern wall are repreſentations of battles, with horſes and chariots, one of which is drawn by ſtags. On the ſouthern are two barks, with canopies, at the end of which the ſun appears; the mariners guide them with poles; two men, ſeated at the ſtern, ſeem to direct their proceedings, and receive their homage. Theſe are allegoric deſigns. In the poetic language of the Greeks, the ſun was painted in a car, drawn by horſes, guided by Apollo. The Egyptians repreſent it on board a ſhip, conducted by Oſiris, and ſeven mariners, who repreſent the planets *.

The entrance, which fronted the temple of Luxor, is greatly decayed; but, if we may judge by the obeliſks that remain, it muſt have been moſt ſumptuous. There are two of ſixty feet high, and twenty-one in circumference at the baſe; and, a little farther, two others, of ſeventy-two feet in height, and thirty in circumference. Each of theſe ſuperb monuments is formed from a ſingle block of red granite, and does honour to the genius and ſcience of the antient Egyptians. There are hieroglyphics, in various diviſions, engraved on theſe obeliſks, three of which remain ſtanding, and the other is thrown down.

Proceeding eaſtward from the great temple, after croſſing heaps of rubbiſh, we come to a building called by Strabo the ſanctuary, which is ſmall. The gate is ornamented with columns, three of which are grouped and united under one ſole capital. Within are various apartments of granite. Here the virgin conſecrated to Jupiter was kept, and who offered herſelf in ſacrifice after a very extraordinary manner †.

I have only deſcribed thoſe parts

of

---

* Macrobius Somn. Scipionis. Mart. Capella, lib. 2.

† Jovi quem præcipué colunt (Thebani) virgo quædam genere clariſſima et ſpecie pulcherrima ſacratur; quales Græci Pallacas vocant. Ea pellicis more cum quibus vult coit uſque ad naturalem corporis purgationem. Poſt purgationem, vero, viro datur; ſed priuſquam nubat, poſt pellicatûs tempus, in mortuæ morem lugetur. Strabo, lib. 17.

of the temple, Sir, which are in beſt preſervation. Within its vaſt limits are ſeveral edifices, almoſt deſtroyed, which, no doubt, appertained to the prieſts and ſacred animals. Near the ruins is a large expanſe of water; and we meet at every ſtep with remains of columns, ſphinxes, ſtatues, coloſſal figures, and ruins, ſo magnificent that the imagination is kept in continual admiration and amazement. Were the ground occupied by the various entrances, porticos, and courts, appertaining to the temple meaſured, we ſhould find the whole was at leaſt half a league in circumference; and that Diodorus Siculus was not deceived when he allowed it that extent.

The plain lying between Carnac and Luxor is not leſs than a league in length, and was once covered with the houſes of the Egyptians, who lived in that eaſtern part of Thebes. Though, according to Diodorus Siculus *, they were five ſtories high, and ſolidly built, they have not been able to reſiſt the ravages of time and conquerors, but are totally deſtroyed †. The ground is at preſent much raiſed by the annual floodings of the river, which has covered it with ſeveral feet of mud, and the ruins are below the ſurface. Corn, flax, and vegetables, grow in the very places where, three thouſand years ago, public ſquares, palaces, and numerous edifices, were the admiration of the enlightened people who inhabited them. At the farther end of this plain is the village of Luxor, near which are the avenues and remains of another temple, ſtill more ruinous than the firſt. Its extent is ſpacious, and ſo are its courts, which are entered under porticos ſupported by columns forty feet high, without eſtimating the baſe, buried under the ſand. Pyramidal majeſtic gates, abounding in hieroglypics; the remains of walls built with flags of granite, and which the barbarity of men only could overturn; rows of coloſſal marble figures, forty feet high, one third buried in the ground; all declare what the magnificence of the principal edifice, the ſcite of which is known by a hill of ruins, muſt have been. But nothing can give a more ſublime idea of its grandeur than the two obeliſks by which it was embelliſhed, and which ſeem to have been placed there by giants, or the genii of fable. They are each a ſolid block of granite, ſeventy-two feet high above the ſurface, and thirty-two in circumference; but, being ſunk deep in the ſand and mud, they may well be ſuppoſed ninety feet from the baſe to the ſummit. The one is ſplit towards the middle; the other perfectly preſerved. The hieroglyphics they contain, divided into columns, and cut in bas-relief projecting an inch and a half, do honour to the ſculptor; the hardneſs of the ſtone has preſerved them from being injured by the air. Nothing can be more majeſtic than theſe obeliſks. Egypt is the ſole country in the world where men have performed works like theſe; yet there is not a city on the face of the globe

---

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

† Pocock, deceived by this total deſtruction, imagined Thebes formerly contained no great buildings except the temples, and that the inhabitants there lived in huts or tents, &c. The teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus refutes this aſſertion.

where they would not become its grandeſt ornament.

Such, Sir, are the moſt remarkable monuments found at preſent on the eaſtern ſide of Thebes. Their very aſpect would awaken the genius of a poliſhed nation, but the Turks and Copts, cruſhed to duſt beneath an iron ſceptre, behold them without aſtoniſhment, and build huts, which ſcarcely can ſcreen them from the ſun, in their neighbourhood. Theſe barbarians, if they want a millſtone, do not bluſh to overturn a column, the ſupport of a temple or portico, and ſaw it in pieces. Thus abject does deſpotiſm render men!"

A viſit to the tombs of the kings of Thebes, *dug in the mountain, thro' ſubterranean paſſages. Sarcophagi, galleries, and hieroglyphics deſcribed. Obſervations on the grand temple, the roof of which was ſupported by ſquare pillars, bearing ſtatues. Parts of a prodigious coloſſal figure found among theſe ruins. The ruins of* Memnonium, *denoted by heaps of marble and rows of ſtatues, either mutilated or ſunk a third of their height in the earth, and particularly by the celebrated coloſſal figure of* Memnon, *famous among the antients for the ſounds it articulated at ſun-riſing. From the ſame work.*

Grand Cairo.

"THE villages of Gournou and Medinet-Abou, built where the weſtern part of Thebes once ſtood, are ſurrounded by grand ruins. One league weſtward of the firſt are the grottos named *Biban Elmelouk*, the gates of the kings, where are ſeen the tombs of the ancient monarchs of the Thebais. The road to them is ſtrewed with marbles and fragments, and we arrive at them by a winding narrow paſs, the ſides of which, in various places, have been hollowed out. Large excavations have been made in the rock, which were antecedent to the building of houſes and palaces. The valley widens at the farther end about two hundred fathoms, and here, at the foot of the mountain, are the paſſages which lead to the tombs. Strabo counts forty of them[*], Diodorus Siculus forty-ſeven[†]; but he adds, that in the time of Auguſtus ſeventeen only remained, ſome of which were very much damaged. At preſent moſt of them are cloſed up, and nine of them only can be entered. The ſubterranean galleries leading to them are in general ten feet high, and as many in breadth. The walls and roofs, cut in a white rock, preſerve the brilliant poliſh of ſtucco. At the far end of four principal alleys, longer and higher than the reſt, is the door of a large hall, in the centre of which a marble tomb is ſeen, on the top of which a figure is ſculptured in baſſo-relievo, and another holding a ſceptre in one hand on the wall; a third alſo on the ceiling, bearing a ſceptre, with wings deſcending as low as his heels.

The ſecond grotto is ſpacious and much embelliſhed, containing on the ceiling numerous golden ſtars; birds painted in colours which ſeem to have loſt nothing of their freſhneſs and brilliancy; and hieroglyphics divided in columns, and engraved in the walls. Two men are ſeated beſide the gate, the paſſage to which is a long gentle declivity. A block of red granite ſixteen feet high, ten long, and ſix wide, forms the ſarcophagus of the king, who is ſculptured in baſſo-relievo on the top of the tomb, and ſurrounded by a hieroglyphical inſcription. Niches cut out of the rock probably ſerved as repoſitories for the mummies of the royal family. The tombs erected in other apartments have been carried away by force, as their fragments atteſt. There is one exceedingly fine grotto which contains only a marble lid ten feet long and ſix wide; and in the farther part of the moſt diſtant cavern is a human figure in baſſo-relievo, with the arms croſſing the breaſt, and two others kneeling, one on each ſide.

---

[*] Strabo, lib. 17.

[†] Diod. Siculus.

Theſe galleries and ſubterranean apartments, which go very far under the mountains, and a very ſmall part only of which I have deſcribed, are embelliſhed by marble figures of men, birds, and various animals; ſome ſculptured in baſſo-relievo, others cut hollow, and ſome painted in colours which are not to be effaced. Theſe unintelligible characters, which contain the hiſtory of the times, conceal beneath their impenetrable veil moſt intereſting diſcoveries, and the moſt remarkable facts relative to the monarchs of the Thebais, whoſe power extended as far as India. Torches are neceſſary in examining theſe labyrinths, into which the light of day cannot penetrate. Such, Sir, are the caverns where the bodies of kings repoſe, ſurrounded by ſilence and ſhades. A kind of religious terror is felt while wandering through them, as if the preſence of the living diſturbed the dead, in the aſylums where they have retired to reſt in peaceful ſleep.

Returning from theſe dark abodes, and proceeding ſouth-eaſt, the traveller ſoon meets with the remains of a temple, on the ſquare pillars of which are ſtatues that all have had their heads broken off, holding a ſceptre in one hand and a whip in the other. This edifice is little more than a mountain of ruins. On the ſouth ſide is a pyramidal gate, which was the entrance to a portico. The extent of the courts round the temple is denoted by fragments of columns, and ſtones of an incredible grandeur. In one of theſe courts are parts of two ſtatues of black marble, which were thirty feet high; in the other, one ſtands in ſtupid amazement, at beholding a coloſſal figure extended on the ground, and broken near the middle. The ſpace between the ſhoulders is one and twenty feet, the head eleven feet in length and eighteen in circumference. This gigantic ſtatue is only inferior in ſize to that of Memnon. The remains of the buildings appertaining to this temple cover a mile of ground, and leave a high idea of its magnificence in the mind.

Proceeding onward about half a league, we come to the ruins of Memnonium, near Medinet-Abou, where is the largeſt coloſſus of Egypt, which marks the ſituation of the tomb of Oſymandyas, for ſo Diodorus Siculus indicates. Before I deſcribe the ruins of this famous place, permit me to cite what Diodorus has written on the ſubject. "Ten ſtadia from the tombs of the kings of Thebes*." ſays this hiſtorian,

---

* Diod. Siculus, lib. 1. The great caverns, where the tombs of the kings of Thebes

torian, " is the admirable one of Oſymandyas. The entrance to it is by a veſtibule of various coloured ſtones, two hundred feet long and ſixty-eight high. Leaving this we enter a ſquare periſtyle, each ſide of which is four hundred feet in length. Animals twenty-four feet high, cut from blocks of granite, ſerve as columns, and ſupport the ceiling, which is compoſed of marble ſlabs twenty-ſeven feet ſquare, and embelliſhed throughout by golden ſtars, glittering on a ground of azure. Beyond this periſtyle is another entrance, and after that a veſtibule, built like the firſt, but containing more ſculptures of all kinds. At the entrance are three ſtatues, formed from a ſingle ſtone by Memnon Sycnite, the principal of which, repreſenting the king, is ſeated, and is the largeſt in Egypt. One of its feet exactly meaſured is above ſeven cubits. The other two figures ſupported on his knees, the one on the right, the other on the left, are thoſe of his mother and daughter. The whole work is leſs valuable for its enormous grandeur than for the beauty of the ſculpture and the choice of the granite, which, tho' ſo extenſive, has neither flaw nor blemiſh on its ſurface. The coloſſus bears this inſcription, *I am Oſymandyas, king of kings: he who would comprehend my greatneſs, and where I reſt, let him deſtroy ſome one of theſe works* *. Beſides this is another ſtatue of his mother, cut from a ſingle block of granite thirty feet high. Three queens are ſculptured on her head, intimating that ſhe was daughter, wife, and mother of a king.

" After this portico is a periſtyle ſtill more beautiful than the firſt, on the ſtones of which is engraved the hiſtory of the war of Oſymandyas againſt the rebels of Bactriana. The façade of the front wall exhibits this prince attacking ramparts, at the foot of which the river flows; he is combating advanced troops, and by his ſide is a terrible lion, ardent in his defence. On the right wall are captives in chains, with their hands and genitals cut off, as marks of reproach for their cowardice. The wall on the left contains ſymbolical figures, of exceedingly good ſculpture, deſcriptive of the triumphs and ſacrifice of Oſymandyas returning from this war. In the centre of the periſtyle, where the roof is open, an altar was erected of a ſingle ſtone of marvellous bulk and exquiſite workmanſhip; and at the farther wall are two coloſſal figures, each hewn from a ſingle block of marble forty feet high, ſeated on their pedeſtals. This admirable periſtyle has three gates, one between the two ſtatues, and the others on each ſide. Theſe lead to an edifice two hundred feet ſquare, the roof of which is ſup-

---

Thebes may be ſeen, are only three quarters of a league from Medinet-Abou; therefore Diodorus is tolerably exact, ſince, at moſt, he is not deceived above a quarter of a league. Pocock has committed a more conſiderable error, in placing the tomb of Oſymandyas at Luxor, on the other ſide the Nile.

* I believe this inſcription was fatal to the coloſſus, and occaſioned Cambyſes to break it in two.

The French reads, *que l'on detruiſe*; the Greek, νικὰτω τὶ τ῀ εμῶν ἔργων, let him conquer, i. e. exceed, ſome of my works. T.

ported by high columns. It reſembles a magnificent theatre. Several figures carved in wood repreſent a tribunal adminiſtering juſtice. Thirty judges are ſeen on one of the walls, and in the midſt of them the chief juſtice, with a pile of books at his feet, and a figure of Truth, with her eyes ſhut, ſuſpended from his neck.

" Beyond is a walk ſurrounded by edifices of various forms, in which were tables ſtored with all kinds of moſt delicious viands. In one of theſe Oſymandyas, cloathed in magnificent robes, offers up the gold and ſilver which he annually drew from the mines of Egypt to the gods. Beneath, the amount of this revenue, which was thirty-two million minas of ſilver, was inſcribed. Another building contained the ſacred library, at the entrance of which theſe words were read, PHYSIC FOR THE SOUL. A fourth contained all the deities of Egypt, with the king offering ſuitable preſents to each, and calling Oſiris and the ſurrounding divinities to witneſs he had exerciſed piety toward the gods, and juſtice toward men. Beſide the library ſtood one of the fineſt of theſe edifices, and in it twenty couches to recline on while feaſting; alſo the ſtatues of Jupiter, Juno, and Oſymandyas, whoſe body it is ſuppoſed was depoſited here. Various adjoining apartments contained repreſentations of all the conſecrated animals of Egypt. Hence was the aſcent to the ſepulchre of the king, on the ſummit of which was placed a circle of gold in thickneſs one cubit, and three hundred and ſixty-five in circumference; each cubit correſponded to a day in the year, and on it were engraved the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars for that day, with ſuch aſtrological indications as the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians had affixed to them. Cambyſes is ſaid to have carried off this circle when he ravaged Egypt. Such, according to hiſtorians, was the tomb of Oſymandyas, which ſurpaſſed all others, as well by its wealth as by the workmanſhip of the ſkilful artiſts employed *."

I dare not, Sir, warrant all that Diodorus Siculus advances on the faith of preceding writers; for in his time the greateſt part of theſe edifices were no longer in exiſtence. Nay, I confeſs that, in any other country, ſuch marvellous edifices would paſs for mere chimæras; but in this land of fecundity, which ſeems to have been firſt honoured by the creative genius of the arts, they acquire probability. Let us examine the remains of thoſe monuments, and our eyes will oblige us to believe in miracles. Theſe remains are heaped together near Medinet-Abou †, in the circumference of about half a league. The temple, veſtibules, and periſtyles, preſent only piles of ruins, among which ſome pyramidal gates rear their heads, whoſe ſolidity has rendered them indeſtructible; but the numerous coloſſal figures deſcribed by Diodorus, though mutilated, ſtill ſubſiſt. That neareſt the

---

* Some very ſlight deviations from the French text have been made on the authority of Diodorus. T.

† Medinet-Abou ſignifies the city of the father. That Memnonium ſtood here cannot be doubted, ſince it is alſo called, in the Itinerary, Papa, or father.

ruins, which is of yellow marble, is ſunk in the earth one third of its height. On a line with it is another of ſpotted marble, black and white, thirty feet long, with many hieroglyphics ſculptured on its back. In the ſpace between them, the ground is covered with fragments of columns, and broken ſtatues, denoting the arrangement of the veſtibules. Beyond are two other coloſſal ſtatues, totally disfigured; and a hundred fathom ſtill further the traveller is ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of two gigantic figures, which ſeem like rocks, and are ſeated beſide each other. Their pedeſtals are nearly equal, and formed from blocks of granite thirty feet long, and eighteen wide. The ſmalleſt of theſe ſtatues is alſo one ſole ſtone; the other, the largeſt in Egypt, is formed of five different pieces of granite, and broken in the middle. This ſhould ſeem to be the ſtatue of Oſymandyas *, for we find two figures, ſculptured in baſſo-relievo, the length of his legs, and riſing one third as high as himſelf. Theſe were the mother and daughter of this prince. The other coloſſus, of one ſingle ſtone, correſponding to the dimenſions Diodorus Siculus gives, alſo repreſented the mother of the king. You will form ſome idea of the gigantic ſize of the grand coloſſus, when you are told that its foot alone is near eleven feet long, which anſwers to the ſeven cubits of Diodorus. This ſtatue, the half of which remains on its baſe, and which Strabo calls the ſtatue of Memnon, uttered a ſound at ſun-riſing. Its fame formerly was very great. Several writers have ſpoken of it with enthuſiaſm, regarding it as one of the ſeven wonders of the world. A crowd of Greek and Latin inſcriptions, which are ſtill legible on the baſe and legs of the coloſſus, atteſt that princes, generals, governors, and men of all conditions, have heard this miraculous ſound. You know, Sir, what the judicious Strabo thought, and, I hope, you will be of his opinion. Such, Sir, are the remains of Thebes, and her hundred gates, the antiquity of which is loſt in the obſcurity of ages, and which ſtill contains proofs of the perfection of the arts in thoſe moſt diſtant times. All here is ſublime, all majeſtic. Its kings ſeem to have acquired the glory of never dying, while their obeliſks and coloſſal ſtatues exiſt, and to have only laboured for immortality. They could preſerve their memory againſt the efforts of time, but not againſt the barbariſm of conquerors; thoſe moſt dreadful ſcourges of ſcience and nations, which, in their pride, they have too often eraſed from the face of the earth."

Dr. Glaſs's *letter to* William Marſden, *Eſq; on the affinity of certain words in the language of the* Sandwich *and* Friendly Iſles *in the* Pa-

---

* The only objection to this opinion is that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the ſtatue of Oſymandyas, with thoſe of his mother and daughter, were all formed from one ſole block; and this coloſſus is compoſed of ſeveral pieces: but the firſt of theſe pieces, reaching from the ſole of the foot to the elbows, comprehends the two other figures, which, perhaps, is what the hiſtorian means to ſay. The remainder is conformable to his deſcription.

cific Ocean, *with the* Hebrew.—*From the* 8*th vol. of the* Archæologia.

My dear Friend,

YOU know my opinion as to the originality of the Hebrew language: to this you muſt attribute the trouble I am now giving you.

If there was a time when all the inhabitants of the world ſpoke Hebrew, then we are juſtified in our attempts at tracing to that primary ſource any word in any language ſpoken on the habitable globe; and an argument connected with theſe data, though it may not carry conviction with it, will not, I hope, be conſidered, *primâ facie*, as abſurd and impoſſible.

It is my opinion, then, that the word *taboo*, which is ſo common in all the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, and which occurs ſo very frequently in the journals of our circumnavigators, is, *poſſibly*, of Hebrew origin.

At leaſt thus much is certain, that the Hebrew word תעובה *Taooba*, from תעב, has the ſame preciſe ſignification with the word *Taboo*, as uſed in the Sandwich and Friendly iſles, &c.

The word תעב as a verb ſignifies tranſitively, to *loath*, *nauſeate*, *abominate*, both in a natural and mental ſenſe. From hence is derived תעובה *Taaob-a*, and תעובת *Taoob-ath*, an abomination.

It occurs in ſeveral places of the ſacred writings; but the three following inſtances are ſufficiently in point for my purpoſe, viz. to ſhew that the effect of that abomination we ſpeak of, was *interdictory*, and that to a very high degree, which is exactly the ſenſe in which it ſeems to occur in the journals of Captain Cook, &c. with the ſlight tranſpoſition of one vowel.

I.

Geneſis lxiii. 32.

“ And they ſet on (meat) for him (Joſeph) by himſelf, and for them (the ſons of Jacob) by themſelves; and for the Egyptians which did eat with him (in his preſence) by themſelves, becauſe the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is תעובה, *Taooba*, to the Egyptians.”

An inhabitant of O-why-hee would have given the very ſame reaſon for ſuch a ſeparation at his meal.

II.

Geneſis xlvi. 33, 34.

“ And it ſhall come to paſs when
“ Pharaoh ſhall call you, and ſhall
“ ſay, ‘ What is your occupation?’”
“ That ye ſhall ſay, ‘ Thy ſer-
“ vants trade hath been about cat-
“ tle, from our youth even until
“ now, both we and our fathers:’
“ that ye may dwell in the land
“ of Goſhen, for every ſhepherd is
“ תעובת *Taoob-ath*, to the Egyp-
“ tians.”

III.

Exodus viii. 25, 26.

And Pharaoh called for Moſes and Aaron, and ſaid: “ Go ye,
“ ſacrifice to your God in the
“ land.”

And Moſes ſaid: “ It is not
“ meet ſo to do, for we ſhall ſacri-
“ fice the abomination of the Egyp-
“ tians to the Lord our God
“ *(Taoob-ath-Mizräim)*, Lo, ſhall
“ we ſacrifice תעובת־מצרים, that
“ which the Egyptians are forbid-

“ den to uſe, before their eyes, and “ will they not ſtone us?”

There is little doubt, that Moſes in this place alludes to the well-known Egyptian hiſtories of Iſis and Oſiris, and that the *cow* was the *taboo'd* animal which it was ſo hazardous to ſacrifice in Egypt.

Herodotus gives us the reaſon in his Euterpe:

Τοὺς μὲν οὖν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας, καὶ τοὺς μοσχοὺς οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι· τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὔ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν· ἀλλὰ ἱραὶ εἰσι τῆς Ἴσιος. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἴσιος ἄγαλμα, ἐὸν γυναικήϊον, βουκέρων ἐστι, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι· καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται, προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ.

“ All the Egyptians ſacrifice bulls, and bull-calves which are free from blemiſh; but cows they are forbidden to offer up, for they are holy to Iſis. For the repreſentation of Iſis is that of a female with a cow's horns, as the Greeks paint Iö, and all the Egyptians do thus venerate cows (boves fœminas) far more than all other cattle.”

In conſequence of this, their behaviour to perſons coming from a country not ſo ſcrupulous gives us a moſt perfect idea of the *taboo*.

Τῶν ἕινεκα, οὔτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσειεαν τῷ στόματι· οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρήσεται, οὐδ' ὀβέλοισι, οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βόος διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται.

“ On this account no Egyptian man or woman would kiſs a Greek, nor uſe the ſword of a Greek, nor Grecian ſpits, or caldrons; nor will they even taſte the fleſh of a clean beaſt, which is carved with a Grecian knife.”

This was the *Taoob-a-Mizräim* in its effects, which are exactly analogous to thoſe of the *Taboo*.

The tenor of theſe obſervations is ſupported by the Jewiſh Rabbinical Comment, called Targum Onkelos, on Geneſis xliii. 32. quoted by the ingenious and learned Mr. Parkhurſt in his Lexicon, on the word תעב, where it is ſaid, “ For the Egyptians could not eat “ bread with the Hebrews, becauſe “ the beaſts which the Egyptians “ worſhipped the Hebrews eat.”

If I miſtake not, the *Taboo* of the iſlands has ſome connection, not accurately underſtood, with their religious tenets.

This conjecture will receive additional ſtrength, if in the courſe of future enquiry there ſhould appear, as I cannot but ſuſpect will be the caſe, as marked an affinity between other words in the two languages; expreſſive of the ſame ideas; *Mattee*, from מת, ſeems to be here in point.

I wiſh I had leiſure and abilities to enter more deeply into ſuch an inveſtigation.

The ſubject viewed in any light whatever is not unintereſting; and no argument in favour of the primævity of the Hebrew language is unimportant. Reſearches of this nature, we underſtand, are now making, under the direction of a great princeſs, as well as by the aſſiduous care of learned individuals. I am fully perſuaded, that theſe reſearches will terminate in ſome new diſcoveries of the connection between the language of every kingdom upon earth, with that preſumed to have been ſpoken by Adam and Noah.

Yours moſt affectionately,

G. H. GLASS.

Obſervations on a Picture by Zuccaro, *from Lord* Falkland's *Collection, ſuppoſed to repreſent the Game of* Primero. *By the Hon.* Daines Barrington. *Inſcribed to the Rev. Mr.* Bowle. *From the ſame work.*

Inner Temple, May 4, 1785.

I Conceive that the following account of a picture, which was ſold laſt week at Greenwood's auction-room in Leiceſter-Fields, may be intereſting to the ſociety.

It originally belonged to the great and good lord Falkland; from whom it deſcended to the late viſcount of that title, who died not long ſince,

According to tradition in the family it was painted by Zuccaro; and repreſented lord Burleigh playing at cards with three other perſons, who, from their dreſs, appear to be of diſtinction, each of them having two rings on the ſame fingers of both their hands.

The cards are marked as at preſent, and differ from thoſe of more modern times only by being narrower and longer; eight of theſe lie upon the table, with the blank ſide uppermoſt, whilſt four remain in each of their hands.

Other particulars deſerving notice are, that one of the players exhibits his cards, which are, to the beſt of my recollection, the knave of hearts, with the ace, 7 and 6 of clubs. There are alſo conſiderable heaps of gold and ſilver on the table, ſo that theſe dignified perſonages ſeem to have played for what would not at preſent be called a *chicken* ſtake.

It ſhould ſeem, that the game is a Spaniſh one, called *Primero*, which probably might have been introduced by Philip the Second, or ſome of his ſuite, whilſt he was in England, and was much in vogue during the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears by the following paſſage from Shakeſpeare:

> " —— I left him at *Primero*
> " With the duke of Suffolk."
> Henry VIII. Act V. Sc. 1.

I have taken ſome pains to find out how this formerly favourite game was played, and find the following account of it in Duchat's notes on the twenty-ſecond chapter of the firſt book of Rabelais, in which all the games, with which Gargantua amuſed himſelf, are mentioned, amounting to nearly two hundred, and the ſecond of which is *Primero.*

I ſhall ſubjoin a tranſlation of Duchat's note on this word, which ſeems moſt clearly to prove, that *Primero* is the game deſcribed in this picture of lord Falkland's.

" Each player hath four cards, " which are dealt one by one; a " ſeven is the higheſt in point of " number, [which he can avail " himſelf of,] and counts for " twenty-one; the next is the ſix, " and counts for ſixteen; the next " is the five, and counts for fifteen; " the ace reckons for the ſame " number, but the duce, trois, and " quatre, count only for their re" ſpective number of points."

Duchat adds, that the knave of hearts moſt *commonly* is pitched upon for the *quinola*, which the player may make what card, and of what colour he pleaſes *; if the cards are all of different colours, the player wins *primero*, and if they are all of the *ſame* colour, he wins the fluſh *.

---

* Hence the Spaniſh phraſe, " *echar de quinola*," which ſignifies the joining different colours. See the Dictionary of the Royal Academy at Madrid, voce *Quinola*.

From this outline of Primero, there ſeems to be little doubt but that it is the game which the painter means to deſcribe; and that the perſon exhibiting his cards to the ſpectators hath won the *flus*, flux, or fluſh; for his three clubs are the beſt cards for counting, and his knave of hearts may double the beſt of theſe, whilſt it alſo becomes a club, and thus wins by the number of points, as well as by the four cards becoming a fluſh of clubs.

Whilſt I have thus been endeavouring to explain this picture of Zuccaro, ſome other obſervations have occurred, with regard to cards in the more early centuries, which with the indulgence of the ſociety I may poſſibly lay before them hereafter.

DAINES BARRINGTON.

Obſervations on the Antiquity of Card-playing in England, *by the Hon.* Daines Barrington. *Inſcribed to the Rev. Mr.* Bowle. *From the ſame work.*

SINCE the laſt paper which I had the honour to lay before the ſociety, giving ſome account of a picture repreſenting lord Burleigh with three others playing at cards †, I have found ſome confirmation that thoſe exhibited in the hand of one of theſe players relate to Primero ‡, becauſe the Sydney papers mention § that queen Elizabeth formed a party at this game with the Lord Treaſurer, Mr. Secretary, and the lord North.

I am ſince informed likewiſe, that this picture was purchaſed by Mr. Bird of Hanover-Square.

I proceed to give the beſt account I am able of the firſt introduction of this paſtime now become ſo general.

The earlieſt mention of cards that I have yet ſtumbled upon, is in Mr. Anſtis's Hiſtory of the Garter ‖, where he cites the following paſſage from the Wardrobe Rolls, in the ſixth year of Edward the Firſt.

"Waltero Sturton ad opus regis ad ludendum *ad quatuor reges* VIII s. V d. ¶" from which entry Mr. Anſtis with ſome probability conjectures, that *playing cards* were not unknown at the latter end of the thirteenth century; and perhaps what I ſhall add may carry with it ſome ſmall confirmation of what he thus ſuppoſes.

Edward the Firſt (when prince of Wales) ſerved nearly five years in Syria, and therefore, whilſt military operations were ſuſpended, muſt naturally have wiſhed ſome ſedentary amuſements. Now the Aſiatics ſcarcely ever change their cuſtoms; and, as they play at cards (though in many reſpects different from ours*) it is not improbable that Edward might have been taugh the game, *ad quatuor reges*, whilſt he continued ſo long in this part of the globe.

---

* The Spaniſh term is "flux," which ſignifies the ſame with our word *fluſh*, and which, when applied to cards, imports that they are all of the ſame colour: *x* in that language, moreover, hath the power of *ſh*, or nearly ſo.

† See the preceding article.

‡ This ancient game is ſometimes written *Primera*.

§ Sydney Papers, vol. I. p. 154.

‖ Vol. II. p. 307.

¶ This entry ſeems to have been communicated to Mr. Anſtis by ſome other perſon.

If however this article in the wardrobe account is not allowed to allude to *playing cards*, the next writer who mentions the more early introduction of them is P. Meneſtrier †, who, from ſuch another article in the privy purſe expences of the kings of France, ſays, that they were provided for Charles the Sixth by his limner, after that king was deprived of his ſenſes in 1392.— The entry is the following, "Donné "a Jacquemin Gringonneur, Pein- "tre, pour *trois jeux* de Cartes, "a or et a diverſes couleurs, de "pluſieurs deviſes, pour porter "vers le dit Seigneur Roi pour ſon "abatement, cinquante ſix ſols "Pariſis."

I muſt own, that I have ſome doubts whether this entry really relates to *playing cards*, though it is admitted that *trois jeux de cartes* would now ſignify *three packs* of cards. The word *jeu* however had anciently a more extenſive import than at preſent, and Cotgrave in his Dictionary applies it to a *cheſt* of violins, *jeu* de violons. I therefore rather conceive that the *trois jeux de Cartes*, in this article, means three ſets of illuminations upon paper; *carte* originally ſignifying no more ‡.

If this be the right interpretation of the terms, we ſee the reaſon why Gringonneur, limner to Charles VI. was employed, and theſe three ſets of illuminations would entertain the king during his inſanity by their variety, as three ſets of wooden prints would now amuſe a child better than one; whilſt on the other hand one pack of cards would have been ſufficient for a mad king, who probably would tear them in pieces upon the firſt run of bad luck.

How this ſame king moreover was to be taught or could play a game at cards whilſt he was out of his ſenſes is not very apparent; and the phyſician, who permitted ſuch amuſement to his majeſty, ſeems not to have conſidered the ill conſequence to his health by loſſes at play, which ſo much inflame the paſſions. Some ſtreſs likewiſe may be laid upon this entry not being followed by another || of money iſſued to the winners, as there ſeems to be little doubt, but that his majeſty in this ſtate of mind muſt have been, in modern terms, a *pigeon* to his *hawks* of courtiers.

---

* "For their paſtimes within doors they have cards differing fro mours in the "figures and number of ſuits." Pietro della Valle.

Niebhur (in his Travels) alſo mentions the uſe of Chineſe cards, p. 139, and ſays, that the Arabians call this amuſement *Lab-el-kamer*. We have cheſs likewiſe from the Aſiatics.

† Bibliotheque Inſtructive et Curieuſe.

‡ Paper alſo in the fourteenth century was a modern invention.

|| Our worthy member Mr. Orde hath lately favoured me with the peruſal of Henry the Seventh's private expences, by which it appears that money was iſſued at three ſeveral times for his loſſes at cards.

Another obſervation to be made upon this entry is, that the year 1392 cannot be juſtly fixed upon as the date of this invention, for though Charles the Sixth loſt his ſenſes at that time, yet he lived thirty years afterward, ſo it will not be fair to ſuppoſe theſe cards were made the firſt year of his phrenſy, but to take the middle year of theſe thirty, which would bring it to 1407. At that time, indeed, this amuſement ſeems to have become more general, as in 1426 [*] no perſon was permitted to have in their houſe “ tabliers, eſchiquiers, *quartes*,” &c. which laſt word I conclude to be the ſame with *cartes* or *cards* [†].

It ſeems moreover to afford a ſtrong preſumption againſt Mr. Anſtis's explanation of the game *ad quatuor reges* (known to our Edward the Firſt), that cards are not alluded to by ſuch an article in the wardrobe rolls, becauſe we hear nothing about them, either in Rymer's Fœdera, or our ſtatute book, till towards the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII [‡].

This ſort of amuſement, however, was not unknown to the court at leaſt of Henry VII. for in the year 1502, when the daughter of that king was married to James the Fourth of Scotland, ſhe played at cards ſoon after her arrival at Edinburgh [‖].

Cards had alſo found their way into Spain about the ſame time; for Herrera mentions [§], that upon the conqueſt of Mexico (which happened in 1519), Montezuma took great pleaſure in ſeeing the Spaniards thus amuſing themſelves.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that if the Spaniards were not the firſt inventors of cards (which at leaſt I conceive them to have been), we owe to them undoubtedly the game of *ombre* (with its imitations of quadrille, &c.), which obtained ſo long throughout Europe till the introduction of *whiſk* [**].

The very name of this game is Spaniſh, as *ombre* ſignifies a man; and when we now ſay *I am the omber*, the meaning is, that I am *the man* who defy the other players, and will win the ſtake. The terms for the principal cards are alſo Spaniſh, viz. Spadill, Manill, Baſto, Punto, Matadors, &c [††].”

“ The four ſuits are named from what is chiefly repreſented upon them, viz. *ſpades*, from *eſpado*, a ſword; *hearts* are called *oros* *, from a piece of money being on each card; *clubs*, *baſtos*, from a ſtick or club; and *diamonds*, *copas*, from the *cups* painted on them.

---

[*] Monſtrelet in anno—Meneſtrier is alſo quoted for a ſynod held at Langres, by which the clergy are forbid the uſe of cards ſo early as 1404.

[†] Ludus chartaceus *quartarum* ſeu chartarum. Junius in Etymologico.

[‡] Whilſt I am correcting this page for the preſs, Mr. Nichols (printer to the ſociety) hath referred me to 4 Edw. IV. Rot. Parl. Membr. VI. where *pleyinge cardes* are enumerated amongſt ſeveral other articles, which are not to be imported. In 1540, Henry VIII. grants the office cuſtodis *ludorum* in Caleſiâ, amongſt which games *cards* are enumerated. Rymer in anno.

They are firſt forbid in Scotland by an act only of James the Sixth.

[‖] Appendix to the third volume of Leland's Collectanea, p. 284.

[§] Dec. 2. c. 8.

[**] This word indeed is moſt commonly written *whiſt*.

[††] To theſe I may add many others—as the being codill'd from *codillo*—The winning the *pool* from *polla*, which ſignifies the ſtake—The term *of trumps* from the Spaniſh *triumfo*—as alſo the term of the *ace*, which pervades moſt European languages, the Spaniſh word for this card being *as*.

The Spaniſh *packs* conſiſt but of forty-eight, having no *ten*, which probably hath been added by the French, or perhaps Italians †.

The king is a man crowned as in our cards; but the next in degree is a perſon on horſeback named *el caballo*, nor have they any *queen*.—The third (or knave with us) is termed *ſoto* (or the footman) being inferior to the horſeman.

Another capital game on the cards *(piquet)* we ſeem to have adopted from Spain, as well as ombre, it having been thence introduced into France about 140 years ago. The French term of *piquet* hath no ſignification but that of a *little axe*, and therefore is not taken from any thing which is remarkable in this game; whereas the Spaniſh name of *cientos* (or a *hundred)* alludes to the number of points which win the ſtake ‡.

Upon the whole, the Spaniards having given ſignificant terms to their cards, the figures of which they ſtill retain, as well as being the acknowledged introducers of *ombre*, ſeem to give them the beſt pretenſions of being the original inventors of this amuſement. If they had borrowed cards from the French, ſurely they would at the ſame time have adopted their names and figures, as well as their principal games from that nation ‖, which on the contrary (in *ombre* and *piquet* at leaſt) have been introduced from Spain.

Nor do other reaſons ſeem wanting why the Spaniards ſhould have excelled in card-playing before the other nations of Europe.

I have already proved by a citation from Herrera, that in 1519 Montezuma was much entertained in ſeeing the Spaniſh ſoldiers play at cards when they were firſt in poſ-

---

* The Venetians ſtill uſe the Spaniſh cards, retaining the Spaniſh terms, except that of *oros*, which they render *denari*, ſignifying equally *pieces of money*.

† Our learned member (Dr. Douglas) hath been ſo obliging as to refer me to a miſcellaneous work of M. Du Four, entitled *Longueruana*; in which the writer ſays, he had ſeen ſome antient Italian cards ſeven or eight inches long, in which the pope was repreſented, and from thence (though a Frenchman) aſcribes the invention of cards to the Italians. This is, however, a mere *ipſe dixit*, without any other fact or argument.

Another of our learned members (Dr. Woide) refers me to a German publication by Mr. Breithoff, in which he cites an authority, that cards were uſed in Germany ſo early as A. D. 1300, having been brought from Arabia or India.

Our late worthy member (Mr. Tutet) hath alſo been ſo obliging as to ſhew me ſome antient cards which belonged to Dr. Stukeley, and which were nearly of an equal length to thoſe deſcribed by Mr. Du Four. The pack, however, was far from complete, and therefore little could be inferred from them. This was alſo the caſe with the pack of Italian cards mentioned by Mr. Du Four.

‡ See Du Chat's notes on that chapter of Rabelais, in which Pantagruel is ſaid to have played at ſo many games.

Saintfoix (in his Eſſays on the Antiquities of Paris) informs us, that a dance was performed on the French theatre in 1676, taken from the game of piquet.

‖ The old Spaniſh term for cards is *naipe*, which Covarruvias ſuſpects to be of Arabic origin: certainly it hath not the moſt diſtant affinity to the French *carte*.

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of Mexico, which ſhews that this amuſement muſt have for ſome time previous been rather common in Old Spain [*]. Now Charles the Fifth ſucceeded to the crown of that kingdom in 1518, as well as to the new conqueſts and treaſures of the Weſtern India, whilſt his other moſt extenſive dominions made his monarchy nearly univerſal. France at the ſame time was at the loweſt ebb, their king having been taken priſoner at the battle of Pavia in 1524. It is not therefore extraordinary, that the country in which ſo great riches and ſuch extenſive territories were united, ſhould have produced the greateſt number of games and gameſters.

It ſhould ſeem that England hath no pretence to enter the liſts with Spain or France for the invention of cards, unleſs Edward the Firſt having played *ad quatuor reges* ſhould be ſo conſidered; and I have already ſuggeſted, that the finding nothing further relative to this paſtime till 1502 [†] affords a ſtrong preſumption that the *quatuor reges* were not playing cards [‡].

During the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. this amuſement ſeems not to have been very common in England, as ſcarcely any mention of it occurs either in Rymer's Fœdera or the ſtatute-book [||]. It is not improbable, however, that Philip the Second, with his ſuite, coming from the court of Charles the Fifth, made the uſe of cards much more general than it had been, of which ſome preſumptive proofs are not wanting.

We name two of the ſuits *clubs* and *ſpades*, when neither of thoſe ſuits in the common cards anſwer at all ſuch appellation. If the Spaniſh cards, however, are examined (which I have the honour of preſenting to the ſociety), it will be found that each card hath a real *club* in the firſt of theſe ſuits, and a real ſword, *eſpada* (rendered by us *ſpade)*, in the ſecond.

There ſeems to be little doubt, therefore, but that the cards uſed during the reign of Philip and Mary, and probably the more early part of queen Elizabeth, were Spaniſh [§], though they were afterwards changed for the French, being of a more ſimple figure, and more eaſily imported. It appears indeed by a proclamation of this queen, as alſo of her ſucceſſor [¶], that we did not then make many cards in England, though the amuſement had become ſo general in the reign of king James, that the audience at the play-houſes uſed thus to divert themſelves before the play began *.

---

[*] In 1584 a book was publiſhed at Salamanca, entituled, *Remedio de Jugadores*.

[†] When James the Fourth played with his deſtined conſort at Edinburgh.

[‡] The figured cards, as king, queen, and knave, were ſometimes called *coat*, and not *court* cards as at preſent. The *knave* probably was the prince their ſon, as Chaucer twice applies the term *knave child* to the ſon of a ſovereign prince. The ſame may be obſerved with regard to *valet* in French. See De la Royne's nobleſſe, and Du Freſne, in voce *valettus*.

[||] See however ante, p. 112, note †.

[§] Philip alſo introduced the Spaniſh dreſs and muſic, at leaſt there is a ſonnet of Sir Philip Sydney's, which is to the air of "Se tu Senora no dueles demi," and which therefore muſt have been a tune in vogue.

[¶] See a Collection of Proclamations in the library of the ſociety, vol. III. p. 5; and vol. IV. p. 31.

But I have been furniſhed by our worthy and learned member (Mr. Aſtle) with a ſtill more deciſive proof that cards were originally made in Spain, which I ſend herewith for the inſpection of the ſociety.

[*This was an impreſſion from a block of wood, and undoubtedly the cover of a pack of cards. The inſcription upon it is as follows:*]

"Cartas finnas faictes par Je (ſuppoſed contraction for Jean or John) Hauvola y (Edward Warman) the laſt name having been inſerted in a new piece of wood, laid into the original block."

The firſt words of this inſcription, viz. *cartas finnas (ſuperfine cards)* are Spaniſh, which are followed by two of French, (viz. *faictes par*, or *made by)* Jean Hauvola, *y (y* is generally uſed in Spaniſh for the conjunction *and)*, and the two laſt words, viz. *Edward Warman*, were not in the block of wood, when firſt cut into.

The whole of this inſcription, being rendered into Engliſh, runs thus:

"Superfine cards made by John Hauvola, and (Edward Warman)," the laſt name being an addition in the room of John Hauvola's firſt partner.

Now I conceive that this advertiſement was uſed by a card-maker reſident in France, who notified the wares he had to ſell in the Spaniſh terms of *cartas finnas*, or ſuperfine cards, becauſe thoſe which had been made in Spain at that time were in the greateſt vogue.

The two words which follow are French, *(faictes par*, or *made by)*, which were probably in that language, that the French reader might more readily underſtand the advertiſement, than if the whole was in Spaniſh. Thus a London ſhopkeeper would write on his ſhop in Engliſh that he ſold *vermicelli*, though he retains the Italian term of vermicelli (or *little worms)* for the ware he wants to diſpoſe of.

But this is not the whole that may be inferred from this curious cover, for at each corner are the figures from which the four ſuits of cards are denominated in Spain, viz. *cups*, *ſwords*, *clubs*, and *pieces of money*, whilſt at the top are the arms of Caſtille and Leon.

It ſeems fairly therefore to be inferred from the ſuperſcription on this cover, that cards could not be then diſpoſed of to advantage in France, unleſs there was ſome appearance of their having been originally brought from Spain, where being firſt invented they were probably made in greater perfection.

I begin to be ſenſible, that what I have thus ventured to lay before the ſociety on the firſt invention of cards is rather become of an unreaſonable length; from their wonted goodneſs to me, however, I will treſpaſs a little longer upon their time, by adding ſome few obſervations, which have occurred with regard to ſome of the games which formerly had obtained the greateſt vogue.

Primero † (undoubtedly a Spaniſh game) ſeems to have been chiefly played by our gentry till perhaps as late as the Reſtoration. Many other games however are mentioned in Dodſley's Collection of Old Plays, as "Gleek, Crimp, Mount-Saint, Noddy, Knave out of Doors, Saint Lodam, Poſt and Pair, Wide Ruff, and Game of Trumps."

---

* Mr. Malone's Supplemental Obſervations on Shakeſpeare, p. 31.

† Falſtaff complains that he never had any luck ſince he forſwore *Primero*.

To Primero the game of Ombre ſucceeded, and was probably introduced by Catharine of Portugal, the queen of Charles the Second, as Waller hath a poem

"On a card torn at Ombre by the queen."

It likewiſe continued to be in vogue for ſome time in the preſent century, for it is Belinda's game in the *Rape of the Lock*, where every incident in the whole deal is ſo deſcribed, that when ombre is forgotten (and it is almoſt ſo already) it may be revived with poſterity from that moſt admirable poem [*].

I remember moreover to have ſeen three-cornered tables in houſes which had old furniture, and which were made purpoſely for this game, the number of players being only three.

Quadrille (a ſpecies of ombre) obtained a vogue upon the diſuſe of the latter, which it maintained till Whiſk was introduced, which now prevails not only in England, but in moſt of the civilized parts of Europe.

If it may not be poſſibly ſuppoſed that *the game of trumps* (which I have before taken notice of, as alluded to in one of the old plays contained in Dodſley's Collection) is Whiſk, I rather conceive that the firſt mention of that game is to be found in Farquhar's Beaux Stratagem, which was written in the very beginning [†] of the preſent century. It was then played with what were called *ſwabbers* [‡], which were poſſibly ſo termed, becauſe they, who had certain cards in their hand, were entitled to take up a ſhare of the ſtake, independent of the general event of the game [‖]. The fortunate, therefore, clearing the board of this extraordinary ſtake, might be compared by ſeamen to the *ſwabbers* (or cleaners of the deck) in which ſenſe the term is ſtill uſed.

Be this as it may, *whiſk* ſeems never to have been played upon principles till about fifty years ago, when it was much ſtudied by a ſet of gentlemen who frequented the Crown coffee-houſe in Bedford-Row [§]: before that time it was chiefly confined to the ſervants' hall with *all-fours* and *put*.

---

[*] As for the game at cheſs in Vida's Latin poems, I never could follow it, after line 220, when ſeveral pawns are taken on each ſide without being particulariſed. The Latin however cannot be too much admired of this elegant poem, nor the deſcription of many moves.

[†] In 1664 a book was publiſhed, entituled, *The Compleat Gameſter*, which takes no notice of *whiſk*, though it does of *ombre* and *piquet*.

[‡] "The clergyman uſed to play at whiſk and *ſwabbers*." Swift.

[‖] *Swabbers* therefore much reſemble the taking up part of the ſtake for the aces at quadrille, and are properly baniſhed from a game of ſo much ſkill as whiſk, becauſe they are apt to divert the player's attention.

[§] I have this information from a gentleman who is now eighty-ſix years of age. The firſt lord Folkſtone was another of this ſet.

They laid down the following rules:

To play from the ſtrongeſt ſuit, to ſtudy your partner's hand as much as your own, never to force your partner unneceſſarily, and to attend to the ſcore.

Perhaps, as games are ſubject to revolutions, whiſk may be as much forgot in the next century as Primero is at preſent: in ſuch caſe, what I have thus laid before the ſociety may intereſt future antiquaries. If it ſhould, my trouble in compiling this diſſertation will be fully anſwered.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The hot baths uſed over all Egypt, *and the manner of bathing deſcribed; with obſervations on the benefits ariſing from them; on the practice of the women who bathe once or twice a week; and compariſons between theſe baths and thoſe of the ancient* Greeks. *From Monſ.* Savary's *Letters on* Egypt.

Grand Cairo.

"THE hot baths, known in the remoteſt ages, and celebrated by Homer, who paints the manners of his times, have here preſerved all their allurements and ſalubrity; neceſſity has rendered them common in a country where perſpiration is abundant; and pleaſure has preſerved the practice. Mahomet, who knew their utility, has made the uſe of them a religious precept. They have been ſuperficially deſcribed by moſt travellers; but as the habit I am in of frequenting them has given me leiſure to examine them attentively, I ſhall endeavour to be more particular and ſatisfactory *.

The firſt apartment at entering the bath is a great chamber, in the form of a rotunda, with an open roof, to let the pure air circulate freely. A ſpacious alcove carpeted is carried round, and divided into compartments, in which the bathers leave their clothes. In the centre is a fountain, which plays into a reſervoir, and has a pleaſing effect.

When undreſſed a napkin is tied round the middle; ſandals are put on, and a narrow paſſage is entered, where the heat firſt begins to be felt; the door ſhuts, and twenty paces further a ſecond opens, which is the entrance to a paſſage at right angles with the firſt. Here the heat augments, and thoſe who fear to expoſe themſelves too ſuddenly to its effects ſtop ſome time in a marble hall before they enter. The bath itſelf is a ſpacious vaulted chamber, paved and lined with marble; beſide it are four ſmall rooms: a vapour continually riſes from a fountain and ciſtern of hot water, with which the burnt perfumes mingle †.

The bathers are not, as in France,

---

* I have ſeen the baths of the principal cities of Egypt; they are all made on the ſame plan, ſeldom differing, except in ſize; thus an exact deſcription of one will include the others.

† Perfumes are only burnt when it is the deſire of the perſons bathing. By mingling with the vapour they produce a moſt agreeable effect.

impriſoned in a kind of tub, where the body cannot reſt at its eaſe; but, reclining on a ſpread ſheet, and the head ſupported on a ſmall pillow, they freely take what poſture they pleaſe, while clouds of odoriferous vapours envelope and penetrate every pore.

Having repoſed thus ſome time, a gentle moiſture diffuſes itſelf over the body; a ſervant comes, gently preſſes and turns the bather, and when the limbs are flexible, makes the joints crack without trouble; then *maſſes**, and ſeems to knead the body without giving the ſlighteſt ſenſation of pain.

This done he puts on a ſtuff glove and continues rubbing long, and freeing the ſkin of the patient, which is quite wet, from every kind of ſcaly obſtruction, and all imperceptible particles that clog the pores, till it becomes as ſmooth as ſatin; he then conducts the bather into a cabinet, pours a lather of perfumed ſoap on the head, and retires.

The ancients honoured their gueſts ſtill more, and treated them after a more voluptuous manner. While Telemachus was at the court of Neſtor †, "the beauteous Polycaſte, youngeſt of the daughters of the king of Pylos, led the ſon of Ulyſſes to the bath, waſhed him with her own hands, and, having rubbed his body with precious ointments, clothed him in rich garments and a ſhining mantle." Nor were Piſiſtratus and Telemachus worſe treated in the palace of Menelaus ‡, the beauties of which having admired, "they were conducted to marble baſons, in which the bath was prepared, where beauteous ſlaves waſhed them, rubbed them with odorous oils, and clothed them in fine garments, and magnificent furred robes §."

The room into which the bather retires has two water cocks, one for cold, the other for hot water; and he waſhes himſelf. The attendant preſently returns with a depilatory pomatum ‖, which inſtantly eradicates hair wherever applied. It is in general uſe both with men and women in Egypt.

Being well waſhed and purified, the bather is wrapped up in hot linen, and follows his guide through various windings which lead to the outward apartment, while this inſenſible tranſition from heat to cold prevents all inconvenience ¶. Being come to the alcove, a bed is ready prepared, on which the perſon no ſooner lies down than a boy comes, and begins to preſs with his delicate hands all parts of the body, in order to dry them perfectly: the linen is once more changed, and the boy gently rubs the callous ſkin of the feet with pumice-ſtone, then brings a pipe and Moka coffee *.

---

* *Maſſer* comes from the Arabic verb *maſſes*, which ſignifies to touch lightly.

† Odyſſey, Book III.

‡ Odyſſey, Book IV.

§ I tranſlate the words χλαὶνας ὀυλας (ſhaggy mantles) furred robes, though I am ſenſible no tranſlator has ſo rendered them, becauſe it ſeems to me the poet intended to deſcribe a cuſtom which ſtill remains in the Eaſt, of covering the bather with furred garments when he leaves the hot bath, to prevent a ſtoppage of perſpiration, at a time when the pores are exceedingly open.

‖ Made from a mineral called *ruſma*, of a dark brown colour. The Egyptians give it a ſlight burning, then add an equal quantity of ſlack lime, and knead them up with water. This grey paſte will make the hair fall off in three minutes, without giving the ſlighteſt pain.

¶ Delicate people ſtop ſome time in the chamber next the bath, that they may feel no inconvenience by going too ſuddenly into the air. The pores being exceedingly open, they keep themſelves warm all day, and in winter ſtay within doors.

Coming from a bath filled with hot vapour, in which exceſſive perſpiration bedewed every limb, into a ſpacious apartment and the open open air, the lungs expand and reſpire pleaſure: well kneaded, and as it were regenerated, the blood circulates freely, the body feels a voluptuous eaſe, a flexibility till then unknown, a lightneſs as if relieved from ſome enormous weight, and the man almoſt fancies himſelf newly born, and beginning firſt to live. A glowing conſciouſneſs of exiſtence diffuſes itſelf to the very extremities; and, while thus yielding to the moſt delightful ſenſations, ideas of the moſt pleaſing kind pervade and fill the ſoul; the imagination wanders through worlds which itſelf embelliſhes, every where drawing pictures of happineſs and delight. If life be only a ſucceſſion of ideas, the vigour, the rapidity, with which the memory then re-traces all the knowledge of the man, would lead us to believe that the two hours of delicious calm which ſucceed bathing are an age.

Such, Sir, are theſe baths, the uſe of which was ſo ſtrongly recommended by the ancients, and the pleaſures of which the Egyptians ſtill enjoy. Here they prevent or exterminate rheumatiſms, catarrhs, and thoſe diſeaſes of the ſkin which the want of perſpiration occaſions. Here they find a radical cure for that fatal diſeaſe which attacks the powers of generation, and the remedies for which are ſo dangerous in Europe †. Here they rid themſelves of thoſe uncomfortable ſenſations ſo common among other nations, who have not the ſame regard to cleanlineſs.

The women are paſſionately fond of theſe baths, whither they go at leaſt once a week, taking with them ſlaves accuſtomed to the office. More ſenſual than men, after the uſual proceſs they waſh the body, and particularly the head, with roſe-water. There their attendants braid their long black hair, with which, inſtead of powder and pomatum, they mingle precious eſſences.—There they blacken the rim of the eye-lid, arch the brows with *cohel* ‡, and ſtain the nails of their hands and feet of a golden yellow with *henna* ‖. Their linen and their robes having been paſt through the ſweet vapour of aloes wood, and their dreſſing ended, they remain in the outward apartment, and paſs the day in feaſting, while ſinging girls come and dance, and ſing ſoothing airs, or recount amorous adventures.

---

* The whole expence of bathing thus to me was half a crown; but the common people go ſimply to perſpire in the bath, waſh themſelves, and give three half-pence or two-pence at departing.

† Tournefort, who had taken the vapour bath at Conſtantinople, where they are much leſs careful than at Grand Cairo, thinks they injure the lungs; but longer experience would have convinced him of his error. There are no people who practiſe this bathing more than the Egyptians, nor any to whom ſuch diſeaſes are leſs known. They are almoſt wholly unacquainted with pulmonic complaints.

‡ Tin, burnt with gall-nuts, which the Turkiſh women uſe to blacken and arch the eye-brows.

‖ A ſhrub common in Egypt, which bears ſome reſemblance to the privet. The leaves chopped and applied to the ſkin, give it a bright yellow colour.

The days of bathing are feſtive days among the Egyptian women; they deck themſelves magnificently, and under the long veil and mantle which hide them from the public eye wear the richeſt ſtuffs. They undreſs themſelves in preſence of each other, and their vanity extends to their very drawers, which in winter are made of ſtuffs inwove with ſilk and gold, and in ſummer of worked muſlin. Ruffles and lace are unknown to them, but their ſhifts are made of cotton and ſilk, as light and tranſparent as gauze. Rich ſaſhes of Caſſimire * bind up their floating robes, and two creſcents of fine pearls ſparkle amidſt the black hair that ſhades their temples, while diamonds enrich the Indian handkerchief with which they bind their brows. Such are the Georgians and Circaſſians, whom the Turks purchaſe for their wives. They are neat to exceſs, and walk in an atmoſphere of perfumes; and, though their luxury is hidden from the public, it ſurpaſſes that of the European women in their own houſes.

The exceſſive jealouſy of the Turks makes them pretend, that in this warm climate, where nature is ſo powerful, and women are irreſiſtibly prone to pleaſure, an intercourſe between the ſexes would be dangerous; they therefore abuſe the right of ſtrength, and hold them in ſlavery, though they thereby increaſe the violence of their paſſions, and make them ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of retaliation: ignorant, no doubt, that though free women may be won, ſlaves need no winning."

An Account of the Almai, *or* Egyptian Improviſatore, *their education, dancing, muſic; and the paſſionate delight the natives take in theſe actreſſes. From the ſame work.*

Grand Cairo.

"EGYPT, as well as Italy, has her improviſatore, called Almai, or learned; which title they obtain by being more carefully educated than other women. They form a claſs very famous in the country, to be admitted into which it is neceſſary to poſſeſs a fine voice, eloquence, the rules of grammar †, and be able to compoſe and ſing extempore verſes, adapted to the occaſion. The Almai know all new ſongs by rote, their memory is ſtored with the beſt *Moals* ‡ and tales, they are preſent at all feſtivals, and are the chief ornament of banquets. They place them in a raiſed orcheſtra or pulpit, where they ſing during the feaſt, after which they deſcend and form dances, which no way reſemble ours. They are pantomimes that repreſent the common incidents of life. Love is their uſual ſubject. The ſuppleneſs of theſe dancers bodies is inconceivable, and the flexibility of their features, which take impreſſions characteriſtic of the parts they play at will, aſtoniſhing. The indecency of their attitudes is often exceſſive; each look, each geſture ſpeaks, and in a manner ſo forcible as not poſſibly to be miſunderſtood. They throw aſide modeſty with their veils. When they begin to dance a long and very light ſilk robe floats on the ground, negligently girded by a ſaſh; long black hair, perfumed, and in treſſes, deſcends over their ſhoulders; the ſhift, tranſparent as gauze, ſcarcely conceals the ſkin: as the action proceeds, the various forms and contours the body can aſſume ſeem progreſſive; the ſound of the flute, the caſtanets, the tambour de baſque, and cymbals, regulate, increaſe, or ſlacken their ſteps. Words, adapted to ſuch like ſcenes, inflame them more, till they appear intoxicated, and become frantic bacchantes. Forgetting all reſerve, they then wholly abandon themſelves to the diſorder of their ſenſes, while an indelicate people, who wiſh nothing ſhould be left to the imagination, redouble their applauſe.

---

* The wool of Caſſimire is the fineſt in the world, ſurpaſſing ſilk itſelf. The ſaſhes made from it coſt about five-and-twenty pounds each; they are uſually embroidered at both ends, and though three French ells long, and one wide, may be drawn through a ring.

† The quantity in Arabic and Latin verſes is the ſame, to which the former adds the various meaſure and rhyme of the French. Theſe advantages cannot unite, except when a language is well fixed.

‡ Elegiac ſongs, which bewail the death of a hero, or the diſaſters of love. Abulfeda

Theſe Almai are admitted into all harems; they teach the women the new airs, recount amorous tales, and recite poems in their preſence, which are intereſting by being pictures of their own manners. They learn them the myſteries of their art, and inſtruct them in laſcivious dances. The minds of theſe women are cultivated, their converſation agreeable, they ſpeak their language with purity, and, habitually addicting themſelves to poetry, learn the moſt winning and ſonorous modes of expreſſion. Their recital is very graceful; when they ſing, nature is their only guide: ſome of the airs I have heard from them were gay, and in a light and lively meaſure, like ſome of ours; but their excellence is moſt ſeen in the pathetic. When they rehearſe a moal, in the manner of the ancient tragic ballad, by dwelling upon affecting and plaintive tones,

---

Abulfeda has preſerved the concluſion of a moal, ſung by Ommia over the cavity in which his kinſmen had been thrown after the defeat of Beder.

Have I yet not wept enough over the noble ſons of the princes of Mecca?

I beheld their broken bones, and, like the turtle in the deep receſs of the foreſt, filled the air with my lamentations.

Proſtrate on earth, unfortunate mothers, mingle your ſighs with my tears.

And ye, who follow their obſequies, ſing dirges, ye wives, interrupted by your groans.

What happened to the princes of the people at Beder, the chiefs of tribes?
The aged and the youthful warrior, there, lay naked and lifeleſs.
How is the vale of Mecca changed!
Theſe deſolate plains, theſe wilderneſſes, ſeem to partake my grief.

Vie de Mahomet, par Savary, page 83.

they inſpire melancholy, which inſenſibly augments, till it melts in tears. The very Turks, enemies as they are to the arts, the Turks themſelves, paſs whole nights in liſtening to them. Two people ſing together ſometimes, but, like their orcheſtra, they are always in uniſon: accompaniments in muſic are only for enlightened nations; who, while melody charms the ear, wiſh to have the mind employed by a juſt and inventive modulation. Nations, on the contrary, whoſe feelings are oftener appealed to than their underſtanding, little capable of catching the fleeting beauties of harmony, delight in thoſe ſimple ſounds which immediately attack the heart, without calling in the aid of reflection to increaſe ſenſibility.

The Iſraelites, to whom Egyptian manners, by long dwelling in Egypt, were become natural, alſo had their Almai. At Jeruſalem, as at Cairo, it ſeems they gave the women leſſons. St. Mark relates a fact which proves the power of the Oriental dance over the heart of man *.

" And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birthday made a ſupper to his lords, high captains, and chief eſtates of Galilee;

" And when the daughter of the ſaid Herodias came in, and danced, and pleaſed Herod, and them that ſat with him, the king ſaid unto the damſel, Aſk of me whatſoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee.

" And he ſware unto her, Whatſoever thou ſhalt aſk of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom.

" And ſhe went forth, and ſaid unto her mother, What ſhall I aſk? and ſhe ſaid, The head of John the Baptiſt.

" And ſhe came in ſtraightway with haſte unto the king, and aſked, ſaying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptiſt.

" And immediately the king ſent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought, and he went and beheaded him in the priſon."

The Almai are preſent at marriage ceremonies, and precede the bride, playing on inſtruments. They alſo accompany funerals, at which they ſing dirges, utter groans and lamentations, and imitate every mark of grief and deſpair. Their price is high, and they ſeldom attend any but wealthy people and great lords.

I was lately invited to a ſplendid ſupper, which a rich Venetian merchant gave the receiver-general of the finances of Egypt. The Almai ſung various airs during the banquet, and afterwards the praiſes of the principal gueſts. I was moſt pleaſed by an ingenious allegory, in which Cupid was the ſuppoſed interlocutor. There was play after ſupper, and I perceived handfuls of ſequins were occaſionally ſent to the ſingers. This feſtival brought them fifty guineas at leaſt; they are not, however, always ſo well paid.

The common people have their Almai alſo, who are a ſecond order of theſe women, imitators of the firſt; but have neither their elegance, grace, nor knowledge. They are ſeen every where; the public ſquares and walks round Grand

---

* St. Mark, chap. vi. ver. 21.

Cairo abound with them; the populace require ideas to be conveyed with ſtill leſs diſguiſe; decency therefore will not permit me to deſcribe the licentiouſneſs of their motions and poſtures, of which no idea can be formed but by ſeeing. The Indian *Bayadieres* are exemplarily modeſt, when compared to the dancing girls of the Egyptians. This is the principal diverſion of theſe people, and in which they greatly delight."

Some Account of the private life of the Egyptian *women, their inclinations, morals, employments, pleaſures; the manner in which they educate their children; and their cuſtom of weeping over the tombs of their kindred, after having ſtrewed them with flowers and odoriferous plants. Extracted from the ſame work.*

Grand Cairo.

"IN Europe * women act parts of great conſequence, and often reign ſovereigns on the world's vaſt theatre; they influence manners and morals, and decide on the moſt important events; the fate of nations is frequently in their hands. How different in Egypt, where they are bowed down by the fetters of ſlavery, condemned to ſervitude, and have no influence in public affairs! Their empire is confined within the walls of the harem. There are their graces and charms entombed: the circle of their life extends not beyond their own family and domeſtic duties †.

Their firſt care is to educate their children, and a numerous poſterity is their moſt fervent wiſh; public reſpect and the love of their huſband are annexed to fruitfulneſs. This is even the prayer of the poor, who earns his bread by the ſweat of his brow; and, did not adoption alleviate grief when nature is unkind, a barren woman would be inconſolable. The mother daily ſuckles her child, whoſe infant ſmiles, added to frequent pregnancy, recompences all the cares and pains they incurred. Milk diſeaſes, and thoſe maladies which dry up the juices of the youthful wife, who ſends her offspring to be nurtured by a ſtranger, are here unknown. That mothers ſhould ſuckle their young is a law as ancient as the world; it is expreſsly commanded by Mahomet. "Let mothers ſuckle their children full two years, if the child does not quit the breaſt; but ſhe ſhall be permitted to wean it with the conſent of her huſband *." Ulyſſes, in the Elyſian fields, beholds his mother, his tender mother there, who had fed him with her milk, and nurtured him in infancy †.

---

* The Egyptians never mention their wives in converſation; or, if obliged to ſpeak of them, they ſay, the mother of ſuch a perſon, the miſtreſs of the houſe, &c. Good manners will not permit the viſitor to aſk, How does your wife do, Sir? But in imitation of their reſerve, it is neceſſary to ſay, How does the mother of ſuch a perſon do? And this they think an inſult unleſs aſked by a kinſman or an intimate friend. This I relate as perfectly characteriſtic of Eaſtern jealouſy.

† The compiler Pomponius Mela pretends women do the out-door buſineſs in Egypt, and men that of the houſehold. Every writer who has been in this country diſproves the opinion.

When obliged by circumſtances to take a nurſe, they do not treat her as a ſtranger; ſhe becomes one of the family, and paſſes her days amidſt the children ſhe has ſuckled, by whom ſhe is cheriſhed and honoured as a ſecond mother.

Racine, who poſſeſſed not only genius but all the knowledge neceſſary to render genius conſpicuous, ſtored with the learning of the fineſt works of Greece, and well acquainted with Oriental manners, gives Phædra her nurſe as her ſole confidante. The wretched queen, infected by a guilty paſſion ſhe could not conquer, while the fatal ſecret oppreſſed a heart that durſt not unload itſelf, could not reſolve to ſpeak her thoughts to the tender Œnone, till the latter had ſaid,

Cruelle, quand ma foi vous a-t-elle déçue?
Songez-vous, qu'en naiſſant, mes bras vous ont réçue!

When, cruel queen, by me were you deceiv'd?
Did I not firſt receive you in theſe arms?

The harem is the cradle and ſchool of infancy. The new-born feeble being is not there ſwaddled and filleted up in a ſwathe, the ſource of a thouſand diſeaſes. Laid naked on a mat, expoſed in a vaſt chamber to the pure air, he breathes freely, and with his delicate limbs ſprawls at pleaſure. The new element in which he is to live is not entered with pain and tears. Daily bathed beneath his mother's eye, he grows apace; free to act, he tries his coming powers, rolls, crawls, riſes, and, ſhould he fall, cannot much hurt himſelf, on the carpet or mat which covers the floor ‡.

He is not baniſhed his father's houſe when ſeven years old, and ſent to college with the loſs of health and innocence; he does not, 'tis true, acquire much learning; he perhaps can only read and write; but he is healthy, robuſt, fears God, reſpects old age, has filial piety, and delights in hoſpitality; which virtues, continually practiſed in his family, remain deeply engraven on his heart.

The daughter's education is the ſame. Whalebone and buſks, which martyr European girls, they know not; they run naked, or only covered with a ſhift, till ſix years old, and the dreſs they afterwards wear confines none of their limbs, but ſuffers the body to take its true form, and nothing is more uncommon than rickety children and crooked people. Man riſes in all his majeſty, and woman diſplays every charm of perſon, in the eaſt. In Georgia and Greece thoſe fine marking outlines, thoſe admirable forms, which the Creator gave the chief of his works, are beſt preſerved. Apelles would ſtill find models worthy of his pencil there.

The care of their children does

---

* Coran.

† Odyſſey, Book XXIII.

‡ The rooms are paved with large flag-ſtones, waſhed once a week, and covered in ſummer with a reed mat, of artful workmanſhip, and a carpet in winter.

not wholly employ the women; every other domeſtic concern is theirs: they overlook their houſehold, and do not think themſelves debaſed by preparing themſelves their own food, and that of their huſbands. Former cuſtoms, ſtill ſubſiſting, render theſe cares duties. Thus Sarah haſtened to bake cakes upon the hearth, when angels viſited Abraham, who performed the rites of hoſpitality. Menelaus thus entreats the departing Telemachus:—

"Yet ſtay, my friends, and in your chariot take
"The nobleſt preſents that our love can make;
"Mean-time, commit we to our women's care
"Some choice domeſtic viands to prepare *."

Subject to the immutable laws by which cuſtom governs the Eaſt, the women do not aſſociate with men, not even at table †, where the union of ſexes produces mirth, and wit, and makes food more ſweet. When the great incline to dine with one of their wives, ſhe is informed, prepares the apartment, perfumes it with precious eſſences, procures the moſt delicate viands, and receives her lord with the utmoſt attention and reſpect. Among the common people, the women uſually ſtand, or ſit in a corner of the room while the huſband dines, often hold the baſon for him to waſh, and ſerve him at table ‡. Cuſtoms like theſe, which the Europeans rightly call barbarous, and exclaim againſt with juſtice, appear ſo natural here, that they do not ſuſpect it can be otherwiſe elſewhere. Such is the power of habit over man: what for ages has been, he ſuppoſes a law of nature.

Though thus employed, the Egyptian women have much leiſure, which they ſpend among their ſlaves, embroidering ſaſhes, making veils, tracing deſigns to decorate their ſofas, and in ſpinning."

"Labour has its relaxations; pleaſure is not baniſhed the harem. The nurſe recounts the hiſtory of paſt times with a feeling which her hearers participate; cheerful and paſſionate ſongs are accompanied by the ſlaves with the tambour de baſque and caſtanets. Sometimes the Almai come, to enliven the ſcene with their dances and affecting recitals, and by relating amorous romances; and, at the cloſe of the day, there is a repaſt, in which exquiſite fruits and perfumes are ſerved with profuſion. Thus do they endeavour to charm away the dulneſs of captivity.

Not that they are wholly priſoners; once or twice a week they are permitted to go to the bath, and viſit female relations and friends. To bewail the dead is likewiſe a duty they are allowed to perform. I have often ſeen diſtracted mothers round Grand Cairo, reciting funeral hymns over the tombs they had ſtrewed with odoriferous plants."

"The Egyptian women receive each

---

[*] Pope's Odyſſey, Book XV.

[†] Sarah, who prepared the dinner for Abraham and his gueſts, ſat not at table, but remained in her tent.

[‡] I lately dined with an Italian who had married an Egyptian woman, and aſſumed their manners, having lived here long. His wife and ſiſter-in-law ſtood in my preſence, and it was with difficulty I prevailed on them to ſit at table with us, where they were extremely timid and diſconcerted.

each other's viſits very affectionately: when a lady enters the harem, the miſtreſs riſes, takes her hand, preſſes it to her boſom, kiſſes, and makes her ſit down by her ſide; a ſlave haſtens to take her black mantle; ſhe is entreated to be at eaſe, quits her veil and her outward ſhift *, and diſcovers a floating robe, tied round the waiſt with a ſaſh, which perfectly diſplays her ſhape. She then receives compliments according to their manner †. "Why, my mother, or my ſiſter, have you been ſo long abſent? We ſighed to ſee you! Your preſence is an honour to our houſe; it is the happineſs of our lives!" &c.

Slaves preſent coffee, ſherbet, and confectionary; they laugh, talk, and play; a large diſh is placed on the ſofa, on which are oranges, pomegranates, bananas, and excellent melons. Water and roſe-water mixed are brought in an ewer; and with them a ſilver baſon to waſh the hands, and loud glee and merry converſation ſeaſon the meal. The chamber is perfumed by wood of aloes in a brazier; and, the repaſt ended, the ſlaves dance to the ſound of cymbals, with whom the miſtreſſes often mingle. At parting they ſeveral times repeat, "God keep you in health! Heaven grant you a numerous offspring! Heaven preſerve your children, the delight and glory of your family ‡!"

While a viſitor is in the harem, the huſband muſt not enter; it is the aſylum of hoſpitality, and cannot be violated without fatal conſequences; a cheriſhed right, which the Egyptian women carefully maintain, being intereſted in its preſervation. A lover diſguiſed like a woman may be introduced into the forbidden place §, and it is neceſſary he ſhould remain undiſcovered; death would otherwiſe be his reward. In this country, where the paſſions are excited by the climate, and the difficulty of gratifying them, love often produces tragical events.

The Turkiſh women go, guarded by their eunuchs, upon the water alſo, and enjoy the charming proſpects of the banks of the Nile. Their cabins are pleaſant, richly embelliſhed, and the boats well carved and painted. They are known by the blinds over the windows, and the muſic by which they are accompanied.

When they cannot go abroad they endeavour to be merry in their priſon. Toward ſun-ſetting they go on the terrace, and take the freſh air among the flowers which are there carefully reared. Here they often bathe; and thus at once enjoy the cool limpid water, the perfume of odoriferous plants, the balmy air, and the ſtarry hoſt which ſhine in the firmament.

Thus Bathſheba bathed, when

---

* A habit of ceremony, which covers the dreſs, and, except the collar, greatly reſembles a ſhift. It is thrown off on ſitting down, to be more at eaſe; and is called in Arabic, *camis*.

† Such titles as madam, miſs, or miſtreſs, are unknown in Egypt. A woman advanced in years is called my mother; when young, my ſiſter; and, if a girl, daughter of the houſe.

‡ I mention theſe wiſhes, very ancient in the Eaſt, becauſe they are found often in the Holy Scriptures.

§ I have ſaid *harem* ſignifies forbidden place.

David beheld her from the roof of his palace *.

The Turks oblige the public criers to ſwear they will ſhut their eyes when they call the people to prayer, that their wives may not be ſeen from the high minarets. Another more certain precaution, which they take, is to chooſe the blind to perform this pious function.

Such, Sir, is the uſual life of the Egyptian women. Their duties are to educate their children, take care of their houſehold, and live retired with their family: their pleaſures, to viſit, give feaſts (in which they often yield to exceſſive mirth and licentiouſneſs) go on the water, take the air in orange-groves, and liſten to the Almai. They deck themſelves as carefully to receive their acquaintance as French women do to allure the men. Uſually mild and timid, they become daring and furious when under the dominion of violent love: neither locks nor grim keepers can then preſcribe bounds to their paſſions; which, tho' death be ſuſpended over their head, they ſearch the means to gratify, and are ſeldom unſucceſsful."

Curious account of the Chicken-Ovens, *in* Egypt. *Extracted from the ſame author.*

SPEAKING of Manſoura, *on the* Damietta *branch of the* Nile, *Monſ.* Savary *ſays,*—"Here are vaſt chicken-ovens; and, as Egypt is the only country where this mode of hatching is practiſed, I will deſcribe it.

Imagine a building of two ſtories, one under ground, and the other but little above, equally divided, length-ways, by a narrow gallery; on the right and left are ſmall cells, where the eggs are put; the upper ſtory is vaulted with an ox-eye aperture at the top, and a ſmaller one on the floor, by which heat is communicated below; both have a ſmall window carefully cloſed, and only one low door for the whole building. The eggs are arranged in heaps in the lower ſtory, and a fire of ſun-dried cow-dung kindled in the upper, morning and night, an hour each. This is repeated for eight days, and the building being ſufficiently heated, the fire is put out, every aperture cloſed, and a part of the eggs heaped up below are carried above. The ſuperintendant occaſionally examines, if it be neceſſary to increaſe or diminiſh the heat. On the nineteenth day the chickens begin to move in their ſhells, nibble with their beaks on the twentieth, endeavouring to break their priſon, and are uſually completely hatched on the twenty-firſt: then do theſe heaps of eggs, apparently lifeleſs, begin to move, and roll about the floor, and thouſands of little various coloured chickens to run and hop round the apartment. This ſight is truly diverting. They are carried in panniers, and cried about the ſtreets on the morrow, each houſe ſtocking itſelf at a half-penny a piece. Various authors have ſaid theſe fowls are not ſo good as thoſe hatched by the hen, but they are miſtaken. A French cook I ſaw at Grand Cairo bought them every year, and when well fed they became excellent poultry. People here ſay the villagers of Bermai only know the ſecret of this mode of incubation, but this I cannot certify.

---

* 2 Samuel, xi. 2.

An account of the KRIMEA, *extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for Auguſt* 1786, *page* 644.

"THE peninſula of the Krim, or Krimea, is ſituate directly to the ſouth of St. Peterſburg, between the 51ſt and 54th degrees of latitude, and in 46 of longitude. Its ſouthern and weſtern coaſts lie in the Euxine; its northern and eaſtern in the Rotten Sea and the Palus Mæotis. It is joined, however, to the continent, on the north, by a ſmall neck of land, not more than nine verſts broad; the mean length and breadth of the peninſula itſelf being about 200 verſts.

From the abovementioned iſthmus, on which is built the fortreſs of Or-kapi, or Perekop, to the firſt riſing of the hill at Karaſubaſar, the country is one continued flat, elevating itſelf, by an eaſy gradation, to the ſummit of the hill, which forms the ſouth ſide of the peninſula, and the ſhore of the Euxine Sea. The ſurface of the ſoil is almoſt all of one kind, a reddiſh-grey loam; on digging, you find it more or leſs mixed with a black earth, and the hills abound with marle. The whole flat, from Perekop to the river Salgir, which may be an extent of 120 verſts, is full of ſalt-marſhes and lakes, from whence the neighbouring Ruſſian governments, as well as the Krim itſelf, Anatolia, and Beſſarabia, are ſupplied with ſalt. The moſt remarkable of theſe lakes are five in number: Koſlof and Keffa, ſo called after the towns near which they lie, are very large; the Tuſla, about 15 verſts from Perekop, on the road from Keffa; the Red Lake, not far from the laſt-mentioned; and the Black Lake. Beſides theſe, there are many other ſwamps and lakes, from whence the inhabitants get ſalt for their own conſumption.

The greateſt part of the peninſula is ſo level that a man may travel over the half of it without meeting with a river, or even the ſmalleſt brook. The inhabitants of the villages, therefore, make a pit in the yard of every houſe for receiving the rain, or the water that runs from the hills. The whole tract is bare of every kind of tree. Not a buſh or a bramble is to be ſeen; and the herbage is extremely ſcanty. This, however, does not proceed ſo much from the unfruitfulneſs of the place, as from the vaſt herds of cattle which rove, the whole year long, from place to place, by which means all the graſs, in ſpring, ſummer, or autumn, no ſooner appears, through the long drought which ſucceeds the rainy ſeaſon, but it is immediately devoured or trodden down. The univerſal prevalence of this cuſtom of keeping cattle to wander up and down, joined to the ſlothfulneſs of the Tartars, with their inaptitude and averſion to agriculture, is the reaſon of the total neglect of that ſcience here. Otherwiſe, were the land divided into portions, and properly managed, there would be a ſufficiency for the cattle, and the reſt would be fruitful in corn and grain. By this means alone the Krim would become a fertile country, and no natural defect would be found in oppoſition to the welfare of its inhabitants. The truth of this is well known by their neighbours; where, of a hundred Tartars, one perhaps follows huſbandry, who finds it anſwer to ſo much profit, that he has not only enough for his own uſe, but wherewith to ſell to the ninety-nine.

This peninſula, which is indeed but a little diſtrict, yet, from the many advantages conferred upon it by nature, may be eſteemed peculiarly rich, I ſhall divide into two parts, the hilly country and the flat. The latter, which extends from Perekop to Koſlof and the river Bulganak, to Keraſubaſar, Keffa, and Yenicali, is ſtrewn here and there with little Tartar villages, maintained by cattle and the produce of the ſalt-lakes. The highlands, or hilly country, form the ſouthern part of the Krim, along the ſtraight coaſt of the Black Sea, and ſtretching weſtward, in a right line from Keffa, to the vicinity of Belbek. Theſe hills are compoſed of layers of chalk, which, in the headlands and promontories, is ſoft, but more inland quite hard. The ſtrata of the higheſt hills are like thoſe of the promontories, and take a direction from north to ſouth. Theſe qualities of the ſtrata prevail not throughout the whole hills, but only in the large and lofty ones, ſuch as the two that riſe near Karaſubaſar, and one very high by Achmetſched, which bears the name of Aktau. The other ſmaller hills lie ſcattered and diſperſed, but take the names of the greater ones, to which they ſeem to belong; as the great ridge of Caucaſus does, which extends beyond the Donau, through Bulgaria, and are named Palkans.

The ſtate of the hilly part of the Krim is taken chiefly from my own obſervations, and the reſt I have taken from the friendly communications of others. All agree in this, that nature has favoured theſe highland countries with great advantages, and bleſſed them with abundance of all things; a number of ſprings that flow from the mountains form the two conſiderable rivers Salgir and Karaſu, that run into the Rotten Sea. The former, which takes its riſe from a cavern in a high hill near Achmetſched, falls ſtraight into the plain below, and waters a great part of the Krim: the other, commencing behind Karaſubaſar, falls likewiſe into the plain, and mingles with the Salgir. The many other little rivers and ſtreams, which run eaſtward, and either join the two forementioned, or fall immediately into the Rotten Sea, I ſhall not here particularly mention, but obſerve, in general, that all the ſtreams, for the whole length of the hills, which begin at Keffa, and proceed in a chain of the ſame height, flow to the north, or the north-eaſt, excepting one behind Achmetſched, where the great mountain Aktau is, which falls on the other ſide; I mean the river which, riſing on the northern ſide of this mountain, flows, as was before obſerved, towards the north-eaſt, to the Salgir and the Rotten Sea; as likewiſe thoſe which ſpring on the weſtern ſide, take their courſe weſtward to the Bulganak, and thence ſtraight to the Black Sea, which alſo receives all the other little rivers that ariſe from theſe hills, as the Amma, the Katſcha, the Belbek, the Kaſulkioi, &c. &c.

The mountains are well covered with woods, fit for the purpoſe of ſhip-building, and contain plenty of wild beaſts. The vallies conſiſt of fine arable land; on the ſides of the hills grow corn and vines in great abundance, and the earth is rich in mines. But theſe mountaineers are as careleſs and negligent as the inhabitants of the deſerts, ſlighting all theſe advantages, and, like their brethren of the low-lands, are ſufficiently happy if they are in poſſeſſion of a fat ſheep and as much bread as ſerves them to eat.

About 18 years ago, this peninſula was uncommonly full of inhabitants and wealth. They reckoned at that time at leaſt 1200 villages; but, from the late troubles in the Krim, it has loſt more than a third part of its inhabitants; and now, wherever we turn, we meet with the ruins of large villages and dwellings. The people was compoſed of various nations, who lived together under the Tartars in the moſt unbounded freedom; but, in the late Turkiſh war, they either put themſelves under the Ruſſian government, and were transferred to that empire, or fled to Abcaſia and the Tſchirkaſſian hills.

The houſes in the towns, as well as the villages, are, for the moſt part, of ſquare timbers, having the interſtices filled with brick work, if the poſſeſſor can afford it, and thoſe of the poorer ſort with turf. The chinks and crannies are made tight with clay, and then plaſtered within and without. The covering is commonly either of brick or of turfs. Only the medſcheds, minarets, and baths, are of ſtone, and a few extremely handſome, of marble. They have chimnies in the chambers, at which they likewiſe dreſs their victuals; but ſtoves in the Ruſſian manner none. In extreme froſts a great iron pan of charcoal is brought into the room, for making it comfortable. Their cuſtom is, to ſit upon low ſofas, with Turkiſh coverings and cuſhions, or upon a clay ſeat, ſomewhat raiſed above the earth, and ſpread with a carpet. In theſe rooms are cupboards and cheſts, often covered with cuſhions, to ſerve as ſeats, in which they keep their gold, ſilver, and valuables. Such are the inner apartments, or harems, in which the women generally live; the others are not ſo fine. Theſe contain only a ſofa, or a bank of clay, covered with a carpet, as in the chimney rooms.

The cloathing of the Tartars is ſo well known, that I ſhall not give myſelf or your readers the trouble of going through its deſcription.

The rich Tartars, and their nobility, or murzas (excepting only ſuch as are about the perſon of the khan) commonly dwell, all the year round, in the country, coming only to town when they have buſineſs there. There are but few towns in the Krim, at leaſt in compariſon of its former population. The Krimſkoi Tartars have no tribunal of juſtice, controverſies and quarrels being ſeldom heard of among them: and if a diſpute ſhould ariſe, it is immediately ſettled by an appeal to the Koran. Little differences in the villages inevitably happening, about property, or other matters not taken notice of in that code, are amicably adjuſted by the eldermen, or abeſes; but in the towns all weighty concerns, excepting the ſingle caſe of murder or homicide, are brought before the kaimakan, or commandant, who ſettles them abſolutely, without appeal.

The reſidence of the khans of the Krimea was formerly Bachtſchiſarai, in which city they held their ſeat for upwards of 200 years. They went thither from Eſki-Krim, or Old Krim, the capital city of the Genoeſe, upon Bengli Ghireikhan's plundering the ſea-ports, and driving all the Genoeſe from their ſtations. Before Eſki-Krim, and indeed upon the firſt coming of the Tartars into this peninſula, the ſovereign reſidence was at Koſlof, but here they remained not long. Under the late khan Schagin Ghirei, it was held at Keffa, the ancient Theodoſia, which is 15 verſts diſtant from Eſki-Krim, ſaid to be the Cimmerium of the ancients.

The principal cities or towns of the Krimea are:

Bachtſchi-Sarai, an extenſive and wealthy city, lying in a vale between two high mountains, and ſurrounded by a number of gardens. From this circumſtance it has its name; Bachtſchi ſignifying, in the Tartarian language, a garden, and Sarai, a palace. It formerly contained 3000 houſes, and many ſumptuous medſcheds. The palace of the khans, with its gardens and ponds, were much improved under the government of khan Kerim Girei, under whoſe government the laſt Turkiſh war took its riſe. In this palace is the burial place of all the khans of Krimea, wherein all the khans that have reigned here lie interred. The fine Krimſkoi vines, with their large cluſters of grapes, grow in great plenty all about this town, and a profuſion of other delicious fruits, from whence the neighbouring parts of Ruſſia are ſupplied.

Keffa, the preſent reſidence of the khans, ſtands on the ſhore of a large harbour in the Black Sea. Its ſite is on the declivity of a long ridge of mountains, and is mantled by a ſtone wall, fortified by ſeveral towers, and encompaſſed by a deep ditch. On both ſides of the city formerly ſtood caſtles, and in the middle of them a lofty turret, for the purpoſe of giving ſignals by fire. Before the wall were wide extended ſuburbs, containing, among other conſiderable buildings, medſcheds, churches for the Greek and Armenian worſhip, of all which now only the veſtiges remain. The caſtles and towers lie alſo in ruins, and not one third part of the houſes of the city itſelf are now remaining, and thoſe chiefly built of materials taken from the aforeſaid ruins. They formerly reckoned Keffa to contain 4000 houſes, including the ſuburbs, with a number of medſcheds and Chriſtian churches; but this number has been much diminiſhed by the laſt Turkiſh war.

I perceived in the walls of the houſes a great many blocks and ſlabs of marble, with inſcriptions and enſigns armorial, chiſſeled in the time of the Genoeſe. The preſent inhabitants conſiſt moſtly of Tartars, who carry on a trade, by no means inconſiderable, in commodities brought from Turkey. The late khan, an intelligent and enlightened perſonage, made this city the place of his reſidence, and brought hither the mint from Bachtſchiſarai, built himſelf a palace, and erected a divan, which aſſembled three times a week, and the fourth time was held in the palace of the khan, in which he always perſonally aſſiſted. Here is alſo a cuſtom-houſe, the management of which is farmed out.

Karaſubaſar, likewiſe a very rich city in former times, ſtands at the beginning of the mountains, about half-way between Keffa and Bachtſchiſarai. It is a large trading town, contains a conſiderable number of dwelling-houſes and medſcheds, but the greateſt part of them in decay, and many fine gardens. This place is the moſt famous in all the Krim for its trade in horſes, and has a market once a week for that article of traffic; to which are likewiſe brought great numbers of buffaloes, oxen, cows, camels, and ſheep, for ſale. Near this city flows one of the principal rivers of the Krim, called the Karaſu, that is, the Black Water. Of this river they have an opinion in Ruſſia, that one part of it flows upwards for ſeveral verſts together. But this is in ſome ſort true, not only of the Karaſu, but of all the rivers of the Krim that have a ſtrong current.—The Tartars, who dwell either in the vallies, or on the ſides of the mountains, (frequently without conſidering whether the place is ſupplied with water or not) dig canals either from the ſource of the next river, or from that part of it which lies neareſt to their particular habitation, about an arſhine in breadth, for their gardens and domeſtic uſe. From theſe they cut ſmaller ones through the villages, to ſupply them with water, and not unfrequently to drive a mill. Theſe canals appear, to the imagination of the common people, to run in a contrary direction to the current of the river; and in fact theſe canals do lie, in many places, for a verſt in length, ſome fathoms higher than the level of the ſtream from whence they are ſupplied.

Achmetſted, a pretty large city, not far from Bachtſchiſarai, now made the capital of all the Krimea, by the regulations of prince Potemkin, in the ſummer of laſt year.

Koſlof, formerly a very conſiderable trading town, lies on the weſtern ſide of the peninſula, in a bay of the Black Sea, which, as well as the ſound at Keffa, might rather be called a road than a haven. This was the firſt town the Tartars poſſeſſed themſelves of on their firſt entrance into the Krim, and eſtabliſhed a cuſtom-houſe therein, after the example of the Genoeſe, which is now farmed out.

The other remarkable places are, Sudak, which is built on the hills upon the ſhore of the Black Sea, at the ſouth ſide of the peninſula, and is famous for its excellent wine, reſembling Champaigne, both in colour and ſtrength; Aluſchti, on the ſame ſide, among the hills on the ſea-ſhore; Baluklava, where there is a fine harbour, and perhaps the only one on the Black Sea, containing ample room for a very good fleet; Inkerman may be noticed for its commodious, though not very large, haven, called Achtiar; and Mangup, the old Cherſoneſus; which were all formerly very flouriſhing towns, but are now either in ruins, or dwindled into ſmall villages.

All theſe places, ſo long as the Genoeſe remained maſters of the Krim, were well fortified; but the Tartars, in taking them, demoliſhed all the works. While they were under the Turks, they left the fortreſſes of Keffa, Kertſch, and Koſlof, and built the fort Arabat, on the neck of land between the ſea of Azof (or Palus Mæotis) and the Rotten Sea, where Perekop alſo is.

In Arabat are but few houſes; but here the warlike ſtores of the khans were kept.—Perekop, called by the Turks Or-kapi, is a fortreſs of moderate ſtrength, ſtanding about the middle of the neck of land that joins the peninſula with the continent. This iſthmus, which is at leaſt nine verſts broad, is cut through with a wide and deep ditch, lined with ſtone, and reaches from the Black to the Rotten Sea. This was formerly kept without water, but now it is filled from both ſeas. On the Krimean ſide a high wall of earth runs the whole length of it, ſtraight from one ſea to the other.—You paſs over the ditch by means of a drawbridge, and through the wall by a gateway. The walls of the fortreſs are ſome fathom from the road-ſide, of which the ruins are only now diſcernible, namely, large brick houſes, with a number of bomb-ſhells and cannon-balls about them, which were formerly kept in the fortreſs. At leaſt three verſts from this is the pretty populous, but miſerable, place which was probably the town to which this fort belonged. Near the gate is a cuſtom-houſe, where all imports and exports pay duty.

This peninſula was formerly extremely populous; the number of its inhabitants, in Tartars, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and others, amounted to above 200,000 men. Since that, however, the greateſt part of the Chriſtians have betaken themſelves to the other parts of the Ruſſian empire, particularly the government of Azof; and many other inhabitants, particularly Tartars, have gone to Taman and Abchaſia; ſo that the preſent population of the Krim cannot now be reckoned at more than 50,000 men at moſt.

The Krim was heretofore divided into 24 kaduliks, or diſtricts, namely, Yenikali, Kertſch, Arabat, Eſki-krim, Keffa, Karaſubaſar, Sudak, Achmetſched, Yalof, Bachtſchiſarai, Balaklava, Mangup, Inkerman, Koſlof, Or, Manſur, Tarkan, Sivaſch, Tſchongar, Sarubulat, Barun, Argun, Sidſchugut, and Schirin. Several of theſe diſtricts are named after the town or village wherein the murza, their governor, dwells; and many of them are at preſent in a ſtate of total decay."

TACITURNITY, *an Apologue, tranſlated from the French of* Abbé Blanchet; *extracted from Tales, Romances, Apologues, &c. from the French, in two vols.*

At Amadan was a celebrated academy, the firſt ſtatute of which ran thus:

The academicians are to think much, write little, and, if poſſible, ſpeak leſs.

This was called the Silent Academy, nor was there a ſage, in Perſia, who was not ambitious of being admitted a member. Zeb, a famous ſage, and author of an excellent little book, entitled, *The Gag*, heard, in the diſtant province where he lived, there was a vacancy in the ſilent academy. Immediately he departed for Amadan, and, arriving, preſented himſelf at the door of the hall where the academicians were aſſembled, and ſent in the following billet to the preſident:

Zeb, a lover of ſilence, humbly aſks the vacant place.

The billet arrived too late, the vacancy was already ſupplied. The academicians were almoſt in deſpair; they had received, ſomewhat againſt their inclinations, a courtier, who had ſome wit, and whoſe light and trifling eloquence had become the admiration of all his court-acquaintances; and this learned body was now reduced to the neceſſity of refuſing the Sage Zeb, the ſcourge of bablers, the perfection of wiſdom.

The preſident, whoſe duty it was to announce this diſagreeable news to the Sage, ſcarcely could reſolve, nor knew in which manner beſt, to perform his office. After a moment's reflection he ordered a flagon to be filled with water, and ſo full that another drop would have made the water run over. He then deſired them to introduce the candidate.

The Sage appeared, with that ſimple and modeſt air which generally accompanies true merit. The preſident roſe, and, without ſpeaking a word, pointed, with affliction in his looks, to the emblematical flagon ſo exactly full.

The Sage underſtood from thence the vacancy was ſupplied, but, without relinquiſhing hope, he endeavoured to make them comprehend that a ſupernumerary member might, perhaps, be no detriment to their ſociety. He ſaw on the floor a roſe-leaf, picked it up, and with care and delicacy placed it on the ſurface of the water, ſo as not to make it overflow.

All the academicians immediately clapped their hands, betokening applauſe, when they beheld this ingenious reply. They did more, they broke through their rules in favour of the Sage Zeb. The regiſter of the academy was preſented him, and he inſcribed his name.—Nothing remained but for him to pronounce, according to cuſtom, a ſingle phraſe of thanks. But this new, and truly ſilent, academician, returned thanks without ſpeaking a word.

In the margin of the regiſter he wrote the number one hundred (that of his brethren) then put a cypher before the figures, under which he wrote thus:

0100

Their value is neither more nor leſs.

The preſident, with equal politeneſs and preſence of mind, anſwered the modeſt Sage, by placing the figure 1 before the number 100, and by writing under them thus:

1100

Their value is ten-fold.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1786.

Written by the Rev. T. WARTON, *Poet Laureat.*

I.

“ DEAR to Jove, a genial iſle,
“ Crowns the broad Atlantic wave;
“ The ſeaſons there in mild aſſemblage ſmile,
“ And vernal bloſſoms clothe the fruitful prime:
“ There, in many a fragrant cave,
“ Dwell the Spirits of the brave,
“ And braid with amaranth their brows ſublime.”
So feign'd the Grecian bards, of yore;
And veil'd in Fable's fancy-woven veſt
A viſionary ſhore,
That faintly gleam'd on their prophetic eye
Through the dark volume of futurity:
Nor knew that in the bright attire they dreſt
Albion, the green-hair'd heroine of the Weſt;
Ere yet ſhe claim'd old Ocean's high command,
And ſnatch'd the trident from the Tyrant's hand.

II.

Vainly flow'd the myſtic rhime!
Mark the deeds from age to age,
That fill her trophy-pictur'd page:
And ſee, with all its ſtrength, untam'd by time,
Still glows her valour's veteran rage,
O'er Calpe's cliffs, and ſteepy towers,
When ſtream'd the red ſulphureous ſhowers,
And Death's own hand the dread artillery threw;
While far along the midnight main
Its glaring arch the flaming volley drew:
How triumph'd Eliott's patient train,

Eng

Baffling their vain confederate foes!
And met the unwonted fight's terrific form;
And hurling back the burning war, aroſe
Superior to the fiery ſtorm!

III.

Is there an ocean, that forgets to roll
Beneath the torpid pole?
Nor to the brooding tempeſt heaves?
Her hardy keel the ſtubborn billow cleaves.
The rugged Neptune of the wintry brine
In vain his adamantine breaſt-plate wears:
To ſearch coy Nature's guarded mine,
She burſts the barriers of th' indignant ice;
O'er ſunleſs bays the beam of Science bears:
And rouzing far around the polar ſleep,
Where Drake's bold enſigns fear'd to ſweep,
She ſees new nations flock to ſome fell ſacrifice.
She ſpeeds, at George's ſage command,
Society from deep to deep,
And zone to zone ſhe binds;
From ſhore to ſhore, o'er every land,
The golden chain of commerce winds.

IV.

Mean-time, her patriot-cares explore
Her own rich woof's exhauſtleſs ſtore;
Her native fleece new fervour feels,
And wakens all its whirling wheels,
And mocks the rainbow's radiant dye;
More wide the labours of the loom ſhe ſpreads,
In firmer bands domeſtic commerce weds,
And calls her Siſter-iſle to ſhare the tie:
Nor heeds the violence that broke
From filial realms her old parental yoke!

V.

Her cities, throng'd with many an Attic dome,
Aſk not the banner'd baſtion, maſſy-proof;
Firm as the caſtle's feudal roof,
Stands the Briton's ſocial home.—
Hear, Gaul, of England's liberty the lot!—
Right, Order, Law, protect her ſimpleſt plain;
Nor ſcorn to guard the ſhepherd's nightly fold,
And watch around the foreſt cot.
With conſcious certainty, the ſwain
Gives to the ground his truſted grain,
With eager hope the reddening harveſt eyes;
And claims the ripe autumnal gold,
The mead of toil, of induſtry the prize.

For our's the King, who boaſts a parent's praiſe,
Whoſe hand the people's ſceptre ſways;
Ours is the Senate, not a ſpecious name,
Whoſe active plans pervade the civil frame:
Where bold debate its nobleſt war diſplays,
And, in the kindling ſtrife, unlocks the tide
Of manlieſt eloquence, and rolls the torrent wide.

VI.

Hence then, each vain complaint, away,
Each captious doubt, and cautious fear!
Nor blaſt the new-born year,
That anxious waits the ſpring's ſlow-ſhooting ray:
Nor deem that Albion's honours ceaſe to bloom.
With candid glance, th' impartial Muſe
Invok'd on this auſpicious morn,
The preſent ſcans, the diſtant ſcene purſues,
And breaks Opinion's ſpeculative gloom:
Interpreter of ages yet unborn,
Full right ſhe ſpells the characters of Fate,
That Albion ſtill ſhall keep her wonted ſtate!
Still, in eternal ſtory, ſhine,
Of Victory the ſea-beat ſhrine;
The ſource of every ſplendid art,
Of old, of future worlds the univerſal mart.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY'S *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1786.

Written by the Rev. T. WARTON, *Poet Laureat.*

I.

WHEN Freedom nurs'd her native fire
In ancient Greece, and rul'd the lyre;
Her bards, diſdainful, from the tyrant's brow
The tinſel gifts of flattery tore;
But paid to guiltleſs power their willing vow:
And to the throne of virtuous kings,
Tempering the tone of their vindictive ſtrings,
From truth's unproſtituted ſhore,
The fragrant wreath of gratulation bore.

II.

'Twas thus Alceus ſmote the manly chord;
And Pindar on the Perſian lord
His notes of indignation hurl'd,
And ſpurn'd the minſtrel ſlaves of eaſtern ſway,
From trembling Thebes extorting conſcious ſhame;

But o'er the diadem, by Freedom's flame
Illum'd, the banner of renown unfurl'd:
Thus to his Hiero decreed,
'Mongſt the bold chieftains of the Pythian game,
The brighteſt verdure of Caſtalia's bay;
And gave an ampler meed
Of Piſan palms, than in the field of Fame
Were wont to crown the car's victorious ſpeed:
And hail'd his ſcepter'd champion's patriot zeal,
Who mix'd the monarch's with the people's weal;
From civil plans who claim'd applauſe,
And train'd obedient realms to Spartan laws.

III.

And He, ſweet maſter of the Doric oat,
Theocritus, forſook awhile
The graces of his paſtoral iſle,
The lowing vale, the bleating cote,
The cluſters on the ſunny ſteep,
And Pan's own umbrage, dark and deep,
The caverns hung with ivy-twine,
The cliffs that wav'd with oak and pine,
And Etna's hoar romantic pile:
And caught the bold Homeric note,
In ſtately ſounds exalting high
The reign of bounteous Ptolemy:
Like the plenty-teeming tide
Of his own Nile's redundant flood,
O'er the cheer'd nations, far and wide,
Diffuſing opulence, and public good:
While in the richly-warbled lays
Was blended Berenice's name,
Pattern fair of female fame,
Softening with domeſtic life
Imperial ſplendour's dazzling rays,
The queen, the mother, and the wife!

IV.

To deck with honour due this feſtal day,
O for a ſtrain from theſe ſublimer bards!
Who free to grant, yet fearleſs to refuſe
Their awful ſuffrage, with impartial aim
Invok'd the jealous panegyric Muſe;
Nor, but to genuine worth's ſeverer claim,
Their proud diſtinction deign'd to pay,
Stern arbiters of glory's bright awards!
For peerleſs bards like theſe alone,
The bards of Greece, might beſt adorn,
With ſeemly ſong, the Monarch's natal morn;

Who, thron'd in the magnificence of peace,
Rivals their richeſt regal theme :
Who rules a people like their own,
In arms, in poliſh'd arts ſupreme ;
Who bids his Britain vie with Greece.

Verſes, ſuppoſed to be written by ALEXANDER SELKIRK, *during his ſolitary abode in the Iſland of* Juan Fernandez.

From Poems, by W. COWPER, *Eſq.*

I.

I AM monarch of all I ſurvey,
My right there is none to diſpute,
From the centre all round to the ſea,
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.
Oh ſolitude! where are the charms
That ſages have ſeen in thy face?
Better dwell in the midſt of alarms,
Than reign in this horrible place.

II.

I am out of humanity's reach,
I muſt finiſh my journey alone,
Never hear the ſweet muſic of ſpeech,
I ſtart at the ſound of my own.
The beaſts that roam over the plain,
My form with indifference ſee,
They are ſo unacquainted with man,
Their tameneſs is ſhocking to me.

III.

Society, friendſhip, and love,
Divinely beſtow'd upon man,
Oh had I the wings of a dove,
How ſoon wou'd I taſte you again!
My ſorrows I then might aſſuage
In the ways of religion and truth,
Might learn from the wiſdom of age,
And be cheer'd by the ſallies of youth.

IV.

Religion! what treaſure untold
Reſides in that heav'nly word!
More precious than ſilver and gold,
Or all that this earth can afford,

But the ſound of the church-going bell
  Theſe vallies and rocks never heard,
Ne'er ſigh'd at the ſound of a knell,
  Or ſmil'd when a ſabbath appear'd.

V.

Ye winds that have made me your ſport,
  Convey to this deſolate ſhore
Some cordial endearing report
  Of a land I ſhall viſit no more.
My friends, do they now and then ſend
  A wiſh or a thought after me?
O tell me I yet have a friend,
  Though a friend I am never to ſee.

VI.

How fleet is a glance of the mind!
  Compar'd with the ſpeed of its flight,
The tempeſt itſelf lags behind,
  And the ſwift-winged arrows of light.
When I think of my own native land,
  In a moment I ſeem to be there;
But alas! recollection at hand
  Soon hurries me back to deſpair.

VII.

But the ſea-fowl is gone to her neſt,
  The beaſt is laid down in his lair,
Ev'n here is a ſeaſon of reſt,
  And I to my cabin repair.
There is mercy in every place,
  And mercy, encouraging thought!
Gives even affliction a grace,
  And reconciles man to his lot.

Report of an adjudged Caſe not to be found in any of the Books.

From the ſame Author.

I.

BETWEEN Noſe and Eyes a ſtrange conteſt aroſe,
  The ſpectacles ſet them unhappily wrong;
The point in diſpute was, as all the world knows,
  To which the ſaid ſpectacles ought to belong.

II.

So the Tongue was the lawyer, and argued the cauſe
  With a great deal of ſkill, and a wig full of learning,
While chief baron Ear ſat to balance the laws,
  So fam'd for his talent in nicely diſcerning.

III. In

III.

In behalf of the Noſe, it will quickly appear,
  And your lordſhip, he ſaid, will undoubtedly find
That the Noſe has had ſpectacles always in wear,
  Which amounts to poſſeſſion time out of mind.

IV.

Then holding the ſpectacles up to the court—
  Your lordſhip obſerves they are made with a ſtraddle,
As wide as the ridge of the Noſe is, in ſhort,
  Deſign'd to ſit cloſe to it, juſt like a ſaddle.

V.

Again, would your lordſhip a moment, ſuppoſe
  ('Tis a caſe that has happen'd, and may be again)
That the viſage or countenance had not a Noſe,
  Pray who wou'd or who cou'd wear ſpectacles then?

VI.

On the whole it appears, and my argument ſhows
  With a reas'ning the court will never condemn,
That the ſpectacles plainly were made for the Noſe,
  And the Noſe was as plainly intended for them.

VII.

Then ſhifting his ſide, as a lawyer knows how,
  He pleaded again in behalf of the Eyes,
But what were his arguments few people know,
  For the court did not think they were equally wiſe.

VIII.

So his lordſhip decreed, with a grave ſolemn tone,
  Deciſive and clear without one if or but—
That whenever the Noſe put his ſpectacles on
  By day-light or candle-light—Eyes ſhould be ſhut.

The following elegant Ode (from the Gentleman's Magazine) is ſaid to be the production of a Gentleman well known in the political World, who has long been deſervedly admired for the happieſt vein of wit and humour, and is not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his various and extenſive knowledge in almoſt every branch of literature and ſcience.

To EDMUND MALONE, *Eſq.*

WHILST you illumine Shakeſpeare's page,
  And dare the future critic's rage,
    Or on the paſt refine,
Here many an eve I penſive ſit,
No Burke pours out a ſtream of wit,
    No Boſwell joys o'er wine.

At Baia's Spring, of Roman fame,
I quaff the pure æthereal flame,
To fire my languid blood:
Life's gladſome days, alas! are o'er,
For health's phogiſton now no more
Pervades the ſtagnant flood.

Studious at times, I ſtrive to ſcan
Hope's airy dream,—the end of man,
In ſyſtems wiſe or odd;
With Hume, I Fate and Death defy,
Or viſionary phantoms ſpy
With Plato and Monbodd.

By metaphyſic whims diſtreſs'd,
Still ſceptic thoughts diſturb my breaſt,
And reaſon's out of tune:—
One ſerious truth let none impeach,
'Tis all Philoſophy can teach,—
That man's an air-balloon.

He rides the ſport of every blaſt,
Now on the wave, or deſert caſt,
And by the eddy borne:—
Can boaſted Reaſon ſteer him right,
Or e'er reſtrain his rapid flight,
By Paſſion's whirlwind torn?

His mounting ſpirit, buoyant air,
But waft him 'midſt dark clouds of care,
And life's tempeſtuous trouble;
Ev'n though he ſhine, in ſplendid dyes,
And ſport a while in Fortune's ſkies,
Soon burſts the empty bubble.

While through this pathleſs waſte we ſtray,
Are there no flowers to cheer the way?
And muſt we ſtill repine?
No;—Heaven, in pity to our woes,
The gently-ſoothing balm beſtows
Of Muſic, Love, and Wine.

Then bid your Delia wake the lyre,
Attun'd to Love and ſoft Deſire,
And ſcorn Ambition's ſtrife;
Around let brilliant Fancy play,
To colour with her magic ray
The dreary gloom of life.

Let Beauty ſpeed her fondeſt kiſs,
The prelude to more perfect bliſs,
And ſweet ſenſations dart;

While wine and frolic mirth inſpire
The ardent wiſh, the amorous fire,
    And thrill the raptur'd heart.

But man has ſocial dues to pay,
Reaſon and Science claim the ſway,
    And truths ſublime diſpenſe;
For Pleaſure's charms we feebly taſte,
If idly every hour we waſte,
    The abject ſlaves of ſenſe.

In vain the ſpeculative mind
Would metaphyſic regions find,—
    Such dark reſearches ſpare:
The ſoul æthereal notions tire,
As her frail caſe can ſcarce reſpire
    In too refin'd an air.

To Sophiſts leave their puzzling ſkill;
The voice of Reaſon whiſpers ſtill,
    To bleſs, is to be bleſt;
Illum'd by Virtue's vivid ray,
Enjoy the preſent fleeting day,
    And leave to Heaven the reſt.

Bath, Sept. 22, 1784.

PROLOGUE *to the* HEIRESS.

Written by the Right Hon. RICHARD FITZPATRICK.

Spoken by Mr. KING.

AS ſprightly ſun-beams gild the face of day,
When low'ring tempeſts calmly glide away,
So when the poet's dark horizon clears,
Array'd in ſmiles, the Epilogue appears.
She of that houſe the lively emblem ſtill,
Whoſe brilliant ſpeakers ſtart what themes they will;
Still varying topics for her ſportive rhymes,
From all the follies of theſe *fruitful* times;
Uncheck'd by forms, with flippant hand may cull:
Prologues, *like Peers*, by privilege are dull.
In ſolemn ſtrain addreſs th' aſſembled pit,
The legal judges of dramatic wit,
Confining ſtill, with dignify'd decorum,
Their obſervations—to the play before 'em.

Now when each batchelor a helpmate lacks,
(That ſweet exemption from a *double tax)*
When laws are fram'd with a benignant plan
Of light'ning *burdens* on the married man,
And Hymen adds one ſolid comfort more,
To all thoſe *comforts* he conferred before;
To ſmooth the rough laborious road to fame,
Our Bard has choſen—an *alluring name.*
As wealth in wedlock oft is known to hide
The imperfections of a homely bride,
This tempting title, he perhaps expects,
May heighten beauties—and conceal defects:
Thus ſixty's wrinkles view'd through Fortune's glaſs,
The roſy dimples of ſixteen ſurpaſs:
The modern ſuitor graſps his fair-one's hand,
O'erlooks her perſon, and adores—*her land*;
Leers on her houſes with an *ogling eye,*
O'er her rich acres heaves an *am'rous* ſigh.
His *heartfelt* pangs through groves of—*timber* vents,
And runs diſtracted for—*her three per cents.*
Will thus the poet's mimic Heireſs find
The bridegroom critic to *her* failings blind,
Who claims, alas! his nicer taſte to hit,
The lady's portion paid in *ſterling* wit?
On your decrees, to fix her future fate,
Depends our *Heireſs* for her whole eſtate:
Rich in your ſmiles, ſhe charms th' admiring town;
A very *bankrupt,* ſhould you chance to frown:
O may a verdict, giv'n in your applauſe,
Pronounce the proſp'rous iſſue of her cauſe,
Confirm the name an anxious parent gave her,
And prove her HEIRESS of—the *public favour!*

EPILOGUE.

Spoken by Miſs FARREN.

THE Comic Muſe, who here erects her ſhrine,
To *court your* offerings, and *accepts* of mine,
Sends me to ſtate an anxious author's plea,
And wait with humble hope this Court's decree.
By no prerogative will ſhe decide,
She vows an Engliſh jury is her pride.
Then for our HEIRESS—forc'd from finer air,
That lately fann'd her plumes in Berkley-ſquare;
Will ſhe be *helpleſs* in her *new* reſort,
And find no friends—about the Inns of Court?

Sages, be candid—tho' you hate a knave,
Sure, for *example*, you'll a *Rightly* ſave.
Be kind for once, ye *clerks*—ye ſportive Sirs,
Who haunt our Theatres in boots and ſpurs,
So may you ſafely preſs your nightly hobby,
Run the whole ring—and *end* it in the lobby.
Lovers of *truth*, be kind, and own that *here*,
That love is ſtrain'd as far as it will bear.
Poets may write—*Philoſophers* may dream—
But would the *world* bear truth in the extreme?
What, not one *Blandiſh* left behind! not one!
Poets are mute, and painters all undone:
Where are thoſe charms that nature's term ſurvive,
The maiden bloom that glows at *forty five?*
Truth takes the pencil—*wrinkle*—*freckles*—*ſquint*,
The whole's transform'd—the devil's in't,
Dimples turn ſcars, the ſmile becomes a ſcowl!
The hair the ivy-buſh, the face the owl.
  But ſhall an *author* mock the flatterer's pow'r?
Oh, might you all be *Blandiſhes* this hour!
Then would the candid jurors of the pit
Grant their mild paſſport to the realms of wit;
Then would I mount the car where oft I ride,
And place the favour'd culprit by my ſide.
  To aid our flight—one faſhionable hint—
See my authority—a Morning Print—
“ We learn”—obſerve it ladies—“ France's Queen,
“ Loves, like our own, a heart-directed ſcene;
“ And while each thought ſhe weighs, each beauty ſcans,
“ Breaks, in one night's applauſe, a ſcore of fans!”
[*Beating her fan againſt her hand.*
Adopt the mode, ye belles—ſo end my prattle,
And ſhew how you'll out-do a Bourbon rattle.

A PATHETIC APOLOGY *for all* LAUREATS, *paſt, preſent, and to come.*

From Poems by W. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq. late Poet Laureat.*

Veniant ad Cæſaris Aures!

YE ſilly dogs, whoſe half-year lays,
  Attend like ſatellites on *Bays*;
And ſtill, with added lumber, load
Each birth-day and each new-year ode,

Why will ye *ſtrive* to be *ſevere?*
In pity to yourſelves forbear;
Nor let the ſneering public ſee
What numbers write far worſe than he.
  His muſe, *oblig'd* by ſack and penſion,
Without a ſubject, or invention—
Muſt certain words in order ſet,
As innocent as a Gazette;
Muſt ſome half-meaning half diſguiſe,
And utter neither truth nor lies.
But why will *you,* ye volunteers
In nonſenſe, teize us with your jeers,
Who *might* with dulneſs and her crew
Securely ſlumber? Why will *you*
Sport your dim orbs amidſt her fogs?
You're not *oblig'd*—ye ſilly dogs!
  When Jove, as antient fables ſing,
Made of a ſenſeleſs log a King,
The frogs, at firſt, their doubts expreſt;
But ſoon leap'd up, and ſmok'd the jeſt.
While every tadpole of the lake
Lay quiet, tho' they felt it quake,
They knew their nature's due degree,
Themſelves ſcarce more alive than he;
They knew they could not croak like frogs,
—Why will *you* try?—ye ſilly dogs!
  When the poor barber felt aſkance
The thunder of a Quixote's lance,
For merely bearing on his head
Th' expreſſive emblem of his trade,
The barber was a harmleſs log,
The hero was the ſilly dog—
What trivial things are cauſe of quarrel!
Mambrino's helmet, or the laurel,
Alike diſtract an ideot's brain,
"Unreal mockeries!" ſhadowy pain!
  Each Laureat (if kind Heav'n diſpenſe
Some little gleam of common ſenſe)
Bleſt with *one hundred pounds* per ann.
  And that too tax'd, and but ill paid,
With caution frames his frugal plan,
  Nor apes his brethren of the trade.
He never will to garrets riſe
For inſpiration from the ſkies;
And pluck, as Hotſpur would have done,
"Bright honour from the pale-fac'd moon;"
He never will to cellars venture,
To drag up glory from the centre;

But

But calmly ſteer his courſe between
Th' aerial and infernal ſcene ;
—*One hundred pounds!* a golden mean!
Nor need *he* aſk a Printer's pains,
To fix the type, and ſhare the gains:
Each morning paper is ſo kind
To give his works to every wind.
Each evening poſt, and magazine,
Gratis adopts the *Lay ſerene.*
On their frail barks his praiſe or blame
Floats for an hour, and ſinks with them ;
Sure without envy you might ſee
Such floundering immortality.
Why will ye then, amidſt the bogs,
Thruſt in *your* oar?—ye ſilly dogs!
He ne'er deſires his ſtated loan
(I honeſtly can ſpeak for one)
Should meet in print the public eye ;
Content with *Boyce's* harmony,
Who throws, on many a worthleſs lay,
His muſic and his powers away.
Are *you* not charm'd, when, at Vauxhall,
Or Marybone, the Syrens ſquall
Your oft-repeated madrigals,
Your Nancies of the hills or vales,
While tip-toe miſſes and their beaux
Catch the dear ſounds in triple rows,
And whiſper, as their happineſs,
They know the author of the piece?
This vanity, my gentle brothers,
You feel ; forgive it then in others,
At leaſt in one you call a dunce:
The Laureat's odes are ſung but once,
And then not heard—while your renown
For half a ſeaſon ſtuns the town—
Nay, on brown paper, fairly ſpread,
With wooden print to grace its head,
Each barber paſtes you on his wall ;
Each cobler chaunts you in his ſtall,
And *Dolly*, from her maſter's ſhop,
Encores you, as ſhe twirls her mop.
Then "ponder well, ye parents dear"
Of works, which live a whole half year ;
And with a tender eye ſurvey
The frailer offspring of a day,
Whoſe glories wither ere they bloom,
Whoſe very cradle is their tomb :

Have ye no bowels, cruel men!
You who may graſp, or quit the pen,
May chuſe your ſubject, nay, your time,
When genius prompts to ſport in rhyme
Dependant on yourſelves alone,
To be immortal, or unknown:
Does no compaſſion touch your breaſt
For brethren to the ſervice preſt?
To Laureats is no pity due,
Incumber'd with a thouſand clogs?
I'm very ſure they *pity* you,
—Ye 84illieſt of all ſilly dogs.

SONNET *from* PETRARCH.

From ELEGIAC SONNETS, *by* CHARLOTTE SMITH.

OH! place me where the burning noon
Forbids the wither'd flow'r to blow;
Or place me in the frigid zone,
On mountains of eternal ſnow:

Let me purſue the ſteps of fame,
Or poverty's more tranquil road;
Let youth's warm tide my veins inflame,
Or ſixty winters chill my blood:

Tho' my fond ſoul to Heav'n were flown,
Or tho' on earth 'tis doom'd to pine,
Priſoner or free—obſcure or known,
My heart, oh Laura! ſtill is thine.
Whate'er my deſtiny may be,
That faithful heart ſtill burns for thee!

SONNET *from* PETRARCH. *From the ſame.*

YE vales and woods! fair ſcenes of happier hours!
Ye feather'd people, tenants of the grove!
And you, bright ſtream! befring'd with ſhrubs and flowers,
Behold my grief, ye witneſſes of love!

For ye beheld my infant paſſion riſe,
And ſaw thro' years unchang'd my faithful flame;
Now cold, in duſt, the beauteous object lies,
And you, ye conſcious ſcenes, are ſtill the ſame!

While buſy memory ſtill delights to dwell
  On all the charms theſe bitter tears deplore,
And with a trembling hand deſcribes too well
  The angel form I ſhall behold no more!
To Heaven ſhe's fled! and nought to me remains
But the pale aſhes, which her urn contains.

A PARODY *on "Bleſt as th' immortal Gods is he."*

Said to be written by the Hon. HENRY ERSKINE.

DRUNK as a dragon ſure is he,
  The youth that dines or ſups with thee;
And ſees and hears thee, full of fun,
Loudly laugh, and quaintly pun.

'Twas this firſt made me love my doſe,
And rais'd ſuch pimples on my noſe;
For while I fill'd to every toaſt,
My health was gone, my ſenſes loſt,

I found the claret and Champaigne
Inflame my blood, and mad my brain;
The toaſt fell fault'ring from my tongue,
I hardly heard the catch I ſung.

I felt my gorge and ſickneſs riſe;
The candles danc'd before my eyes;
My ſight grew dim, the room turn'd round,
I tumbled ſenſeleſs on the ground!

DAVID GARRICK, *Eſq. ſome years ago, had occaſion to file a bill in the Court of Chancery againſt an Attorney at* Hampton, *to ſet aſide an agreement ſurreptitiouſly obtained for the purchaſe of a houſe there; and while the late* EDMUND HOSKINS, *Eſq. was preparing the draft of the bill, Mr.* GARRICK *wrote him the following Lines.*

To his Counſellor and Friend, EDMUND HOSKINS, *Eſq.*

Tom Fool ſends greeting.

ON your care muſt depend the ſucceſs of my ſuit,
  The conteſt I mean 'bout the houſe in diſpute;
Remember, my friend, an Attorney's my foe,
And the worſt of his tribe, though the beſt are ſo-ſo.
In law, as in life, I know well 'tis a rule,
That a knave will be ever too hard for a fool:
To which rule one exception your client implores,
That a fool may for once turn the knave out of doors.

EPIGRAM *on the phraſe,* "Killing Time."

By VOLTAIRE.

(Time *is ſuppoſed to ſpeak.*)

"LORSQUE, pour s'amaſer, ſans ceſſe ils s'evertuent
" Ces Meſſieurs les humains, ils diſent qu'ils me tuent;
" Moi, je ne vante de rien,
" Mais, ma fois, je m'en venge bien."

" There's ſcarce a point wherein mankind agree,
" So well as in their boaſt of killing me:
" I boaſt of nothing, but when I've a mind,
" I think I can be even with mankind."

EPITAPH *on Sir* WILLIAM DRAPER, *K. B.*

By CHRISTOPHER ANSTEY, *Eſq.*

H. S. E.
Vir ſummis cùm animi, tùm Corporis Dotibus
Egregiè ornatus
GULIELMUS DRAPER, *Balnei Eques,*
In Scholà Etonenſi educatus,
Coll: deinde Regal: Cantabrigiæ
Et Alumnus et Socius;
Quorum utrumque
Tàm moribus, quàm Studiis honeſtavit:

Altiore tamen a Naturà Ingenio præditus
Quàm ut umbratili
In Academiæ Otio deliteſceret,
Ad Militiæ Laudem ſe totum contulit,
Et in diverſis Europæ Aſiæque partibus
Stipendia meruit.

In Indià orientali A. D. 1758,
Exercitui regio imperavit,
Obſeſſamque a Gallis S^ti. GEORGII ARCEM
Cùm diù fortitèr defendiſſet,
Strenuà tandem factà Euruptione,
Hoſtium Copias,
Capto Legionis Præfecto, repulit.

Flagrante poſteà Hiſpanienſi Bello,
Anno 1762,
Expeditionis contrà MANILLAS
Auctor idem et Dux fuit:
Quibus expugnandis, dubium reliquit,
BRITANNIÆ Nomen
Virtute magis,
An Clementià inſigniverit.

Vale,
Dux acer!
Vir manſuete, liberalis!—
Hoc fidum tuarum Virtutum,
Spectatæque a pueris Amicitiæ,
Poſteris Exemplar tradam.

C. A.

Ob: Jan. Aº. D. 1787.
Ætat. 66.

For the Two following original Pieces, we are indebted to an old Friend, whoſe former Communications have been favourably received by the Public.

ANACREONTIQUE,

Addreſſed, in a far Country, to a once New Year.

ARE the white hours for ever fled,
That us'd to mark the chearful day?
And every killing pleaſure dead,
That led th' enraptur'd ſoul aſtray?
Too faſt the roſy-footed train
The bleſt delicious moments paſs'd;
Pleaſure muſt now give way to pain,
And grief ſucceeds to joy at laſt.
O, daughters of eternal Jove!
Return with the returning year,
Bring pleaſure back again, and love,
With heavenly ſmiles again appear;
O, bring my H——y to my ſight!
What happy hour will then be by?
And while I'm dying with delight,
Her ſoul ſhall ſpeak through either eye.
Let ſacred friendſhip too attend,
The man whoſe ſoul is moſt like mine,
Bring B——, my ever-deareſt friend,
And fill the bowl with roſy wine:

We'll graſp the minutes as they paſs,
Unconſcious of all future woes:
Mirth, love, and joy, ſhall crown each glaſs,
And caſt our ſorrows to our foes.
Let every white and happy hour
Which fate has to my life decreed,
With roſy wings its bleſſings ſhower,
And each in order ſtill ſucceed:
But when the ſhort-liv'd ſmiling ſtore
No longer can my bliſs engage,
Cut off the uſeleſs thouſands more,
And add them to ſome coward's age.

PORTRAIT *of a Provincial Poet, drawn from the Life, above Forty Years ago.*

HOW happy the Poet, how void of all care,
Who wiſhes for nought, who has nothing to fear,
Who has nothing to loſe—money, houſes, or lands,
Nor a foot of the earth, but the ground where he ſtands!
Whilſt madmen are fighting, and bluſtering for fame,
And deſolate worlds to purchaſe a name;
Whilſt the beggarly miſer is watching his ſtore,
And never content, ſtill wide graſping for more;
His ſoul far ſuperior, ne'er centring in ſelf,
Laughs at folly's wild rage, and deſpiſes the pelf.
In friendſhip ſtill true, and in love ſtill refin'd,
His friend and his miſtreſs poſſeſs his full mind;
But wayward in conduct, averſe to all rule,
By fools deem'd a madman, by wiſe men a fool,
He flies from their ſtrife to the brook or the grove,
And knows no deſires but his muſe and his love.

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1786.

The Hiſtory of Ancient Greece, *its Colonies, and Conqueſts, from the earlieſt Accounts till the Diviſion of the* Macedonian *Empire in the* Eaſt; *including the Hiſtory of Literature, Philoſophy, and the Fine Arts, in 2 vols. By* John Gillies, LL. D.

IT is with pleaſure we behold every attempt which tends to illuſtrate and record the annals of that country, in which the human mind firſt attained that degree of maturity and perfection which ſucceeding ages have always found it difficult to maintain, and which they have certainly never ſurpaſſed.

The main deſign of the work before us, as the author informs us in the preface to it, is confined to the ſpace of *ſeven centuries*, which elapſed from the ſettlement of the Greeks in Aſia Minor until the eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire in the Eaſt. But previous to the commencement of that period, he has in the two firſt chapters, and in the beginning of the third, exhibited a view of the progreſs of civilization and power in Greece, preceding the Trojan war—he has given a hiſtory of that war—of its conſequences—of the religion, government, arts, manners, and character of the Greeks during thoſe ages—of their diſtracted ſtate after the taking of Troy—and of the ſettlement of the Dorians in Peloponneſus under the conduct of the Heracleidæ.

Through the darkneſs and obſcurity of this part of the Grecian hiſtory, Dr. Gillies marches with great confidence and boldneſs. He has endeavoured by reaſon and conjecture, ſometimes perhaps ſucceſsfully, to unite the clue where it was broken, and to make it more obvious where it was concealed. The narrative is well conducted, and not unintereſting, particularly to thoſe who may be unacquainted with the ſources from which he has drawn it. The learned, it is likely, will expect ſome more abſtruſe and elaborate reſearches into the antiquities of Greece, and ſome ſources of information diſcloſed which were hitherto known only to the few. The materials themſelves it certainly required no very extraordinary compaſs of learning, or minuteneſs of inveſtigation, to diſcover; but the diſpoſition and arrangement of thoſe materials are well conceived, and (excepting a few inſtances of unwarrantable phraſeology, proceeding, as it ſhould ſeem, from an ill-judged ambition to aggrandize by oſtentatious language the moſt common ideas) the execution in general is not unworthy of the ſubject. But of this we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large when we come to ſum up the aggregate merit of the work. In proof of what we have in this place advanced reſpecting it, we ſhall lay before our readers a few ſpecimens from the part which has already paſſed under review.

Of the happy effects produced on the manners of the Greeks by the Argonautic expedition, the author thus ſpeaks:

"Notwithſtanding many romantic fictions that disfigure the ſtory of the Argonauts, their undertaking appears to have been attended with a conſiderable and a happy effect on the manners and character of the Greeks. From the æra of this celebrated expedition, we may diſcover not only a more daring and more enlarged ſpirit of enterprize, but a more deciſive and rapid progreſs towards civilization and humanity. The ſullen and unſociable chiefs, whoſe acquaintance with each other moſt commonly aroſe from acts of mutual hoſtility, hitherto gave full ſcope to the ſanguinary paſſions which characterize barbarians. Strength and courage were almoſt the only qualities which they admired: they fought and plundered at the head of their reſpective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts were regarded only as fit objects to excite their rage, and gratify their rapacity. But theſe gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valour in a remote expedition, learned the neceſſity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public intereſt, if they pretended to deſerve the eſteem of their equals. Military courage and addreſs might alone procure them the reſpect of their immediate followers, ſince the ſafety of the little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain; but when ſeveral tribes had combined in a common enterprize, there was leſs dependance on the proweſs of any ſingle leader. Emulation and intereſt rendered all theſe leaders as jealous of each other as deſirous of the public applauſe; and in order to acquire this applauſe, it was neceſſary to brighten the luſtre of martial ſpirit by the more valuable virtues of juſtice and humanity."

At the concluſion of the ſecond chapter, the author, having before taken a general review of the Grecian manners and character, has drawn up an eſtimate of their value, as *compared with the rude cuſtoms of ſavage life, and the artificial refinements of poliſhed ſociety*. We here preſent it to the reader, as affording no bad ſpecimen of the author's turn of mind and opinion, as well as manner of writing.

"The Greeks," ſays he, "had advanced beyond that uniform inſipidity of deportment, that ſullen ferocity of manners, and that hardened inſenſibility of heart, which univerſally characterize the ſavage ſtate. They ſtill poſſeſſed, however, that patient intrepidity, that noble ſpirit of independence, that ardent attachment to their friends, and that generous contempt of pain and danger, and death, which render the deſcription of the wild tribes of America ſo intereſting to a philoſophic mind. Of two principal enjoyments of life, ſtudy and converſation, they were little acquainted, indeed, with the conſolations and pleaſure of the firſt, the want of which was compenſated by the ſincerity, the confidence, the charms of the ſecond. Their ſocial affections were leſs comprehenſive in their objects, but more powerful in their effects, than thoſe of more poliſhed nations. A generous chief ruſhes to certain death, to revenge the cauſe of his friend; yet refuſes to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy conſolation of interring the remains of his favourite ſon; till the correſponding image of his own father ſtrikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity. The imaginary wants and artificial paſſions which are ſo neceſſary to urge the hand of induſtry, and to vary the purſuits of men, in improved commercial ſocieties, were ſupplied to the Greeks by that exceſſive ſenſibility, which intereſted them ſo deeply in the affairs of their community, their tribe, their family, and their friends; and which even connected them by the feelings of gratitude with the inanimate objects of nature. As they were not acquainted with the ſame diverſity of employments, ſo neither were they fatigued with the ſame giddy round of diſſipated pleaſures which augment the ſplendid miſery of later times. Though ignorant of innumerable arts which adorn the preſent age, they had diſcovered one of ineſtimable value, to render the great duties of life its moſt entertaining amuſement. It will not, perhaps, be eaſy to point out a nation who united a more complete ſubordination to eſtabliſhed authority with a higher ſenſe of perſonal independence; and a more reſpectful regard to the dictates of religion with a more ardent ſpirit of martial enterprize. The generous equality of their political eſtabliſhments, and their imagined intercourſe with the gods, conſpired to raiſe them to a certain elevation of character which will be for ever remembered and admired. This character was rendered permanent in Sparta by the famous laws commonly aſcribed to the invention of Lycurgus, but which, as will appear in the ſubſequent chapter, were almoſt exact copies of the cuſtoms and inſtitutions that univerſally prevailed in Greece during the heroic ages."

In the paſſages above quoted the reader will perceive an accuracy of thinking which beſpeaks the author a man who has ſtudied human life with no ſmall diligence, and poſſeſſing a mind that has been much employed in the exercife of its reflective powers. The condition of man, in the infancy and in the old age of ſociety, is ſtated with preciſion, and the limits are determined where barbariſm ends, and where refinement begins to degenerate into vice.

The migrations which took place among the *Hellenic tribes*, occupy great part of the next chapter: after which the author proceeds to the main ſubject. It is neither our deſign nor our buſineſs to follow him through every part of the work: that were to write a commentary on it, not to give a general eſtimate of its value, which, we conceive, more properly belongs to our province.

In forming our judgment of the proper ſtyle of hiſtory, it ſeems an obvious conſideration, that, as the materials about which it is employed differ from each other in all the degrees of great and little, light and important, common and extraordinary, its tone, if we may ſo ſay, ſhould be varied in ſuch a manner as beſt to accord with the nature of the circumſtance:

and that, therefore, it ſhould occaſionally aſſume all the correſponding varieties of high and low, loud and ſoft, plain and magnificent. The pretenſions of our hiſtorian, conſidered under this important article of merit, we are ſorry to obſerve, have the leaſt claim to our approbation; though, if we may judge from the pains he has beſtowed, it ſeems to have been a principal object of his ambition to ſucceed in it. But thus in other inſtances it happens, that the child of our warmeſt affection moſt frequently diſappoints our hopes. Who can without regret behold the author, in many parts of his work, anxiouſly ſtraining the whole power of his eloquence, where a bare, unadorned recital only is required; and again, when the ſubject, by its real importance, demands a ſuitable dignity and eminence of ſtyle, betraying his exhauſted ſtrength, and degenerating by a natural progreſs into the extreme of puerility and emptineſs? But leſt we ſhould appear ſevere or unjuſt in our cenſure, we ſelect as our authority the following paſſages, from many others of a ſimilar character to be met with in the courſe of the work.

Among the diſaſters which befel the Athenians in Sicily, the following is mentioned:

“ The troops marched out under cover of the night, and in the ſame order which they had hitherto obſerved. But they had not proceeded far in this nocturnal expedition, when the obſcurity of the ſkies, the deceitful tracks of an unknown and hoſtile country, filled the moſt timid or unfortunate with imaginary terrors. Their panic, as is uſual in great bodies of men, was ſpeedily communicated to thoſe around them; and Demoſthenes, with above one half of his diviſion, fatally miſtook the road, and quitted, never more to rejoin, the reſt of the army.”

The incident, every one ſees, is natural and common enough: but who will ſay that the relation of it is ſo? Such a pompous aſſemblage of epithets, and the pathetic anticipation of Demoſthenes's fate, would have better ſuited the mock dignity of romance.

Imagination can ſcarcely form to itſelf a ſcene of more dreadful affliction than that which the Athenian army preſented in its retreat from the camp before Syracuſe. But let us ſee how it is exhibited by the pencil of our hiſtorian.

“ They had abandoned their fleet, their tranſports, the hopes of victory, and the glory of the Athenian name; and theſe collective ſufferings were enhanced and exaſperated by the painful images which ſtruck the eyes and the fancy of each unfortunate individual. The mangled bodies of their companions and friends, deprived of the ſacred rites of funeral, affected them with a ſentiment of religious horror, on which the weakneſs of human nature is happily unable to dwell. They removed their attention from this dreadful ſight; but they could not divert their compaſſion from a ſpectacle ſtill more melancholy, the numerous crowds of ſick and wounded who followed them with enfeebled and unequal ſteps, intreating, in the accent and attitude of unutterable anguiſh, to be delivered from the horrors of famine, or the rage of an exaſperated foe. Amidſt ſuch affecting ſcenes, the heart of a ſtranger would have melted with tender ſympathy;

but how much more muſt it have affected the Athenians, to ſee their parents, brothers, children, and friends, involved in unexampled miſery! to hear, without the poſſibility of relieving, their lamentable complaints! and reluctantly to throw the clinging victims from their wearied necks and arms!"

Let the ingenuous reader conſult his own feelings, and honeſtly tell us, whether, in the above deſcription, an idea of the author himſelf does not frequently interpoſe itſelf between his compaſſion and the proper objects of it.

But while we cenſure the execution of particular parts, we do not mean that our objection ſhould be extended to the whole of the performance. We could have wiſhed, indeed, that the ſtyle, conſidered in its general character, had been more chaſte, and leſs laboured; that the author had been leſs ſolicitous to recommend the matter by his eloquence, than his eloquence by the matter;—making that which in its own nature is of but ſecondary conſideration (being intended only as the vehicle of pleaſure) ſubſervient to the higher purpoſes of the latter, whoſe main end is utility.

That the defect above remarked does not generally prevail throughout the work, every one who reads it will eaſily be convinced. Many are the paſſages that might be produced, of which good writing appears to be not the leaſt merit. We will inſtance only in one or two; the limits of our plan not permitting us to indulge any further the wiſh to do juſtice as well to the merits as the faults of our hiſtorian. The account given in the 32d chapter, of Plato's Coſmogony, cannot but be highly acceptable to every man of true taſte, as well as to the ſcholar. For the peruſal of ſuch it is here ſubjoined.

"Impelled by his goodneſs, the Deity, viewing in his own intellect the ideas or archetypes of all poſſible exiſtence, formed the beautiful arrangement of the univerſe from that rude indigeſted matter, which, exiſting from all eternity, had been for ever animated by an irregular principle of motion. This principle, which Plato calls the irrational ſoul of the world, he thought ſufficiently atteſted in the innumerable deviations from the eſtabliſhed laws of nature, in the extravagant paſſions of men, and in the phyſical and moral, which, in conſequence of theſe deviations and paſſions, ſo viſibly prevail in the world. Without admitting a certain ſtubborn intractability, and diſorderly wildneſs, eſſential to matter, and therefore incapable of being entirely eradicated or ſubdued, it ſeemed impoſſible to explain the origin of evil under the government of the Deity."

In the next paragraph the author proceeds to explain the doctrine of ideas; which we ſhall tranſcribe for the ſame reaſon as we did the former.

"From theſe rude materials, (ſays he) God, according to the fanciful doctrine of Plato, formed the four elements, and built the beautiful ſtructure of the heavens and the earth, after the models of thoſe external examplars, or patterns, which ſubſiſt in the divine Intelligence. Conſidering that beings poſſeſſed of mental powers were far preferable to thoſe deſtitute of ſuch faculties, God infuſed into the corporeal world a rational ſoul, which, as it could be immediately combined with body, he united to the active, but irrational principle, eſſentially inherent in matter. Having thus formed and animated the earth, the ſun, the moon, and the other viſible divinities, the great Father of ſpirits proceeded to create the inviſible gods and dæmons, whoſe nature and hiſtory Plato deſcribes with a reſpectful reverence for the religion of his country. After finiſhing this great work, the God of Gods again contemplating the ideal forms in his own mind, perceived there the exemplars of three ſpecies of beings, which he realized in the mortal inhabitants of the earth, air, and water. The taſk of forming theſe ſenſible, but irrational beings, he committed to the inferior divinities; becauſe, had this laſt work likewiſe proceeded from his own hands, it muſt have been immortal like the gods. The ſouls of men, on the other hand, he himſelf formed from the remainder of the rational ſoul of the world. They firſt exiſted in the ſtate of dæmons, only inveſted with a thin æthereal body. Having offended God by neglecting their duty, they were condemned to unite with the groſs corporeal maſs, by which their divine faculties are ſo much clogged and encumbered."

Had our author always written thus, it had been vain to blame, (ſuch are the words of a great critic and philoſopher on a ſimilar occaſion) and uſeleſs to praiſe him. Here we behold grace and ſtrength united: the underſtanding and the fancy receive each its proper gratification.

Upon the whole, then, the work before us, on a fair and accurate ſurvey, will be found to poſſeſs a very conſiderable ſhare of merit. It contains much uſeful information both for the ſcholar and the parent. What we deem moſt *generally* exceptionable in it is the ſtyle, of which we have already ſpoken. The order of time and of facts are as well preſerved as their nature will admit. In the obſcurity attending remote periods and early teſtimony, much will neceſſarily be left to the penetration and ingenuity of the hiſtorian: and it will not be denied that, in this part of his taſk, Dr. Gillies has in ſome degree improved upon the labours of his predeceſſors. The ſeries of events proceeds in orderly ſucceſſion; nor is the main ſubject ſo crouded with incidents as to diſſipate the reader's attention by preſenting to it at one time too great a variety of objects; every figure, as it were, of the piece being placed at ſuch a diſtance as to appear in itſelf a perfect one, at the ſame time not diminiſhing, but aiding and heightening the effect of the whole. The hiſtorical account of letters and philoſophy, judiciouſly interpoſed at proper intervals throughout the work, muſt needs render it doubly valuable.

An account of State Papers, *collected by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon, *Vol.* III. *folio.*

SOON after the unfortunate end of Charles the firſt, Charles the ſecond, together with ſuch of the late king's counſellors as followed the fortunes of the ſon, rendezvouſed at the Hague.

Amongſt the different meaſures here adopted for the ſupport of that forlorn condition, which they found themſelves reduced to, it was reſolved, in the beginning of the year 1649, that the lord Cottington and

Sir Edward Hyde ſhould be ſent ambaſſadors to Madrid, to promote their maſter's intereſt at that court.

The volume of ſtate papers now before us commences at this period, and finiſhes with the recognition of parliament in favour of Charles the ſecond, in May 1660. It contains a regular and almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of the proceedings, councils, views, and proſpects of Charles the ſecond, his followers and adherents, from the time of his quitting England to his reſtoration—a period in which the abilities, judgment, and policy of many of thoſe who figured in it, are more to be weighed and conſidered than the apparent magnitude or conſequence of their operations. Their ſphere of action was confined and limited, and to enlarge it required certain extraordinary and unforeſeen events to co-operate with and aſſiſt great management and exertion. They had to combat with the folly and levity of ſome of their own aſſociates, and dexterouſly to comply with the ſhifting intereſts and policy of almoſt all the ſtates in Europe. It was by conſenting to become the temporary inſtruments of almoſt every court, to be taken up or laid down as occaſion ſerved, that they procured to themſelves a precarious exiſtence. But to exiſt was every thing, where ſo much was to be left to events and contingencies, which they neither could foreſee nor controul.

The firſt ſeries of letters are from ſir Edward Hyde to Mr. ſecretary Nicholas. Theſe letters are quite of a confidential nature, written by one friend to another, where the moſt unreſerved communication of the writers thoughts and opinions, reſpecting the ſtate of their affairs, and reſpecting the characters of his aſſociates, and of almoſt all thoſe with whom he acted, ſeems to have taken place. The period they compriſe is from the year 1649 to 1654 incluſive.

During the greateſt part of this time, Charles the ſecond reſided at the court of France, and the then ſubſiſting hoſtilities between Cromwell and that kingdom created a precarious aſylum for the fugitive monarch. But the poverty and diſtreſs of himſelf and aſſociates, even at this juncture, cannot better be conceived than from the following letter from ſir Edward Hyde to ſecretary Nicholas, dated from Paris 27th June 1653, which we ſhall beg leave to lay before our readers.

Sir Edward Hyde *to Secretary* Nicholas.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

"I HAVE your 29th of the 19th of this month, and I thank you for the copy of the Spaniſh ambaſſador's memoir. I believe that peace will not hold long, and that the rebels of England have promiſed the Spaniard notable aſſiſtance towards the ſetting that war on foot again; and we ſhall now ſee, upon the ſucceſs of their late encounter, what their purpoſe is, and whether all this ſuite and noiſe about the money at London hath been by colluſion; for if now they are maſters at ſea, they ſhall tranſport men to Bourdeaux, as ſome men imagine they will, then hath that money been from the beginning deſigned to that purpoſe, and I find this people here are very jealous of their friendſhip. I do not ſo much apprehend a peace between the rebels and the Dutch upon a treaty with their deputies whom they are now ſending, as that the Engliſh may aſſiſt that party in Holland, which they depend upon to compel the other provinces to do as they require, for there is no queſtion they will require ſuch conditions as muſt abſolutely deſtroy the liberty of that people, and make them ſubordinate to the other. The princeſs royal hath written to the king that ſhe will ſtay at Bruſſels till ſhe receives his next letter, and if he continue his deſire, that ſhe will return to Breda, ſo that it is not yet impoſſible but that very unſeaſonable and indeed ridiculous journey may be yet diverted. I have ſome little reaſon to imagine that the princeſs doth intend to do juſtice in the caſe of Monſ. Somerdyke, but it breaks my heart to ſee how negligent ſhe is of old friends. The king writ to her for a place for the ſon of Boreel, who waits upon the prince of Orange, but ſhe hath beſtowed it upon another, which exceedingly troubles Boreel, who every day deſerves as much from the king as is poſſible. If any thing you hear from others of the plenty and bravery of our court makes impreſſion upon you, I have no credit with you; I am ſure the penury is not to be imagined by you. It is very true, I do not know that any man is yet dead for want of bread, which really I wonder at; I am ſure the king himſelf owes for all he hath eaten ſince April, and I am not acquainted with one ſervant of his who hath a piſtole in his pocket; five or ſix of us eat together one meal a day for a piſtole a week, but all of us owe for God knows how many weeks to the poor woman that feeds us. I believe my lord of Ormond hath not had five livres in his purſe this month, and hath fewer clothes of all ſorts than you have, and yet I take you to be no gallant. If two or three (I do not think there are ſo many) are without viſible want, I am ſure they are not ſupplied by our maſter, and therefore there is great cruelty and ill-nature in our friends in England in making thoſe excuſes for their not doing what they ought to do: they would with much grudging bear the wants and neceſſities which the beſt here are compelled to undergo; and therefore if they will not relieve us, they ſhould not ſlander and traduce us. I believe we are bad enough, but ſure we are made much worſe than we are, and they who are at eaſe too much enquire into our faults, that they may excuſe themſelves for want of compaſſion of our misfortunes, and their cenſoriouſneſs and ill-nature will in the end drive all thoſe from the court who are fitteſt to live in it, for few can ſubmit to neceſſities and reproaches at once. * * * * I have ſaid all I can in my late letters, upon the remove of the king from this place, and therefore ſhall add no more, but that, let us ſpeak of it as much as we can, and I hope ſeriouſly, it will be I doubt more than a month before we can be ready for it, then our neceſſities and beggary will be manifeſt when we are to go; and for the advancement of that ſervice, the cardinal now ſays he can furniſh but half the ſum of money he hath even promiſed the king ſhould be ready at 24 hours warning; ſo that you need not fear we ſhall make too much haſte, yet I hope we ſhall be going ſhortly, and I doubt not many letters from hence will inform the correſpondents that we ſhall begin our journey in ten days. The truth is, they who will conclude our remove unſeaſonable, ought as well to underſtand the difficulties and inconveniences of our ſtay, which are not to be undervalued. I hope you adviſe your friends in England to treat the Dutch deputies with that reſpect which they ſhewed to their ambaſſadors at the Hague, and to demand ſuch high conditions as may make the Dutch ſenſible of their overſight when they firſt preſumed to contend with them; and truly if the noble Engliſh take leſs than the old cautionary towns, they are to blame, and exact treble damages for the injuries they have ſuſtained. Since they are reſolved to ſend, I wiſh their deputies were gone, that they and we might know the worſt that is to follow. Since I writ to you concerning your intelligencer, the king himſelf hath writ to one he truſts, to know what money he can pay upon order, and as ſoon as any return comes ſuch direction ſhall be ſent as you require; in the mean time you muſt let Mr. Neville know that the king takes himſelf beholden to him for a good ſervice he did him not long ſince, and that he looks upon him as a true friend. * * * * * My laſt to you brought you all that diſpatch to Denmark which you wiſhed for. I do now begin to wonder that we hear not from our good lord Wentworth; indeed I hope for ſome fruit from that court, which is deeply engaged. I hear indeed that my wife hath ventured a journey to Breda to kiſs the princeſs royal's hand, but I cannot imagine that ſhe intends to viſit the Hague; if ſhe does, it will be for love of you, and I ſhall grow jealous. And ſo I have gone through yours, and have very little to add, not having any kind of meaſure to judge by of the purpoſes of this court, which ſeems to be repoſſeſſed of their old power, though they uſe it with more warineſs and modeſty than before it met with any checks. Our maſter went yeſterday to St. Germains, and on Monday that court comes hither, to be preſent the next day at a magnificent entertainment at the Hotel de Ville, in vindication of the ſedition which was acted there on the ſame day the laſt year. Why may not you and I live to be preſent at the ſame ſolemnities at the Guild-hall and Merchant Taylor's-hall? Truſt me, if the fault be not in ourſelves, we ſhall ſee that bleſſed day. I have juſt now a letter from London that aſſures me, if the deputies come thither from your ſtates, they ſhall be treated as their ambaſſadors were at the Hague: That they will have cautionary towns, and that the Dutch ſhall no more have ſhips of war at ſea, but ſhall drive their trade under the protection of their fleets in all ſeas: it is a good temper, and I hope it will be kept up. God ſend us a good meeting, nothing elſe will keep up the ſpirits of

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Your own," &c.

Paris, this 27th of June, 1653.
An original.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1654, the treaty concluded between Cromwell and France made it neceſſary for the king and his council to quit that kingdom, which they accordingly did, and took up their reſidence in the Auſtrian Flanders. The letters, at this period, from Sir Edward Hyde, the marquis of Ormond, lord Briſtol, and from ſeveral others of the king's council and followers, relate chiefly to the treaty which Charles the Second now ſet on foot with Spain; the main object of which, as far as it concerned him, was, "that the Spaniards ſhould aſſiſt him with a body of troops, to be landed on ſuch part of the coaſt of England as ſhould be deemed moſt proper, and which was then to co-operate with his majeſty's adherents in England and Scotland."

The different negotiations carried on with the Spaniſh miniſters to forward and put this project in motion, form a conſiderable part of the letters from the year 1654 to 1658.

All attempts however of this nature proved abortive; and the Spaniards found themſelves too deeply engaged in their war againſt France, aſſiſted by the protector Cromwell, to grant any effectual aid to the cauſe which they had eſpouſed.

Nothing can be conceived more fallen, more degraded, or more irretrievable, than the affairs of Charles the Second at this juncture. The Spaniſh army retiring on all ſides before the marſhal Turenne, made a peace for them on any terms abſolutely neceſſary. The Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, and their alliance at that moment of ſuch conſequence to France, as enabled them to dictate, through the medium of that court, the terms upon which ſuch a peace ſhould be granted. Under ſuch circumſtances it is not ſuppoſing too much to conclude, that the firſt preliminary ſtep towards an accommodation would be, that Spain ſhould renounce and deliver up the royal fugitive. The letter from the earl of Briſtol to the king, during this deſperate ſtate of his affairs, we ſhall inſert here.

The Earl of Briſtol *to the King.*

* * * * "OUR army is retired behind the canal that goes from hence to Dixmude; but what the enemy's next deſign will be is not more than gueſſed at; ſome think they will firſt take Furnes, then puſh us farther back, and poſſeſs themſelves of Dixmude, and afterwards attack Ypres; others believe they will take ſome other places upon the Lis, and others (I think as probable as any) that La Ferte will inveſt Cambray, or ſome conſiderable place of Hainault, and then this army fall thither, leaving the Engliſh to make the war on this ſide, who are in ſo full poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, that it is confidently aſſured, that they refuſed to admit Mr. de Turenne with more than ſix or eight perſons of his ſuite: it is as true, and methinks as ſtrange, that Mardike is altogether remitted into the French hands. In fine, Sir, they have but to pick and chuſe, for we have little to oppoſe which way ſoever they turn their deſign. Thus much for news; as for thoſe things wherewith I am encharged, your majeſty will find the account of them in this incloſed to my lord chancellor, who would be too angry with me if I did not write to him a long letter, and indeed I am in too much pain to be able (having no ſecretary with me) to write at large of the ſame things both to your majeſty and him, and of the two I preſume more upon your good nature than upon his. I ſhall only add, that I intend, God willing, to be at Ghent before the end of this week; where I deſire to know where I may wait upon your majeſty, together with the lord chancellor and lord Ormond, for certainly ſome

quick reſolution is to be taken concerning your perſon and affairs, and I begin to be clear to myſelf in what I ought to adviſe concerning both, which when you command me I ſhall do with all frankneſs and fidelity."

Newport, this 3d of July, 1658.
An original.

The death of the protector Oliver, which followed on the 3d of September, 1658, diſpelled thoſe threatening clouds which endangered the very exiſtence of Charles the Second, and ſeemed for a moment to preſent him with a more immediate proſpect of attaining his object. The firſt letter that appears with an account of the protector's death is from Mr. Howard (then a priſoner in London) to the lord chancellor Hyde. This letter, and one written on the ſame occaſion by lord Culpepper to the chancellor, we ſhall lay before our readers: the latter, indeed, contains ſo much good ſenſe, and ſuch ſound reflections and obſervations on the then poſture of the king's affairs, that it cannot be too much admired.

Mr. Fiſher (Howard) *to the Lord Chancellor* Hyde.

"My Lord,

"YOU cannot expect a large and particular account of things from a perſon under reſtraint; yet as a teſtimony that I ſtill retain a ſenſe of the duty I owe to his majeſty and your lordſhip, I have made a ſhift to ſteal an opportunity for this ſhort correſpondence in the concealment of our old character. To this I am the more forward, as being deſirous to be an early, though I deſpair of being the firſt meſſenger of thoſe happy tidings which have put a countenance of victory already upon all England, and will, I doubt not, be as welcome to you as 'tis believed it will be advantageous unto your affairs. Yeſterday it pleaſed God, out of his infinite goodneſs, to do that which he would not allow any man the honour of doing, putting an end to the life of him, under the weight of whoſe tyranny theſe diſtreſſed kingdoms have groaned many years. In the evening his eldeſt ſon was declared his ſucceſſor, and this whole day has been ſpent in the pageantry of ſuch ſolemnities as the occaſion required. All men's hearts (almoſt quite dead before) are of a ſudden wonderfully revived to an expectation of ſome great change, and good men are the more encouraged to hope that the effects of ſo altogether an unexpected providence will be of much good to the kingdom, as obſerving that God himſelf ſeems to have undertaken the work, having thus ſeaſonably removed the great obſtructor of our happineſs by his own hand. Oh! for God's ſake, my lord, as you tender the happineſs of that good king, and the welfare of bleeding kingdoms, let not delays loſe the benefit of ſuch an happy juncture, nor ſuffer vain hopes and confidences in falſe friends any longer to fruſtrate your deſigns and delude your counſels. Here is yet no face of oppoſition in the army, or any part of it. Some there are who conceive great hopes (how well grounded I know not) of Monk's defection; I can ſay nothing to the contrary, I ſhall be glad if it prove ſo, which a little time will ſhew, but 'tis not to be depended upon unleſs your own correſpondencies with him give you better aſſurance than either common fame ſame or opinion. Mr. Stephens is in Scotland with Monk at this time; who knows what their diſcontents (for I believe they want not their diſcontents) may work them to? This is chimera, God forbid you ſhould have no better ſtaff to lean upon. Lord Fairfax, and Lambert, are they both quite dead? I wiſh Lambert were dead, for I find the army much devoted to him, but I cannot perceive that he is any way to be reconciled to the king; ſo that 'tis no ſmall danger that his reputation with the army may thruſt Dick Cromwell (who ſits like an ape on horſeback) out of the ſaddle, and yet not help the king into it; this would be *a malo ad pejus*. But for Fairfax, ſure he might be brought to ſomething, and the rather by reaſon of his ſon, the duke of Buckingham's impriſonment. For my own part, my lord, I am and ever ſhall be ready to my power to obey all commands you ſhall pleaſe to lay upon me. Since the tyrant's death, I am freed from many fears, which before were upon me; he did expreſs (as I am informed) very much rancour againſt me, and I do verily believe, that if he had lived he would have been wanting in no point of cruelty towards me; he had ſigned a warrant for my commitment to the Tower, ſix weeks ſince, but it has pleaſed God to hinder the execution of it, firſt by the death of his daughter, afterwards by his own, and ſince by the diſtraction of affairs; hence it comes to paſs that I am as yet in this place, but not without every day's fear of being ſent to the Tower. I have never yet been examined, but am told, that they poſitively conclude me to have had correſpondence with you, and to have been divers times in Flanders. I am alſo told that the old tyrant boaſted that he had been acquainted with all my motions and actions above this year, and that he had his information from one that was my chief confidant. This might juſtly give me occaſion to ſuſpect Wildman, but I have had more cauſe to ſuſpect him ſince, upon two undeniable and unanſwerable demonſtrations; one is, that the officers of this garriſon, by direction without doubt from Thurloe, have been with me enquiring of me, if I did not know Sir William Compton, and Sir R. Willis, aſſuring me of my liberty if I would diſcover them, and threatening me with the Tower, &c. if I were obſtinate: to all theſe enquiries, promiſes, and threats, I anſwered that I did indeed know Sir William Compton and Sir R. Willis by ſight, having ſometimes ſeen them *in tranſitu*, but that I had not any acquaintance at all with them, much leſs had I any correſpondence with them or any others about thoſe things they did enquire; hereupon they were very angry, telling me, that I had better have dealt more ingenuouſly, for they did know all my practices, which I ſhould ſoon be made to underſtand, *cum multis aliis*. What can be more plain than this? I am ſure none but Wildman could diſcover this. Two or three days after I was uſed with ſome ſeverity; but when they did find that I was regardleſs of it, they returned to a little more lenity, which has been continued ever ſince. The other demonſtration is plainer than this; ſince my confinement I have had ſome diſcourſe with one who was in the late engagement with colonel Stapeley, and he not knowing that Wildman was known to me, made it plain, by many circumſtances, that Wildman and captain Biſhop were the firſt diſcoverers of that deſign. *O tempora, O mores!* The reaſon why Sir W. Compton and Sir R. Willis are releaſed, and I am not examined, I ſuppoſe is, that Wildman may not be diſcovered to have been the traitor, hoping that they may make uſe of him for a ſpy hereafter. This I the rather conjecture, becauſe Wildman ſent to me to aſſure me that he is honeſt, and to deſire me to have a good opinion of him; but this bait will not take. Mr. Stephens does take much pains to excuſe himſelf (as I hear) but all he can ſay does only excuſe him *a tanto*, not *a toto*: betwixt theſe two millſtones I am grinded to powder. I ſee I am not to expect my liberty, till force ſhall free me, for every one does tell me that Thurloe is not to be inclined to any favour without a great ranſom, and that nothing leſs than 523 *l.* is to be named to him; it is altogether impoſſible for me to provide ſuch a ſum without your aſſiſtance; and truly, my lord, I cannot value myſelf at ſo high a rate, as to think myſelf ſo much deſerving your care, eſpecially conſidering your condition, and the charge I have been to you already. * * * * * Let me hear from you, and if you can ſpeak comfortably, comfort a poor priſoner, who does earneſtly pray for you, and is,

Yours, &c."

James's, Sept. 4, 1658.
An original.

Lord Culpepper *to the Lord Chancellor* Hyde.

"I TAKE it for granted this change in England will require your conſtant attendance at Hockſtraten, which makes me addreſs this letter thither, and I ſhall follow it as ſoon as my young maſter ſhall have ſealed ſome writings betwixt him and his relations, which (they being ready engroſſed here, and he ſent for) I hope will be done on Monday. I cannot ſay I am much ſurpriſed with the news of Cromwell's death, the letters of the laſt week (thoſe of this are not come yet) leaving him deſperately ſick of a palſy and quartan ague, yet the thing is of ſo great conſequence that I can hardly forbear rubbing my eyes to find whether I ſleep or wake. The firſt news of it came not hither until very late (at the ſhutting the gates) laſt night, though he died this day ſevennight at three of the clock. The ports were ſhut upon his death ſo ſtrictly, that Monſ. Newport's paſs was returned, and he had difficulty enough to get leave to ſend a ſhip of his own hiring upon Saturday night. Extraordinary care was taken that no Engliſh paſſengers ſhould come in that ſhip; yet ſome did, and amongſt them a woman now in this town, who ſaith that Cromwell's eldeſt ſon was proclaimed protector on Saturday morning, which is confirmed by a Dutchman now here, who came from Graveſend on Tueſday. All the comment he makes on the text (it is a common ſailor) is, that he heard the people curſe when he was proclaimed. This accident muſt make a great change in the face of affairs throughout all Chriſtendom, and we may reaſonably hope the firſt and beſt will be in England. As for this town they are mad with joy; no man is at leiſure to buy or ſell; the young fry dance in the ſtreets at noonday; the devil is dead is the language at every turn; and the entertainment of the graver ſort is only to contemplate the happy days now approaching. * * * * *

What the king is to do upon this great and good change in England is now before you; to which moſt important queſtion, though with the diſadvantage of my being abſent, I ſhall freely (but privately to yourſelf) deliver my opinion before it is aſked; which is, that you ought not to be over haſty in doing any thing in England, neither by proclaiming the king, nor by any other public act, until you ſhall truly and particularly know the ſtate of affairs there, without which, Solomon, if he were alive and with you, could not make a right judgment of what is to be done there. By the ſtate of affairs there, I mean not only what is acted at the council board, in the army, city, and country, but likewiſe how thoſe ſeveral bodies are generally affected to this nomination of Cromwell's ſon; what opinion they have of, and kindneſs to, his perſon; who is diſcontented at it, and upon what account they are ſo, and to what degree; what formed parties are made or making againſt it; and how they propoſe to carry on their deſign, whether under the veil of a parliament, or by open declared force; how Monk and Mr. Harry Cromwell like it, and of what conſideration Lambert is upon this change; moſt of theſe, and many other particulars, ought to be well known, upon able and impartial intelligence from the place, before you can be ready for a judgment either of the deſign itſelf, or of the timing it; and, in the mean time, both the king's party in England, and we here, cannot (in my opinion) act too ſilent a part. When their partialities ſhall come to the height, that is, when the ſword ſhall be drawn, our tale will be heard, the weakeſt party will be glad to take us by the hand and give us the means of arming and embodying ourſelves, and then will be our time to ſpeak our own language. But if we appear before upon our own account, it will only ſerve to unite our enemies, and confirm their new government by a victory over us, whereby we ſhall be utterly diſabled to do our duty when the true ſeaſon ſhall come, which I doubt not will quickly be, if we have but the patience to wait for it. But whilſt I thus declare my opinion againſt their abortions, I would not be underſtood that no endeavours of ours may be proper to haſten the timely birth; on the contrary, I think much good is to be done by diſcreet and ſecret application, by well choſen perſons, to thoſe of power and intereſt amongſt them, whom we ſhall find moſt diſcontented with Cromwell's partiality in ſetting this young man over their heads that have borne the brunt of the day in the common cauſe, as they call it; and who have ſo good an opinion of themſelves, as to believe that they have deſerved as much of them they fought for as Cromwell himſelf did. Who theſe are is not eaſy for us as yet to know, but ſuch there are certainly, and a little time will eaſily diſcover them; and probably enough we may find ſome of them in Cromwell's own family, and amongſt thoſe that in his life ſtuck cloſeſt to him. Be they where they will, if they have power, and will do good, they ought to be cheriſhed. But the perſon that my eye is chiefly on, as able alone to reſtore the king, and not abſolutely averſe to it, neither in his principles, nor in his affections, and that is as like to be unſatisfied with this choice as any other amongſt them, is Monk, who commandeth abſolutely at his devotion a better army (as I am informed) than that in England is, and in the king's quarrel can bring with him the ſtrength of Scotland, and ſo protect the northern counties that he cannot fail of them in his march; the reputation whereof (if he declares) will as much give the will to the appearing of the king's party in the reſt of England, as the drawing the army from the ſouthern, weſtern, and eaſtern counties, will give them the means to appear in arms. Thus the work will be certainly done, in ſpight of all oppoſition that can be apprehended, and the gaining of one man will alone make ſure work of the whole. I need not give you his character; you know he is a ſullen man, that values him enough, and much believes that his knowledge and reputation in arms fits him for the title of highneſs and the office of protector, better than Mr. Richard Cromwell's ſkill in horſe-races and huſbandry doth. You know beſides, that the only ties that have hitherto kept him from grumbling, have been the vanity of conſtancy to his profeſſions, and his affection to Cromwell's perſon, the latter whereof is doubly diſſolved, firſt by the jealouſies he had of him, and now by his death; and if he be handſomely put in mind who was his firſt maſter, and what was promiſed him when he came out of the Tower, the firſt ſcruple will not long trouble him. Nothing of either of them can now ſtick with him; and beſides, if I am well informed, he that lately believed his head was in danger from the father (and therefore no arts nor importunities could bring him to London) will not eaſily truſt the ſon. The way to deal with him is, by ſome fit perſon (which I think is the greateſt difficulty) to ſhew him plainly, and to give him all imaginable ſecurity for it, that he ſhall better find all his ends (thoſe of honour, power, profit, and ſafety) with the king, than in any other way he can take. Neither are we to boggle at any way he ſhall propoſe in declaring himſelf, let it at the firſt be preſbyterian, be king and parliament, be a third party, or what he will, ſo it oppoſe the preſent power, it will at laſt do the king's buſineſs; and after a little time he will and muſt alone fall into the track we would have him go in; when he is engaged paſt a retreat he will want you as much as you will want him, and you may mould him into what form you pleaſe. You have my opinion (though in too much haſte) pray think ſeriouſly of it. * * * * * "

Amſterdam, Sept. 20, 1658.
An original.

The following terms, offered to general Monk, ſoon after the protector's death, by Charles the Second, we ſhall alſo inſert here.

The King to Lord Falconbridge, *the Lord* Bellaſis, *and Sir* John Greenville, *or either of them.*

" I AM confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart againſt me, nor hath he done any thing againſt me, which I cannot very eaſily pardon; and it is in his power to do me ſo great ſervice, that I cannot eaſily reward, but I will do all I can; and I do authorize you, and either of you, with the advice of the reſt, to treat with him, and not only to aſſure him of my kindneſs, but that I will very liberally reward him with ſuch an eſtate in land, and ſuch a title of honour, as himſelf ſhall deſire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my intereſt; and whatever you ſhall promiſe to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his advice, ſhall promiſe to any of his officers, or the army, under his command, which command he ſhall ſtill keep, I will make good and perform upon the word of a king."

A rough draught by the Lord Chancellor Hyde.

From this period to the king's reſtoration, there is preſerved in this volume a moſt minute and almoſt daily account of the tranſactions in England, and of the various ſchemes, plans, and operations of the king's friends and adherents there. The principal letters are ſuch as are either addreſſed to, or written by, the lord chancellor; and of ſuch as come under the firſt deſcription, the moſt material are from the lord Mordaunt, Mr. Broderick, and Mr. Rumbold. Theſe contain ſome excellent deſcriptions of, and remarks on, the different ſects and parties which divided this country at the death of Oliver Cromwell; including, with their reſpective leaders, the levellers, the preſbyterians, the anabaptiſts, the republicans, the fanatics, and fifth monarchy men.—Perhaps theſe two laſt, without committing a ſoleciſm in party, may be joined together as one body.

Upon the death of the protector Oliver, who was himſelf too feeble a reſtraint upon them, theſe parties broke out into open hoſtilities with one another—each carving ſeparately for itſelf, and, in proportion to the abilities of its leaders, and its own ſtrength, aſſuming the entire conduct of affairs.

Neither the ſucceſſion of Richard Cromwell to the protectorſhip, nor his depoſition, ſeems to have met with the ſlighteſt interruption; and could the various factions as eaſily have ſettled their own differences, as they ſeem to have been able to oppoſe Charles the Second, the government of the country might have acquired ſuch a degree of conſiſtency as would have been for ever fatal to the king's intereſts.

The origin and progreſs of the riſing in the weſt, in favour of his majeſty, and the ſuppreſſion of that riſing by general Lambert, is fully detailed in the letters of the lord Mordaunt and others.

The conduct of general Monk, who was ſo ſingularly inſtrumental in effecting the reſtoration, has been always looked upon, during this period, as ſingularly ambiguous. By his defeat of Lambert, he obtained the entire and uncontrolled poſſeſſion of the army, but at the ſame time he ſeems to have been quite undetermined in what manner he ſhould act; and ſo far certainly that conduct muſt have appeared exceedingly ambiguous to others, which was not regulated by any certain views or principles in the man that purſued it.

Security, and an high ſituation, was the end general Monk aimed at; and whether that end was to be attained by means of the *King*, or of the *Rump*, ſeems at bottom to have been a matter of equal indifference to him. In ſhort, he had not the cauſe of either, or of any party, at heart, but became, without having any premeditated ſcheme in view, the fortunate and happy inſtrument of putting an end to the confuſed and unnatural ſtate into which his country was plunged.

Thus Monk, upon his arrival in

London from the north, firſt declares himſelf the ſervant of the *Rump*, then of a *free parliament* to be choſen under certain reſtrictions and regulations, and, laſtly, experimentally finding that neither the *one* nor the *other* could effectuate an eſtabliſhed government, he, in concurrence with the majority of the *latter*, and of the nation in general, declares for the king, (having firſt made his own conditions for himſelf and his army:) thus throughout rather progreſſively following the humour of the nation, than endeavouring to direct its courſe.

The lord Mordaunt's account of the ſtate of the nation, tranſmitted to the king but a few months before his reſtoration, we ſhall next lay before our readers.

Lord Mordaunt *to the* King.

" Sir,

" SINCE our laſt it hath been my care in particular to look into the ſtate of the city, parliament, armies, and navy, and I humbly here preſent you my poor opinion of their preſent condition.

The State *of the* City.

The citizens have not at all receded from their firſt declaration; and, though they are ſtill unanimous as to the point of money, yet the ſpeedy march of Monk makes them fluctuate. As to other things, moſt wiſh him a friend on ſeveral accounts; one is, becauſe they believe his faith preſbyterian; the other is grounded on a belief, which we dare not contradict, and that is, that the preſbyterians deſire only the honour of reſtoring your majeſty, that by the merit of ſo ſignal an action, their notorious crimes may be forgiven and forgotten; yet becauſe the heart of man is deceitful, I have ſo far prevailed with the citizens, and ſome heads of the ſecluded members, as to prepare to oppoſe this clouded ſoldier, in caſe he prove other than what they would have him. Truly, Sir, the conſternation was ſo great and ſo univerſal upon the defection of Lambert's forces and Monk's march, that when I came, had Monk been here, he might have given what law he pleaſed, and been, at leaſt for a time, punctually obeyed; but by diſcourſes I have ſo far prevailed with the moſt eminent of this place, that they know it yet lays in their power to give a check not only to Monk, but to what party ſoever they ſhall preſume to impoſe upon them in this work. Alderman Robinſon hath been the moſt uſeful, and it was he only that cauſed that clauſe of " convening a full and free parliament," according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, to be inſerted in the Declaration. The laſt letter from Monk diſpleaſed them, but private inſtructions by the ſword-bearer give them freſh hopes. Browne is wholly off from the rigid ſcore, and he and alderman Robinſon and Langham have raiſed 15,000l. which Ingoldſby is to manage to take off a part of the ſtanding army, upon which we are alſo to appear. If this ſucceeds, your majeſty will be reſtored without terms; and, if my lord Mancheſter and others of his cabal prevent it not, I have all the reaſon in the world to hope it may. I have ſpoken with major Wood, and inſtructed him as well as I can, and I have conſtant meetings twice a day with

Robinſon, ſo that I do not only engage for him in this affair, but will be reſponſible for Ingoldſby in all he undertakes, that he ſhall purely and clearly act as your majeſty ſhall command him, or as the commiſſioners ſhall direct. It now appears his intereſt is the greateſt of any man's in England, except Monk's, who is at the head of an army. This, Sir, I am poſitive in, and will be anſwerable for any failing on his part, as to his courage or cordialneſs in relation to your majeſty's intereſt. Browne and he act together, but neither are willing to treat with Mancheſter, who diſcouraged the laſt deſign. This night we come to a concluſion; our terms are four pounds for every horſeman, and two pounds for every foot ſoldier. As Browne and I ſhall agree, we ſhall engage or deſiſt, and that will be as the pulſe of the ſoldiers beats; for if we draw off four regiments, they will poſſeſs the gates till we embody, and then we hope your majeſty will think it a reaſonable undertaking. When I commend to your majeſty the complexion of the city, I mean the body both repreſentative and diffuſive; for the head, to wit, the court of aldermen, are generally naught, there being nineteen of the four and twenty purchaſers of crown and church lands, which, with other mercenary motives, make them a corrupt court.

The State *of the* Parliament *as I conceive.*

The preſent complexion of the parliament is very pale, Sir Arthur Haſlerig undermined by Cooper, Morley, and Weaver, and from a rhodomonte is reduced to a pitiful rogue. Neville props him up, and that he may be yet ſuſtained, they both endeavour the introduction of Sir Henry Vane; the ſtrength of their argument receiving force from his being irreconcileable to your majeſty's intereſt and family; but all will not do, and therefore he diſowns them for a parliament, believing his being of it eſſential to its conſtitution. Cooper yet hath his tongue well hung, and words at will, and employs his rhetoric to caſhier all officers, civil as well as military, that ſided with Fleetwood, Lambert, and Morley, and rebukes all the ſectaries; thus thoſe two garble the army and ſtate. Neville oppoſeth theſe, and argues for liberty in ſo general a ſenſe, that he is *de nouveau* concluded an atheiſt. By a petition delivered by Lawſon they deſigned Sir Henry Vane's readmiſſion, but Lawſon was for a time ſuſpended from his charge upon this account. This evinceth the truth of an account of what I preſumed to tell your majeſty of Sir H. Vane's intereſt in the navy. The parties in the houſe are diametrically oppoſite; the three and twenty with Cooper, who acts Cicero, and ſome ſixteen with Neville, who repreſents Antony. Since the old ſpeaker ſays his conſtitution is ill, we conclude the parliament ſo, and believe Monk and he underſtand each other. Daily new leaks ſpring in this old rotten veſſel, and they have already loſt all the idolatrous reverence paid to parliaments. Sir Arthur Haſlerig accuſed Ingoldſby for being in arms in Sir George Booth's buſineſs, upon which, though he purged himſelf, he loſt the regiment he was courted to receive, and we ſo firm a foundation as that would have been to us. The laſt *joco di mano,* was the diſſention between the houſe and the council of ſtate; the firſt command Monk to march ſlowly thither with his whole army, the laſt command him to halt. I think I ſhall have little occaſion for the future to ſend your majeſty accounts of the Rump, believing it may be in an unſavory condition.

The State *of* Lambert's Army.

This body, being compoſed of ſectaries, libertines, and anabaptiſts, is prudently by Monk commanded into Scotland; where (if, his ambition blinding his reaſon, he ſets up on his own ſcore) they will be the moſt proper ſcourge for the preſbyter. And thus he may deſign the Scotch army, which he leads himſelf to ſubdue the ſectaries here. And thoſe lunatics, to keep in order the violent kirkmen, Morgan commands in nature of a major general. Their numbers are decreaſed, many following the example of their general, and perhaps reſolving to purſue his fortune, who is now very buſy here; and if from ſo ſmall a ſpark he raiſes a combuſtion, it will be the moſt wonderful change yet ſeen, and may in future ages paſs for a miracle.

The State *of* Monk's Army.

The general opinion (which always magnifies the ſucceſsful, and often unjuſtly condemns the unfortunate) is, that ſince this long and ſad rebellion, no army was ever ſo well diſciplined and officered as this; the numbers, by the beſt account I can truſt to, amount to 7000 horſe and foot. And it ſeems to me a wonder, in this weather, it gathers not like a ſnow-ball. What effect Monk's conference with Fairfax hath produced is not yet known; this night I expect it from Ruſhworth, his ſecretary; in the mean time we all change our opinion, and believe they have a good underſtanding, I mean in relation to what I wiſh. He brings 25,000l. along with him; thus his prudence maſters Lambert's choler, and certainly he had read Taſſo's

> Fu il vincer ſempre mai laudabil coſa,
> Vinca ſi pur d'ingegno o pur di forza.

He is now at Newark. I hope we make no ill concluſion when we ſuppoſe him ours, upon the ground of his giving commiſſion to the Fenwicks (ſecluded members) to buy a regiment of horſe, his giving the government of Newcaſtle to Eliſon, one of the ſame ſtamp, and his employing colonel Bethell, an honeſt lay elder as we call him. I can ſay little more of him, but that he is a black Monk, and I cannot ſee through him.

The State *of the* Army *here.*

That the whole or part is to be bought I hope to produce demonſtration; and, though the deſign hath taken air ſome weeks, yet I hope to ſee good effects from the conjunction of Browne, Ingoldſby, and Robinſon. The ſum of 15,000l. is raiſed for the preſent, but if not made uſe of in two days, the contract is null. The ſoldiers are independent of their officers, and by reaſon of the frequent changes, never permitted any officer to make himſelf beloved or popular; an agitator will do more in an hour than all the officers in a day, and they will either march or refuſe it, as the laſt impreſſion works upon them. Juſt now the gates are all ſecured, and the incloſed, from the earl of Crawford, makes me fear an ill change, and that Monk is a devil; but an attempt may prevent all, which, if it be found reaſonable, we will hazard, and leave the ſucceſs to your majeſty. I ſend the original from the earl.

The State *of the* Navy.

"It ſeems to be ſad, ſince ſick and poor are in conjunction; ſixteen frigates are yet kept out, elſe their clamour would ſtate their condition better than I can. I expect daily Mr. Bremes, and then I will venture on Lawſon myſelf. Mr. Ford is engaged by Rumbold, and his intereſt is great among the captains; ſo that, if the ſaints continue oppreſſed, I deſpair not of giving a better account than I am able at preſent to do. Fourteen of the firſt and ſecond rate lay at Rocheſter, but neither manned or tight; the arrears due on this account are vaſt; all theſe laid together, promiſes or money may do the work, but this I ſpeak not poſitively."

London, January 16, 1659-60.
An original.

We ſhall conclude our account of this valuable work with the inſertion of the two following letters; the firſt from the king to general Monk, in anſwer to one of the general's to his majeſty incloſing the addreſs and declaration of the army; the laſt, from the general to the king, on the recognition of his majeſty's title by both houſes of parliament.

The King *to General* Monk.

"General Monk,

"I WAS the laſt week diſpatching Bernard Grenville with my anſwer to yours of the 20th of laſt month, when, in the inſtant as he was departing, I received the good news of what was done on May-day, upon the reception of my letters and declaration in the two houſes, which made moſt of what I had writ to you unneceſſary to be ſent, and ſo I kept the meſſenger ſtill here. I have ſince received yours of the 5th by ſir Thomas Clarges, with the addreſs the officers of the army made to you, upon which I ſhall not enlarge till the return of the ſame meſſenger. I have likewiſe another from you of the ſame date; upon all which, beſides the great miracles which God Almighty hath wrought upon the hearts of the nation, I muſt ever acknowledge your extraordinary affection to me, and your very diſcreet conduct of this great work, in which you have had to do with perſons of ſuch different humours and contrary affections, which you have wonderfully compoſed. And yet you cannot but expect that there are many perſons ſtill contriving the ſame miſchiefs againſt me and you, and who muſt be rather ſuppreſſed by your authority and power, than won and reconciled by your indulgence; and, it may be, a little ſeverity towards ſome would ſooner reduce the reſt than any thing you can elſe do. You may be moſt confident, and I do again renew my promiſe to you, for the performance of which you may engage your life, that I will make good whatever you have found neceſſary to promiſe to thoſe of your army who have and ſhall adhere to you to make your buſineſs the more eaſy; and I am moſt confident, if I were with you, I ſhould in a much ſhorter time ſatisfy them, and put them into a full ſecurity, than will be done by thoſe formal ways which I hear ſome men endeavour to go about, and in which many obſtructions will be found, which I could eaſily remove and prevent; and if any courſe be taken, in which a juſt diſcontent remains with any, and juſtice itſelf be wounded, the foundation is not well laid for a laſting ſecurity. I am confident I ſhall prevent all inconveniences of this kind when I am with you, which I muſt conjure you to haſten by all your intereſt. And I tell you again, I will not leave myſelf bread, rather than every thing ſhall not be performed which you promiſe to your officers and ſoldiers on my behalf. I am confident you know there hath been, and is ſtill, a cabal which endeavours to infuſe and keep alive all ill humours and diſſatisfaction in the army and in the houſes, to obſtruct and defer my being ſent for, which, by the bleſſing of God, can only put an end to all diſtempers; and therefore I muſt conjure you to uſe all your intereſt for the removal of all thoſe obſtructions, and all unneceſſary formalities, which may retard my coming. And you may be as confident, as of any thing in this world, that if it were in my power to recede from any thing I have promiſed in my declaration or letters, I would as much abhor the doing it as any wickedneſs that can be imagined; and ſurely a full and general ſecurity, which no man is more ſolicitous to eſtabliſh than I am, can never be ſo well provided for as by my preſence with you, which, by God's bleſſing, would diſappoint all ill deſigns which are contrived againſt me and you, and the peace of the nation. I expect within few days the arrival of the commiſſioners from the parliament, and for their better reception and accommodation, this town being already too full, I reſolve to accept the ſtate's invitation, and to go on Monday or Tueſday next to the Hague, as the neareſt and moſt commodious place from whence I may embark, for which you will eaſily believe I have longing enough, that I may ſee you, and let the world ſee the ſenſe I have of the great ſervice you have done for

Yours, &c."

May 21, 1660.
An original.

General Monk *to the* King.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"TUESDAY laſt I attended your majeſty's two houſes of parliament to proclaim the recognition of your royal right unto your imperial crowns. By the univerſal joy in the performance, it appeared that God hath given to your ſcepter the hearts of your people; who, though they have been by neceſſity and force agitated to different points, yet, like a needle truly touched, reſt only in this magnetic determination towards your majeſty; whoſe royal heart, touched with the divine grace, I am ſure is fixed to make it the glory of your majeſty to advance the crown and ſcepter of our Lord Chriſt, and that under you all your people may lead a peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty.

"This bearer, major Robert Harley, whoſe faithful endeavours have not been wanting to your majeſty's ſervice, will acquaint your majeſty with the deſires of your parliament for your majeſty's ſpeedy return into your dominions. To which I take the boldneſs to add my humble opinion, that now your majeſty's jeſty's preſence and authority is very neceſſary to preſerve that happy peace your realms enjoy through divine goodneſs.

"That your majeſty may enjoy many years of glorious reign is the cordial prayer of, moſt gracious ſovereign,

Your majeſty's, &c."

St. James's, May 10, 1660.
An original.

The following Report was by Miſtake omitted in the State Papers *for this Year, and is therefore inſerted here.*

The Sixth Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.

Preſented to the Houſe of Commons on the 11th of February, 1782.

IN purſuance of the directions of the act by which we are appointed, our attention has hitherto been engaged, principally in marking the delay which affects the public money in its paſſage, either from the pocket of the ſubject into the Exchequer, or from the Exchequer back again into the poſſeſſion of the perſon who becomes entitled to it; but of ſtill greater importance to the public is the diminution it ſuffers in its progreſs.

Intent upon the object pointed out to us by the act, as the firſt for our conſideration, namely, that the public might avail themſelves, as ſoon as poſſible, of the balances in the hands of accountants; we have, in the offices that have as yet come under our examination, applied ourſelves chiefly to the inveſtigation of theſe balances, and reported upon them with as much expedition as we were able; adding only ſuch ſuggeſtions of immediate regulation as aroſe out of the ſubject, and occurred to us in the courſe of that inveſtigation, but deferring, as a matter ſeparate and diſtinct, the execution of that part of the act which directs us "to report an exact ſtate of the fees or gratuities paid or given in collecting, iſſuing, expending, and accounting for the public monies, and the authority under which ſuch fees and gratuities are paid or received."

In the courſe of our examination into the office of the paymaſter-general of the forces, we obſerved in the account of the payments made by him out of the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and one day's pay, for the year 1778, annexed to our laſt report, No. 7, a charge of 32,557l. 7s. 10d. paid for fees at the Exchequer. So large a ſum of fees paid by one officer, to one office, in one year, demanded our attention, and led us to require from this office the ſum total of the fees paid at the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, by the paymaſter-general of the forces, during the year 1780; the accounts of that year being then under our conſideration.

By the return made to that requiſition, it appears that theſe fees, in the year 1780, amounted to 39,198l. 6s. 10d.; and that they conſiſted of a poundage on the money iſſued.

As the annual ſupplies laſt year exceeded that of all former years, and may increaſe, and all poundage fees on thoſe ſupplies will increaſe in proportion, we thought it incumbent upon us to proceed to an immediate examination into the article of fees, and of the principles upon which they are founded; to the intent, that, ſhould they be deemed a ſubject worthy the interpoſition of the legiſlature, the public may not remain without the benefit of a ſpeedy remedy for a preſſing and increaſing evil.

We have had under our examination two offices of large public expenditure; the pay-office of the navy, and the pay-office of the army. To each of theſe we iſſued our precepts for an exact ſtate of the ſalaries, fees, and gratuities, received by the reſpective officers and clerks in thoſe offices, from the 24th of December, 1779, to the 25th of December, 1780, with the amount thereof received by each officer and clerk, during the ſaid period.

To the ſeveral branches of the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, that is to ſay, to the auditor, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, the chamberlains, the uſher, and the paymaſters of exchequer bills, we iſſued the like precepts; and returns were made to us from all theſe offices.

We have thought it expedient, in the courſe of this enquiry, where the office is not executed by the principal officer, but by his deputy, or firſt clerk, to examine the latter only, as probably beſt qualified to give us the information we wanted. We have omitted likewiſe, as more minute than neceſſary, to examine thoſe inferior officers and clerks who receive ſmall ſalaries only, or inconſiderable fees.

As our account of the emoluments of theſe offices is taken in a year of the moſt expenſive war, we have required and ſtated, where we have been able to obtain it, the net produce of each office in time of peace.

At the cloſe of our examination into each office, we have ſtated, and inſerted in the appendix, an account of the ſalaries, allowances, fees, and gratuities, diſtinguiſhed under their ſeveral heads, and the total amount thereof received by each officer and clerk in that office, with the ſums paid for taxes, and other diſburſements; and the net produce to each officer and clerk, during the year 1780; and diſtinguiſhing, as far as appeared to us, without entering into too long an examination, to what amount each office is a charge upon the public, the civil liſt, and individuals. But we muſt at the ſame time remark, that moſt of the ſums for fees and gratuities, ſtated by us as paid by individuals, are ultimately paid by, and a charge upon, either the civil liſt or the public. This latter diſtinction we have made, not conſidering the intereſt of the crown as ſeparate from the intereſt of the public; but becauſe the ſavings, if ſuch there ſhould be, will in the one caſe, fall into the fund appropriated for the ſupport of his majeſty's civil government, and in the other, into the ſinking fund.

We have diſtinguiſhed the taxes paid by the officers, that is, the land-tax, and the one ſhilling and ſix penny duties, from their other diſburſements; becauſe the charge of the public, in ſupporting theſe offices, is leſſened by as much of theſe taxes as get back again into the Exchequer. But, not being able eaſily to diſcover what diminution they ſuffer in their progreſs, we have only ſtated the amount of them, without deducting them from the expence of the public.

From the return of the pay-office of the navy, and from the examinations of the right hon. Welbore Ellis, treaſurer of the navy; Andrew Douglas, eſq. his paymaſter; John Slade, eſq. firſt clerk in the caſhier's branch; Adam Jellicoe, eſq. firſt clerk in the pay branch; George Swaffield, eſq. caſhier; Mr. John Fennell, chief clerk, and Mr. Robert Walker, ſecond clerk in the victualling branch, we obtained the following information relative to the profits accruing to the officers and clerks in this office.

The buſineſs in the pay-office of the navy is tranſacted by the treaſurer, the paymaſter, and thirty-five officers and clerks, nine of which are in the caſhier's branch, twenty in the pay branch, and ſix in the victualling branch.

The profits of theſe officers conſiſt of ſix heads—ſalaries; allowances for extra ſervices, and for telling money at the Bank; perquiſites of odd pence; for caſting defalcations; and for entering probates and other inſtruments.

The treaſurer and his paymaſter are paid by ſalaries only, and have no other fee or gratuity whatever. The officers and clerks receive ſalaries, and alſo the allowances and perquiſites above mentioned.

The treaſurer is appointed by the crown, and holds his office during pleaſure. He receives a ſalary of two thouſand pounds a-year, reduced, by the payment of the one ſhilling and ſixpenny duties, to 1,850l. He appoints the paymaſter, and all the other officers and clerks in the office.

The paymaſter has a ſalary of 500l. a-year, reduced by the ſame duties to 462l. 10s. He executes alſo the offices of caſhier and accountant, for which he receives no additional ſalary or emolument whatever.

The ſalaries of the other officers and clerks are from forty to eighty pounds a-year, according to their ſeveral employments. Beſides which, they have the allowances and perquiſites following.

An allowance for extra ſervice, which is made to thoſe clerks who attend the payment of wages and the yards, and who complete what are called the full books for payment of the ſhips and yards. This allowance is intended to defray their travelling expences, and as a recompence for their extra trouble. The rate at which it is paid is ſeven ſhillings a day for the number of days in which each clerk is ſo employed.

An allowance for telling money at the Bank is a poundage, at the rate of five ſhillings for every thouſand pounds, allowed by the navy board to thoſe clerks who receive money at the Bank for the payment of the ſhips and yards; in conſequence of which allowance, each clerk is accountable for any deficiency there may be either in the weight or tale of the money he receives.

The odd pence is a perquiſite to thoſe officers and clerks, who are employed in making payments. Thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to pay perfect bills, the navy courſe, and bills drawn by the navy and ſick and hurt boards, pay the even money only upon theſe bills, and retain to themſelves the odd pence under a ſhilling. Thoſe who are employed in the payment of the officers, ſeamen, and artificers in the dock-yards, retain the odd pence under ſix-pence; in conſideration of which, they are all bound to make good any miſtakes they may make in their payments.

The perquiſite for caſting defalcations, is a gratuity, uſually at the rate of one guinea by the hundred pounds, paid by the chaplains, ſurgeons, and purſers of the navy, to the officer who caſts and pays to them their ſeveral ſhares of the deductions made from the ſeamen's wages.

The perquiſite for entering probates of wills, letters of adminiſtration, and warrants of attorney, is a fee of two ſhillings and ſix pence each entry, paid to the clerk in whoſe department it lies to regiſter theſe inſtruments.

The ſalaries and allowances for extra-ſervices, and for telling money at the Bank, are paid, for the moſt part, quarterly, by bills aſſigned by the navy or victualling boards upon the treaſurer, out of money received by him, either to pay ſalaries, or from old ſtores, or under ſome other head of ſervice ſpecified in the aſſignments; and conſequently all theſe are paid by the public.

The perquiſites are either detained out of ſums due to particular perſons, or paid by thoſe who apply to have their buſineſs tranſacted at the office; and therefore do not come out of the public purſe, but from the pockets of individuals.

The authority upon which the receipt of the ſeveral profits of this office is grounded, is either an order of the privy-council, or uſage.

By an order of the privy-council, dated the 25th of May, 1699, the ſalary of the treaſurer of the navy is ſettled at two thouſand pounds a year; that of his paymaſter, at five hundred pounds; that of his accountant, at four hundred pounds; and the ſalaries of thirteen clerks, ſeven at eighty pounds each, and ſix at forty pounds each; and in the ordinary eſtimate of the navy, voted by parliament every year, are inſerted allowances—to the treaſurer of the navy, two thouſand pounds; to his paymaſter and caſhier, five hundred pounds; to twenty-two clerks, ſix of them eighty pounds, nine fifty pounds, and ſeven forty pounds each. But an increaſe of the buſineſs in this office for theſe late years, has rendered it neceſſary to increaſe the clerks to the preſent number, thirty-five; and to every increaſe the conſent of the navy-board is neceſſary.

The allowances and perquiſites are ſuch as have been uſually paid and taken by the officers and clerks in their ſeveral departments, as far back as the memory of the oldeſt officers, now employed in this office, reaches.

From the account ſet forth in the appendix, it appears, that the groſs amount of the emoluments received in the pay-office of the navy, was 8,150l. 10s. ½d.; of which the ſalaries, allowances for extra-ſervice, and for telling money at the Bank, amounting to 6,545l. 4s. 8d. was paid by the public; and the reſidue, being 1,605l. 5s. 4½d. by individuals; the nêt receipt of this office was 7,938l. ½d.

By the return made to us from the pay-office of the army, and the examinations of the right hon. Richard Rigby, paymaſter-general of the forces; Timothy Caſwall, eſq. deputy paymaſter; John Powell, eſq. caſhier; Charles Bembridge, eſq. accountant; John Adam Frederick Heſſe, eſq. ledger-keeper; Thomas Bangham, eſq. computer of off-reckonings; Robert Randoll, eſq. caſhier of half-pay; and Richard Moleſworth, eſq. entering clerk; we received the following account of the ſalaries paid to, and the fees and gratuities taken by, the officers and clerks in the pay-office of the army.

This office conſiſts of the paymaſter-general, his deputy, a caſhier, an accountant, a ledger-keeper, a computer of off-reckonings, a caſhier of half-pay, and an entering clerk, with eight inferior clerks, an office-keeper, a houſe-keeper, and two meſſengers; and nine deputy paymaſters abroad.

The paymaſter-general appoints his deputies, and all the officers and clerks employed in his office: they are all paid by ſalaries or allowances, fees and gratuities.

The paymaſter-general, his deputy, the inferior officers and clerks, and deputy paymaſters abroad, have certain ſalaries or allowances only; the ſix officers who are next to the deputy paymaſter, receive ſalaries, fees, and gratuities.

The paymaſter-general is appointed by letters patent under the great ſeal, during pleaſure; he receives four annual allowances as paymaſter-general of the forces, and one as treaſurer of Chelſea hoſpital: the four are, 3,000l. as the particular ſalary belonging to his office, 1,760l. for the payment of clerks, 600l. for ~~the contingent~~ expences of his office, and twenty ſhillings a day as one of the ſtaff upon the eſtabliſhment; the other allowance is twenty ſhillings a day as treaſurer of Chelſea hoſpital. The amount of theſe allowances is 6,092l.: out of which he paid for himſelf and officers, in taxes, 962l. 19s. 9d.; to clerks 1707l.; and for the contingent diſburſements of his office, 360l. 7s. 8d.; making together 3,030l. 7s. 5d. which reduced his clear receipt to 3,061l. 12s. 7d.

The deputy paymaſter has two ſalaries, of 500l. a year each; one reduced, by the one ſhilling and ſixpenny duties, to 462l. 10s. the other paid without deduction; together, clear, 962l. 10s.

The ſix following officers are thoſe who have fees and gratuities as well as ſalaries.

The caſhier receives a ſalary of 200l. a year, reduced by the one ſhilling duty to 190l.; and an additional annual allowance of 270l. paid to him without deduction. His fees and gratuities amounted to 6,715l. 19s. 6d. which, with his ſalaries, made his clear receipt 7,175l. 19s. 6d. But, as theſe fees are not always paid at the time the buſineſs is done, this ſum, though received in the year 1780, may include fees that accrued in a preceding year; it certainly does not include the fees for all the buſineſs done by him in that year; the remitters had not paid him their fees upon the warrants for the remittances iſſued to them after the month of Febrary, 1780; and it appears from an account of thoſe remittances, extracted from the account of the extraordinary ſervices incurred by the paymaſter-general of the forces for the year 1780, that the ſum iſſued to them between the 1ſt of March, and the 31ſt of December, in that year, was 2,312,830l.; the fees upon which being at the rate of one guinea by the thouſand pounds, amount to 2,427l. 12s. and being divided equally between the caſhier and accountant, would have added 1,213l. 16s. to the receipt of each, and would have increaſed that of the caſhier to 8,389l. 15s. 6d.

The ſalary of the accountant is 150l. a year, reduced by the one ſhilling duty to 142l. 10s. He received in fees 1,358l. 17s. 9d.; which, added to his ſalary, makes his clear receipt to have been 1,501l. 7s. 9d. Had the remitters paid all their fees, it had been increaſed by the addition of 1,213l. 16s. to the ſum of 2,715l. 3s. 9d.

The ledger-keeper's ſalary is 100l. a year; beſides which, he receives annually 80l. from the computer of off-reckonings, and 100l. from the caſhier of half-pay: his fees amounted to 394l. 16s. making, all together, 674l. 16s. He paid out of this ſum, for taxes, fifteen pounds; to his deputy eighty pounds; and to another aſſiſtant fifty pounds; together, 145l. which reduced his net receipt to 529l. 16s. The preſent ledger-keeper has, by reaſon of his age and infirmities, executed his office by deputy, ever ſince his appointment in 1765.

The computer of off-reckonings has no other ſalary but that of eighty pounds, which he pays to the ledger-keeper; his net profits aroſe from his fees, which amounted to 1,038l. 5s. 6d.

The caſhier of half-pay receives eighty pounds a year ſalary; the total of his fees was 617l. 5s.; together, 697l. 5s.: out of which he paid, for taxes, fourteen pounds, and to the ledger-keeper one hundred pounds; this reduced his clear receipt to 583l. 5s.

Sixty pounds is the ſalary of the entering-clerk, which, with 1,448l. 15s. 4d. received by fees, made his groſs receipt 1,508l. 15s. 4d.; reduced, by 10l. 10s. paid for taxes, to 1,498l. 5s. 4d.

The other clerks are paid from fifty to one hundred pounds a-year, according to their ſtations and employments in the office, and receive no fees or gratuities whatever.

The deputy paymaſters abroad are paid an allowance, ſix of them thirty ſhillings a day, and three of them three pounds a day.

The fees received by theſe officers are as various as the buſineſs they execute; each has fees peculiar to his branch: they conſiſt, ſome of them, of a poundage upon the ſums contained in warrants brought for payment, and in receipts; others, of certain ſums per regiment, paid either annually or upon tranſacting particular branches of the regimental buſineſs; others of them are certain ſums for reports, certificates, receipts, entries, or other articles of official buſineſs.

The gratuities are voluntary donations upon the payment of warrants, or for creating ſome trouble to the office; and are given to officers of the department where the buſineſs is tranſacted.

It appears from the account of the payments made by the paymaſter-general, out of the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and one day's pay, for the year 1780, that the ſalary and allowances to the paymaſter-general (except the twenty ſhillings a-day on the ſtaff) and the two additional ſalaries to the deputy and caſhier, and the allowances to the deputy-paymaſters abroad, are paid out of the deductions

tions of twelve-pence in the pound; the twenty ſhillings a day on the ſtaff, is paid to him, in like manner as the general and ſtaff-officers in Great Britain are paid; out of the money granted for the ordinary ſervices of the army: all theſe payments are therefore a charge upon the public. The paymaſter-general himſelf pays the other ſalaries, out of the ſum of 1,760l. allowed him for that purpoſe. The fees and gratuities are paid by the remitters, contractors, agents, and perſons whoſe buſineſs brings them to the office, and therefore come immediately out of their pockets, though much the greateſt part of them ultimately fall upon the public.

Uſage of office is the general ground upon which theſe ſeveral payments reſt, except in the two inſtances of the additional allowances to the deputy and the caſhier, which are founded on ſpecial circumſtances. The five hundred pounds a year addition to the deputy, is paid to him by a warrant, dated 18th March, 1774; it commenced on the 10th October, 1771, and is to continue as long as he holds this office. The ground ſtated in the warrant is, that the then emoluments of the office were not an adequate compenſation for his trouble, care, and fidelity: his predeceſſors in this office had not this additional ſalary; for they enjoyed, at the ſame time, what the preſent deputy had not, other appointments under the crown.

The warrant for the payment of the additional two hundred and ſeventy pounds a year to the caſhier, is dated the 10th of July, 1765, and ſtates it to be made to him for his trouble, care, diligence, and fidelity, in the execution of the buſineſs committed to his charge.

The allowance to the paymaſter-general of twenty ſhillings a day upon the ſtaff, is voted annually upon the eſtabliſhment, and, together with the twenty ſhillings a day as treaſurer of Chelſea hoſpital, is inſerted in his letters-patent: all the ſalaries and allowances paid to him are ſuch as have been allowed to his predeceſſors in this office; and all the ſalaries, fees, and gratuities, received by the officers and clerks, and deputy-paymaſters, are the ſame as have been paid to, and received by, thoſe who have gone before them.

From the account in the appendix it appears, that the groſs amount of the emoluments received in this office, was 25,108l. 19s. 1d.; the net amount was 23,561l. 1s. 8d. The ſum of 13,450l. received for ſalaries and allowances, was paid by the public: the ſum of 11,573l. 19s. 1d. for fees and gratuities, was paid by individuals.

There is moreover another gratuity given to the officers and clerks in each of theſe pay-offices, upon paſſing the final accounts of a treaſurer and paymaſter-general in the office of the auditor of the impreſt. This gratuity is craved of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, by a memorial from the reſpective officers and clerks in each office, as a compenſation for their trouble in carrying on and making up the accounts of a treaſurer and paymaſter-general after his reſignation. The quantum of it bears ſome proportion to the total ſum contained in the account to be paſſed. It is allowed to them by a treaſury-warrant, out of the balance remaining in the hands of the accountant,

countant, and is therefore paid out of a public fund. Theſe allowances have been made ever ſince the Revolution, and, by the accounts of them from that period, tranſmitted to us from theſe offices, it appears, that in the pay-office of the navy, the inſtances of theſe gratuities, from the year 1688 to the year 1772, when the laſt accounts of Mr. Dodington, ending in the year 1756, were paſſed, are ſeventeen, and amount to 54,162l. 17s. 9¼d. And in the pay-office of the army, the inſtances from the ſame year, to the year 1770, when the accounts of lord Darlington, and others, ending 24th June, 1757, were paſſed, are nine, and amount to 46,112l. 18s.; making together 100,275l. 15s. 9¼d. paid by the public during that period, in theſe gratuities.

In the Exchequer, ſix offices came under our examination; namely, the auditor of the receipt, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, the chamberlains, the uſher, and the paymaſters of exchequer bills. There are ſome circumſtances common to them all; ſalaries or allowances, fees, and gratuities, are the heads under which may be ranged the profits of all the officers and clerks.

The gratuities are uſual voluntary donations, either from public offices or individuals: the yearly accounts are made up to Michaelmas eve; and therefore the accounts of the receipts and payments for the year 1780, which is the year we are enquiring into, are made up to the Michaelmas of that year.

In the firſt five of theſe offices, the principal appoints the deputy and clerks. The firſt four of them have tables hung up in each office, by which their fees are regulated; theſe fees conſiſt either of a poundage, or of certain payments for particular articles of buſineſs tranſacted in each office, and are paid by the perſons either paying in, or receiving money out of the exchequer, or applying for their particular buſineſs.

The return made to our precept by the duke of Newcaſtle, auditor of the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer, and the examinations of Edward Wilford, eſq. his firſt clerk, and of Mr. William Jones, the tally-writer, ſupplied us with a knowledge of the ſtate of the emoluments received by the officers and clerks in this branch of the Exchequer, the buſineſs of which is tranſacted by the auditor and twenty-three fixed clerks, with other occaſional aſſiſtants when wanted.

The auditor is appointed for life, by a conſtitution under the hands and ſeals of the commiſſioners of the treaſury. All the exchequer bills, orders, debentures, patents, and other inſtruments which paſs this office, are ſigned by him; the official profits are not received by himſelf, but by his firſt clerk, who accounts with him for them every month: he receives eleven annual allowances, enumerated in an account tranſmitted to us, and inſerted in the appendix, amounting to 3,766l. 1s.: he has a ſmall annual fee from the wardrobe, of 4l. 17s.; and is entitled to fees on the receipt of money into, and iſſue of money out of the Exchequer; the firſt amounted to 170l. 13s. 9d. the latter, to 12,554l. 2s. 6d. The ſum he received by fees for entering patents, and upon impreſt bills, was

39l. 5s.

59l. 5s. and in gratuities 345l. 7s.; the groſs amount of all which was 16,880l. 6s. 3d. Out of which ſum he made the following payments: for taxes, 872l. 12s.; to clerks, 1,662l. 10s.; for incidental expences of office, 329l. 2d.; together, 2,864l. 2s. 2d.; which reduced his clear receipt to 14,016l. 4s. 1d.

The firſt clerk has an annual allowance of 100l. and the clerk's fees, amounting to 3,001l. 16s. 8d.; his gratuities were, 142l. 17s.; making, together, 3,244l. 13s. 8d.; reduced, by payments for taxes, clerks, and incidental expences, to 2,752l. 3s. 6d.

The reſt of the clerks have ſalaries, in proportion to their rank and employment, paid to them either by the auditor, or his firſt or other clerks: they have fees likewiſe and gratuities of various kinds; and out of what they receive, make various payments. An account of all which, as tranſmitted to us from this office, is inſerted in the appendix.

The foundation of theſe allowances and fees, and the authority under which they are claimed and paid, are as follows:

Upon the king's acceſſion, a certificate is tranſmitted from the auditor's office to the treaſury, purſuant to their requiſition, conſiſting of two liſts; one containing the ſeveral fees, ſalaries, and allowances, that have by ancient cuſtom, letters patent, conſtitutions, or other authorities, been paid to the officers and miniſters of the Exchequer, either in right of their offices or employments, or in reward for their ſervice; the other containing the fees, ſalaries, or allowances, that have been ſettled and allowed them for their labour and expence in managing and performing the buſineſs of the annuities payable at the Exchequer. This certificate is ſent back to the Exchequer, annexed to a warrant directed to the auditor, authoriſing him to draw orders or paſs debentures for paying, from time to time, in the uſual manner, and at the accuſtomed times, to the officers, the ſums in the certificate mentioned; the firſt liſt, amounting to 1,801l. 9s. out of the money applicable to his majeſty's civil government; the other, amounting to 5,900l. out of the reſpective funds applicable to the payment of the annuities.

This warrant ſtates the authority, under which the treaſury iſſued it, to be, as to the firſt liſt, either the letters patent, conſtitutions, or authorities, whereby the officers hold their employments, or the general letters patent dormant (by which the king empowers them to make variety of payments, therein deſcribed, out of the civil liſt); and, as to the ſecond liſt, either the powers given to them by the reſpective acts of parliament relative to annuities, or any other power in them being.

In this certificate are contained the eleven allowances made to the auditor: the two firſt of them, amounting to 460l. 3s. 4d. are in the firſt liſt, and paid to him in right of his office: the other nine, making 3,305l. 17s. 8d. are in the ſecond liſt, and paid to him as a recompence for his trouble in the buſineſs of the annuities, by virtue of the power veſted in the treaſury by the ſeveral acts, to provide for the charges of management.

The fees of the auditor, upon the

receipt of money, are: 1ſt, about one fourth part of the tally-court fees; of which fourth, his clerk attending in the tally-court has a ſhare: 2dly, part of a ſum allowed by the treaſury to ſome of the exchequer officers for the tallies of loan which are exempt from fees.

The fees upon the iſſue are, a poundage upon money iſſued for certain ſervices, not for all ſervices. In the year 1780, the ſum on which the poundage fees were paid was near eight millions: upwards of twenty-two millions more were iſſued in that year, for which neither the auditor nor his clerks received any fees whatever. The other fees are, certain payments for tranſacting particular kinds of buſineſs. All theſe fees are regulated by a table, ſpecifying, both for the auditor and his clerks, the rate, where it is a poundage, otherwiſe the *quantum*, of each fee: this table is for the moſt part grounded upon uſage, recogniſed as ancient by the barons of the Exchequer in the year 1692, as to thoſe fees the ſubject matter of which exiſted at that time; and acquieſced in, as to thoſe fees the ſubject matter of which is of a date ſubſequent to that year.

By an act, paſſed in the 3d year of William and Mary, the officers of the Exchequer were prohibited from taking any other fees, for the receiving or iſſuing the ſupplies granted by that or any other act of parliament, except ſuch ancient and legal fees as ſhould be allowed to be ſo by the barons of the court of Exchequer; who were required to preſent to both houſes of parliament, at the next ſeſſions, a table of fees, to be by them allowed as ancient and legal. The barons, in purſuance of this power, made a report, containing the table required: this report is enrolled in the office of the king's remembrancer: a copy of it is inſerted in the appendix; it comprehends the fees to be taken upon the receipt and iſſue of money in the offices of the auditor, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, and the tally court; and is the rule, though the act is long ſince expired, by which they are governed at this day, except in ſome few inſtances, where uſage, ſince that report, has introduced variations; one of which is, by the barons report the whole of the fees paid to the officers of the Exchequer, upon the iſſue of money for the army ſervices in general, was three halfpence in the pound; but, ever ſince the year 1744, a difference has been made between the iſſue for the ordinary and extraordinary ſervices; the fees for the firſt continue at three halfpence; thoſe for the latter are reduced to one penny only in the pound.

Theſe payments come out of different funds. The two firſt allowances to the auditor, the treaſury allowance for the tallies of loan, the wardrobe fee, and the allowance to the firſt clerk, which is included in the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate, are paid out of the civil liſt; the other nine allowances are paid out of the funds created by the ſeveral acts, and therefore out of the public money. The fees of the tally-court, and from iſſues, and for other buſineſs, are paid immediately by individuals; but all the Exchequer fees paid on the iſſues for the army ſervices, amounting, in the year 1780, to 39,198l. 7s. 10d.

7s. 10d. are charged by the paymaſter general of the forces upon the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and therefore paid by the public. Of the ſum of 7,980,340l. on the iſſue of which fees were paid, 7,311,732l. part thereof, was money belonging to the public; 668,608l. other part, was out of the civil liſt.

From the account in the appendix, it appears, that the total ſum received in this office, was 21,273l. 16s.; the net ſum was 19,880l. 16s. 4d.: the ſum of 13,708l. 12s. 1d. was paid by the public; 1,116l. 7s. 5d. out of the civil liſt; and 6,448l. 16s. 6d. by individuals.

From the return made to us by the right hon. Sir Edward Walpole, clerk of the pells, and the examinations of Edward Roberts, eſq. his deputy and firſt clerk, and Mr. Henry Thomas, clerk of the introitus, we learned the ſtate of the profits received by the officers and clerks in this office; which office conſiſts of the clerk of the pells, his deputy and firſt clerk, and fourteen inferior clerks.

The clerk of the pells is appointed for life, by a conſtitution under the hands and ſeals of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, to exerciſe his office either by himſelf or deputy. In conſequence of this privilege, it has not been uſual, for many years, for the clerk of the pells to execute any part of the buſineſs himſelf; the deputy tranſacts the whole, and receives and accounts with his principal for all the profits that belong to him. The clerk of the pells receives thirteen diſtinct allowances, ſet forth in the return, amounting to 1,603l. 0s. 11d. paid to him by order or debenture. One of them, 61l. 13s. 4d. is inſerted in his conſtitution, and is, together with ſix more, making 306l. 1s. 8d. included in the firſt liſt in the Exchequer certificate, and therefore payable out of the civil liſt: the remaining ſix, amounting to 1,235l. 5s. 11d. are in the ſecond liſt, and therefore payable out of the reſpective annuity funds. His fees upon the receipt conſiſt of about one-fourth part both of the tally-court fees and of the treaſury allowance for the tallies of loan; a certain part of both of which is appropriated to his clerk of the introitus. His ſhare of theſe fees and allowances came to 194l. 5s. 10½d. His fees on the iſſue are, like thoſe of the auditor, a poundage, at different rates for different ſervices, paid by the perſons receiving, according to a table hung up in the office, taken, and varying but little from the barons report; and according to the ſame table, ſome ancient fees are taken for the entries, enrollments, and examinations of certain inſtruments. All the above fees amounted to 7,700l. 2s. 8d. and his gratuities from the public offices, to 55l. 1s.; which made his groſs receipt 9,432l. 1s. 6½d.: out of which he paid 1,834l. 9s. 6d. The particulars of theſe payments are ſtated in a return inſerted in the appendix, and reduced his clear receipt to 7,597l. 12s. 0½d.

The deputy and firſt clerk has a ſalary of 420l. a year paid to him by his principal: his fees are, a poundage upon one head of iſſue only, that is, the iſſue on annuities, penſions, &c. at the rate ſtated in the barons report; and alſo ſome other ſmall fees and gratuities enumerated in the account of the officers and clerks fees in the appendix, amounting to 283l. 6s. 1d. Theſe two ſums were reduced, by the payment of 22l. for taxes, to the net ſum of 681l. 6s. 1d.

The clerk of the introitus has a ſhare of the tally-court fees, and of the treaſury allowance, and ſome other ſmall fees, allowances, and gratuities; the whole producing 348l. 9s. 9½d.; reduced, by 9l. 7s. for taxes, to 339l. 2s. 9½d.

The reſt of the clerks have ſalaries, from 50l. to 120l. paid them by the principal, and a few of them ſome ſmall fees and gratuities.

From a ſtate of the total received and paid in this office, the ſum received was 10,269l. 19s. 2½d.; the net ſum 9,543l. 13s. 9½d.: the ſum paid by the public, 5,964l. 4s. 9d.; out of the civil liſt, 752l. 1s. 3½d.; and from individuals, 3,553l. 13s. 2d.

From the return made to our precept, and the examinations of Daniel Wray, William Price, Richard Welles, and Charles Townſhend, eſqrs. the deputies and firſt clerks of the right hon. earl of Hardwicke, the earl of Northington, earl Temple, and the hon. John Jeffreys Pratt, the four tellers of the Exchequer, we obtained an account of the emoluments received in this office.

The tellers is one office in four diviſions; each conſiſting of a teller, a deputy and firſt clerk, two offices executed by the ſame perſon, a ſecond clerk, and three inferior clerks; in all twenty-four perſons. The teller is appointed for life, by letters patent, which empower him to execute the office by deputy; and therefore the whole buſineſs of theſe offices is now, and long has been, tranſacted entirely by deputies. The teller himſelf executes no part of it; he does not collect his own profits; they are received and accounted for to him by his deputy.

Each teller receives yearly an ancient ſalary or fee belonging to his office; the ſenior 33l. 6s. 8d. the three juniors 31l. 13s. 4d. each. They have likewiſe ſix annual allowances from the treaſury for their trouble in paying the annuities, which are equally divided among the four: the ſhare of each is 339l. 14s. 1¼. Theſe ſalaries and allowances are in the Exchequer certificate; the ſalaries in the firſt liſt, the allowances in the ſecond. The tellers are paid nothing upon the receipt of money; their fees ariſe from the iſſue, and conſiſt of a poundage on iſſues, not for all, but for certain ſervices, and different for different ſervices, according to rates ſpecified in the table of fees ſtated in the return, and taken from the barons report, but varying from it in the rate on the iſſues for the extraordinaries of the army, as before mentioned, and on the iſſues for penſions, and ſome other ſervices, which, though ſubject to fees in that report, are ſince exempted by acts of parliament. Theſe fees are divided equally amongſt the four tellers; and the ſhare of each was 7,038. 15s. 0½d. The ſum, on the iſſue of which theſe fees were taken, was near 16,000,000l.: the ſum, for which no fees were taken, was upwards of 14,000,000l. as being exempt either by acts of parliament, courteſy, or uſage. The ſum ſubject to fees in the office of the tellers exceeds the ſum ſubject to fees in the offices of the auditor, and clerk of the pells; for the barons report makes the ſum iſſued to the navy, (which in the year 1780 exceeded 6,000,000l.) and to the ordnance, liable in the one, and not in the other. The ſalary, and one-fourth part of the allowances and fees, which conſtitute the groſs receipt of the firſt teller, amounted to 7,409l. 17s. 1$\frac{3}{4}$d.; out of which he paid for clerks, taxes, gratuities, and incidental expences, 713l. 5s. 4$\frac{1}{4}$d; the remainder, being his net receipt, was 6,696l. 11s. 9$\frac{1}{2}$d.

The groſs receipt of the ſecond teller, conſiſting of the like articles, and alſo of 40l. for the rent of a houſe belonging to his office, was 7,450l. 2s. 5$\frac{3}{4}$d.: his payments for clerks, taxes, and incidents, were 772l. 16s. 6d.; which left him a net receipt of 6,677l. 5s. 11$\frac{3}{4}$d.

The groſs receipt of the third teller, was the like ſum: his payments were 742l. 17s.; which left him a clear balance of 6,707l. 5s. 5$\frac{3}{4}$d.; but the third teller, taking to himſelf a portion of his firſt clerk's fees, amounting to 1,108l. 15s. 7d. and all his ſecond clerk's fees (deducting the taxes), being 1,337l. 2s. 1d. his net receipt was 9,153l. 3s. 1$\frac{3}{4}$d.

The profits of the office of the fourth teller, (which were divided between Mr. Townſhend, the late teller, or his executors, and Mr. Pratt, who ſucceeded to this office May 21, 1780) were 7,511l. 3s. 7$\frac{3}{4}$d.: the deductions were 771l. 0s. 1d.; which reduced the clear receipt to 6,740l. 3s. 6$\frac{3}{4}$d. The articles compoſing theſe ſeveral receipts and deductions, and thoſe which follow relative to the clerks, are enumerated in the return tranſmitted to us from this office.

The deputy, as ſuch, has no profit whatever; but, as firſt clerk, he has fees both upon the receipt and iſſue: the fees upon the receipt are called bill-money, and are in conſideration of his writing the bills: they are paid according to an ancient table of fees uſed in the office, and ſtated in the return; not included in the barons report, becauſe that report relates to the ſupplies granted by that parliament only. This bill-money is divided equally among the four firſt clerks; the ſhare of each was 182l. 9s.

The fees upon the iſſue are, a poundage, after a certain rate, for certain ſervices, according to the barons report, ſimilar to that of the tellers, with the like variations and exemptions: theſe fees are divided into eight equal parts, and belong to the four firſt and the four ſecond clerks; the eighth part or ſhare of each was 1,379l. 12s. 1d. Each firſt clerk receives alſo annually, in gratuities from public offices, 46l. 4s. Theſe articles, of bill-money, fees, and gratuities, making together 1,608l. 5s. 1d. was the groſs receipt of the firſt clerks to the three junior tellers. The firſt clerk to the ſenior teller received more; he had the allowance of 339l. 14s. and 230l. out of the fees of the ſecond clerk, in conſideration of his paying the ſalaries of the three under clerks, and as an additional recompence for his care and trouble in the execution of his office. Theſe ſums increaſed his groſs receipt to 2,177l. 19s. 1d.: out of which he paid in taxes, for clerks, and other expences, 457l. 1s. reducing thereby his net receipt to 1,720l. 18s. 1d. The firſt clerk to the ſecond teller reduced his receipt of 1,608l. 5s. 1d. by the payment of 51l. 14s. for taxes and incidental expences, to 1,556l. 11s. 1d. The firſt clerk to the third teller paid in taxes and gratuities 53l. 5s. 6d.; the remaining ſum of 1,554l. 19s. 7d. he did not retain to his own uſe: he is allowed by his teller, for the execution of this office, a ſalary of 400l. a year, and the gratuities of 46l. 4s.; theſe he retains; but the reſidue, being 1,108l. 15s. 7d. he paid to the third teller. The firſt clerk to the fourth teller paid out of his receipt 53l. 5s. 6d. for taxes and gratuities, and, in addition to the ſalary of the ſenior under clerk, 37l. 12s. $0\frac{1}{4}$d. being at the rate of 100l. a year, from the 21ſt of May, the time of Mr. Pratt's appointment, to Michaelmas 1780. Theſe payments reduced his clear receipt to 1,517l. 7s. $6\frac{3}{4}$d.

The only profit appropriated to the office of the ſecond clerk, is the eighth part of the fees on the iſſues, which was 1,379l. 12s. 1d. The ſecond clerks to the firſt, ſecond, and third tellers, never attend the office, or tranſact any official buſineſs whatever; the firſt clerk receives the ſhare of the fees belonging to the ſecond, makes the uſual payments out of it, and pays the reſidue to ſuch perſon as the teller has named as his ſecond clerk, or otherwiſe to the teller himſelf. The payments out of the ſhare of the ſecond clerk to the firſt teller, were 42l. 15s. for taxes and incidents, and 230l. to the firſt clerk; the remainder, being 1,106l. 17s. 1d. was paid to the father of the ſecond clerk, who was under age.

Forty-two pounds fifteen ſhillings was the deduction out of the fees of the ſecond clerk to the ſecond teller: the remaining ſum of 1,336l. 17s. 1d. was paid to the ſecond clerk. The ſhare of the ſecond clerk to the third teller was reduced, by the payment of 42l. 10s. for taxes, to 1,337l. 2s. 1d. the whole of which was paid to the third teller himſelf.

The ſecond clerk in the remaining diviſion has been in a ſituation different from the reſt. During the time Mr. Townſhend was teller, his ſecond clerk attended the buſineſs of the office, who received the fees belonging to the ſecond clerk, ſubject only to the payment of the taxes; there were then but two clerks more employed: the ſhare of theſe fees that accrued in Mr. Townſhend's life-time was 801l. 2s. 1d.; out of which 26l. 10s. 6d. the proportion of taxes, being paid, the remaining 774l. 11s. 7d. was the net receipt of the ſecond clerk to Mr. Townſhend. The ſecond clerk appointed by the preſent teller has never attended; but, out of his fees, the ſenior of the under clerks, who was ſecond clerk to Mr. Townſhend, is allowed 400l. a year: his ſhare of the fees for the remainder of the year, was 578l. 10s.; out of which was paid 15l. 19s. 6d. for taxes, and 150l. 8s. $2\frac{3}{4}$d. being ſo much of the ſalary of 400l. as accrued between the time the teller was appointed and the Michaelmas following; the remainder, being 412l. 2s. $3\frac{1}{4}$d. was paid to the father of the teller.

The under clerks are paid by ſuch ſalaries as each teller thinks proper to allow them: they have no fees; but receive ſome ſmall gratuities, amounting in the year to about 20l. to each diviſion.

An account of the receipts and payments in this office ſhews the groſs receipt to be 41,772l. 14s. 5d. and the net, 38,138l. 13s. $2\frac{3}{4}$d.: 29,272l. 3s. 4d. is paid out of public money; 1,024l. 9s. out of the civil liſt; and 11,476l. 2s. 1d. by individuals.

A return was made to our precept from the chamberlain's office. We examined Abraham Farley and William Hammond, eſqrs. deputies on the receipt ſide, and James Galloway and George Roſe, eſqrs. deputies on the court ſide, to Montague Burgoyne, eſq. and the hon. Frederick North, the two chamberlains of the Exchequer. We received alſo a return from Thomas Lambe, eſq. tally-cutter, and examined Mr. Charles Alexander, his deputy.

This office conſiſts of three diviſions; the receipt ſide, or tally court; the court ſide; and the tally-cutter's office; it is compoſed of nine perſons; namely, the two chamberlains, two deputies on each ſide, one under clerk on the court ſide, the tally-cutter, and his deputy.

The office of chamberlain is held for life by letters patent, with power to execute it by deputy. By virtue of this privilege, theſe two officers interfere not in any part of the buſineſs of this office; it is all tranſacted on both ſides by the deputies. Each chamberlain is entitled to two annual payments, a ſalary of 52l. 3s. 4d. reduced by taxes to 46l. 17s.; and 13l. 6s. 6d. wardrobe-money, reduced by fees to 11l. 19s. 10d.; together, clear, 58l. 16s. 10d. The two ſalaries are in the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate; the wardrobe-money is a cuſtomary payment. They receive neither fee nor gratuity; but they take to themſelves a part of the profits of both their deputies. The ſenior chamberlain received, out of the fees of his deputy on the receipt ſide, 70l. and out of the fees of his deputy on the court ſide, 256l. 6s. 10d. which increaſed his net profits to 385l. 3s. 8d. The junior chamberlain received, out of the profits of his deputy on the receipt-ſide, 252l. 5s. 2d. and on the court-ſide, 274l. 6s. 10d.; which made his clear receipt 585l. 8s. 10d.

The two deputies on the receipt ſide have each of them ancient ſalaries; the ſenior four, amounting to 97l. a year; the junior three, together, 57l. a-year: the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate contains them all; they are alſo entitled, in equal moieties, to one-fourth part (with ſome trifling exceptions) of the fees taken in the tally-court; of which the ſhare of each deputy was 193l. 17s. 5d.: each of them received a treaſury allowance for the tallies of loan, 70l. 13s. 3d. and from the paymaſter-general of the forces, a gratuity of 3l. 13s. 6d. Theſe ſeveral items produced to the ſenior, 365l. 4s. 2d. reduced, by the payment of 18l. 18s. 6d. for taxes, and 70l. to his principal, to the clear ſum of 276l. 5s. 8d.; and produced to the junior, 325l. 4s. 2d. reduced, by the payment of 18l. 15s. 6d. for taxes, to 306l. 8s. 8d.; of which ſum he retained to his own uſe a ſalary of 50l. allowed him by his principal for the execution of the office, the gratuity of 3l. 13s. 6d. and a ſum of about ten ſhillings more, making, together, 54l. 3s. 6d.; the remainder, being 252l. 5s. 2d. he paid to his principal.

An ancient table regulates the fees taken in the tally-court, and eſtimates them, either by the tally, or by the ſum paid in: they are received from the perſons who take away the tallies, and are divided for the moſt part into four equal portions, one of which belongs to the auditor and his clerk, another to the clerk of the pells and his clerk, a third to the two deputy chamberlains on the receipt-ſide, and the fourth to the tally-cutter.

The two deputies on the court ſide have each an ancient ſalary of five pounds a-year, inſerted in the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate; and are entitled, in equal moieties, to fees paid by accountants for joining tallies, according to an ancient table, and eſtimated either by the tally, or the ſum to be accounted for; the moiety of theſe fees was 261l. 7d. and of the treaſury allowance for the tallies of loan, 86l. 18s. 9d.; together, to each deputy, 352l. 19s. 4d.: out of this ſum, the deputy to the ſenior chamberlain paid 16l. 2s. 6d. for taxes, and three pounds for incidental expences; which reduced the clear receipt to 333l. 16s. 10d.: of this ſum he retained 65l. as his ſalary for the execution of the office, and 12l. 10s. for the under clerk; the reſidue, being 256l. 6s. 10d. he paid to his principal. The like ſhare of the deputy to the junior, was reduced, by the like payments for taxes, and 12l. 10s. to the clerk, to 324l. 6s. 10d.: out of which, retaining his ſalary of 50l. he paid the remaining 274l. 6s. 10d. to his principal. The under clerk has only a ſalary of 25l. a-year, paid to him out of the fees of the deputies.

The tally-cutter is appointed by conſtitution from the commiſſioners of the treaſury, during pleaſure: he executes no part of the buſineſs of this office himſelf; his deputy tranſacts the whole of it: he has a ſalary of 5l. 10s. a year, inſerted in the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate, and received an allowance from the treaſury for the loan tallies of 141l. 6s. 6d.; which two ſums are paid out of the civil liſt: his fourth of the tally-court fees amounted to 366l. 7s. 10d. Theſe ſums, making together 513l. 4s. 4d. were reduced, by 14l. 12s. 9d. paid for taxes, and 57l. 1s. 3d. allowed to his deputy, to 441l. 10s. 4d. clear receipt. The deputy, in addition to his ſalary, received from the uſher 1l. 10s. for grinding tools, and 1l. 3s. 6d. in gratuities; which made his net receipt 59l. 14s. 9d.

The groſs charge of this office, comprehending all its diviſions, is 2,043l. 4s. 6d.; to which the public contributed 7l. 7s.; the civil liſt 758l. 10s. 2d.; and individuals, 1,277l. 7s. 4d.: the net receipt was 1,917l. 6s. 9d.

But to the expence created by this office, muſt be added thoſe portions of the tally-court fees, and the treaſury allowances for the tallies of loan, paid to the auditor and the clerk of the pells, amounting together to 1,021l. 5s. included in the accounts of the profits of thoſe offices; which, added to the groſs ſum of 2,043l. 4s. 6d. increaſes the total expence of the chamberlain's office to 3,064l. 9s. 6d.

The return of the hon. Horace Walpole, uſher of the Exchequer, and the examination of Charles Bedford, eſq. his deputy, ſupplied us with a ſtate of the emoluments of this office; in which three perſons are concerned, the uſher, the deputy, and the clerk, who is alſo yeoman uſher.

The uſher is appointed for life, by letters patent, with power to exerciſe this office by deputy; which power it has been uſual for the uſher to make uſe of; and conſequently the buſineſs of this office is tranſacted entirely by the deputy. The uſher receives ſeveral ſmall half-yearly fees or payments, on different accounts, enumerated in the return, and amounting in the year to 40l. 17s. 8d.; but his principal advantage is the profit he makes, by ſupplying the Treaſury and Exchequer with ſtationary and turnery ware, and ſeveral other articles, and the Exchequer with coals, and by employing the workmen who do the repairs of the Exchequer and the inſide of the Treaſury. There is an ancient table kept in the offices of the auditor and the uſher, which contains a long catalogue of the articles furniſhed by the uſher, and a certain price affixed to each article: the uſher is allowed, and charges government, for each article he furniſhes, at the rate ſtated in this table: but this table does not contain all the items he provides; for ſuch as are not included in it, he is allowed a profit of forty per cent. and on the workmen's bills for repairs he has a profit of 3s. 6d. in the pound. The total of theſe gains was 5,252l. 8s. 4¼d. and, with his fees, made his groſs receipt 5,293l. 6s. 0¼d. His deductions were, for taxes, 476l. 5¼d.; to his deputy a ſalary of 144l. and one-third of the poundage on the bills for repairs, 234l. 4s. 6d.; to the clerk a ſalary of 50l. and to him as yeoman uſher 36l. 8s. 3d.; in fees 46l. 18s.; and for incidental expences, 105l. 14s. 10d. The amount of theſe deductions is 1,093l. 6s. 0¼d. and reduced his net receipt to 4,200l.

The deputy received, in fees from the ſtationers, and others, 145l. 5s. 11d. which, added to his ſalary, and poundage on the workmen's bills, made 523l. 10s. 5d.; from which, 4l. being deducted for taxes, his net receipt was 519l. 10s. 5d. The clerk received, in gratuities, 76l. 1s. which, with his ſalary from the uſher, made 126l. 1s. As yeoman uſher, he received, in gratuities, 23l. 2s. 6d.; which, with the payment from the uſher, produced 59l. 10s. 9d.; together, 185l. 11s. 9d. from which there was no deduction. Hence the groſs expence of this office was 5,537l. 15s. 5¼d.; the net, 4,905l. 2s. 2d. The public contributed 1,007l. 6s. 8¼d.; the civil liſt, 4,285l. 19s. 4d.; and individuals, 244l. 9s. 5d.

By the return tranſmitted to us from the office of the paymaſters of Exchequer bills, and from the examination of Nathaniel Barwell, eſq. one of the paymaſters, we obtained the information following:

This office is executed by three paymaſters, a comptroller, an accountant, a caſhier, and two clerks; to which are added, a houſe-keeper and meſſenger, and occaſional aſſiſtant clerks. The paymaſters, the comptroller, and the houſe-keeper, are appointed by the commiſſioners of the treaſury, by conſtitution, during pleaſure; the reſt of the officers are appointed by the paymaſters themſelves. This office is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, in that the officers, as well as the clerks, are all paid by ſalaries only. No fee or gratuity whatever is taken by any of them, except a ſmall annual fee of 2l. 7s. allowed the accountant for making up his year's account. Each paymaſter has an annual ſalary of 283l. 6s. 8d. which has not varied ſince the year 1736: he pays, for himſelf and clerks, 34l. 3s. 4d. for taxes; which reduces it to 249l. 3s. 4d. The comptroller's ſalary is 350l. a-year; reduced, by the payment of 41l. 10s. for taxes, to 308l. 10s. The ſalaries of the reſt are paid clear of deductions, as ſtated in the return: all of them together amount

mount to 1,620l. which is paid out of the public funds.

From the account of the contingent expences of this office, they were 169l. 17s. 7d. paid alſo by the public; ſo that the groſs expence of this office to the public, was 1,792l. 4s. 7d.; the net produce to the officers, was 1,478l. 7s.

That the total amount of the expences attending the receiving and iſſuing of the public money at the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, may appear at one view, we ſubjoin, in the appendix, an account of the totals of the groſs and net receipt by the officers and clerks in each of theſe branches of the Exchequer, with the deductions paid thereout during the year 1780. From whence it appears, the groſs ſum received by all of them, in ſalaries, fees, and gratuities, was 82,519l. 16s. 6¾d.; and the net ſum 75,863l. 19s. 3¼d. The ſum of 51,751l. 18s. 5¼d. was paid by the public; 8,008l. 5d½. out of the civil liſt; 22,929l. 15s. 3d. by individuals; and 3,867l. 12s. 5¼d. for taxes.

Such is the ſtate of the ſalaries, fees, and gratuities; and ſuch the authority under which they are paid and received in theſe offices. But the act enjoins us a ſtill farther duty; it commands us "to report ſuch regulations, as, in our judgment, ſhall appear expedient to be eſtabliſhed, in order that the duties, taxes, and monies, granted, received, and appropriated for the public ſervice of this kingdom, may hereafter be received and iſſued in the manner the moſt beneficial and advantageous to the public."

Regulations to this end have, in the progreſs of this enquiry, offered themſelves to our judgment; regulations tending to introduce that ſyſtem of ſtrict œconomy in the adminiſtration of the public revenue, which the legiſlature has, by the act, determined to be neceſſary. By "ſtrict œconomy," we apprehend, is not meant ſuch as either derogates from the honour and dignity of the crown, or abridges the ſervant of the public of the due reward of his induſtry and abilities; we mean an œconomy that ſteers between extreme parſimony on the one hand, and profuſion on the other; that is conſiſtent with juſtice as well as prudence; that gives to all their full due, and to none more; that ſupports every uſeful and neceſſary eſtabliſhment, but cuts off and reduces every ſuperfluous and redundant expence. Some regulations, built upon the principle of œconomy thus defined, have for their objects the offices, the officers, and their emoluments.

An office of the higheſt antiquity, that has ſubſiſted for ages under its preſent form; that has the receipt and cuſtody of the public treaſure, upon the due adminiſtration of which depends the national credit and ſafety of the realm; an office of ſuch a deſcription is entitled to the utmoſt reſpect, and alterations in its eſtabliſhment ſhould be well weighed, and propoſed with caution and diffidence: but, as a change in the manners, cuſtoms, and, above all, in the finances of this nation, ſince the origin of this office, together with peculiar circumſtances of the times, may render regulations neceſſary, we have judged it a part of our duty to examine into the receipt of the Exchequer, with a view to an œconomical reform.

The office of the chamberlains of the Exchequer, however important in ancient times, is, at this day, occupied principally in the buſineſs of the tally; which is the official acquittance to perſons paying money into the Exchequer. This acquittance has various formalities, all calculated to prevent the poſſibility of a forgery, by which the accountant might, on paſſing his accounts, be diſcharged of a ſum he never paid.

The teller is obliged, as ſoon as he receives money, to tranſmit the bill by which he charges himſelf with that receipt, through the pipe into the tally court; where the following officers attend: 1ſt, the tally-writer; who is the officer of the auditor, and takes an account of the ſum, and writes it on both ſides of the tally delivered to him, with the ſum cut upon it in notches by the tally-cutter. 2dly. The clerk of the introitus; who is the officer of the pells, and records the receipt: and 3dly, the two deputy chamberlains on the receipt-ſide; who ſplit the tally, examine and compare the two parts with each other, and with the entry made by the clerk of the introitus. The tally is delivered to the accountant; the foil is delivered to, and kept by, the deputy chamberlains on the court-ſide, until the accountant, being about to paſs his accounts, brings to them the account of his payments into the Exchequer, with the tallies: theſe chamberlains examine the account, join the tallies with the foils, mark both, certify upon the account that the tallies are received and joined, deliver back his account to the accountant, keep the foil in the office, and ſend the tally to the clerk of the pipe. In this operation nine perſons are concerned.

It is undoubtedly true, that the public revenue cannot be too ſafely guarded againſt fraud of every kind: but if a mode of receipt can be ſubſtituted, ſimilar to what is practiſed in other offices, equally ſecure, and at but little expence, ſuch a mode demands attention.

If, inſtead of the tally court, the clerks of the auditor, and of the pells, were to attend the office of the tellers, as the bank clerk does now, and take an account of the ſums, as they are received; if an indented check receipt of each ſum was made out, compared with the entries, and marked with an intratur by the one officer, and a recordatur by the other; if this receipt was produced with the account, before it is paſſed and examined with the counterfoil, and the account compared with the entries in the office, either of the auditor, or the pells, and the truth of it certified by that officer; a check thus fenced ſeems to be as effectually ſecured againſt forgery as the tally, is a mode more ſimple, and can be tranſacted by a ſingle clerk. Nor is this check unknown in the Exchequer; the bills that are iſſued every year, to a great amount, both in number and value, are guarded by the check indenture and counterfoil.

The other buſineſs of this office may, without injury to the public, be eaſily transferred elſewhere: the cuſtody of one of the keys to the tellers cheſts, the number of which ought not to be diminiſhed, may be committed to the auditor; and the cuſtody of the ſtandard weights and meaſures, and of the ſtandard pieces of gold and ſilver, cauſing little trouble, and that but ſeldom, to any other office in the Exchequer, Seeing, therefore, no utility accruing to the public from the office of the chamberlains, beyond the labour of a ſingle clerk, but, on the contrary, a conſiderable charge incurred annually, in ſupporting two chamberlains, and a tally-cutter, three ſinecures, at the expence, in the year 1780, of 1,412l. 2s. 10d.; and the whole office at the expence of 3,064l. 9s. 6d.; we are of opinion, that public prudence requires the ſuppreſſion of this office, and the ſubſtitution of another kind of receipt in the place of the tally.

The chief, if not the only, preſent duty of the uſher, is to ſupply the Treaſury and Exchequer with ſtationary and turnery ware, and a variety of other articles, and the Exchequer with coals, and to provide workmen for certain repairs; he is, as it were, a factor to theſe offices for particular neceſſaries; on all which he has a profit. The amount of the four liberates, which contained all the articles provided by him, with the bills for repairs in the year 1780, was 14,440l. 3s. 6d.; out of which the profits to the uſher were 5,252l. 8s. 4d.: ſo that, ſuppoſing all theſe articles could have been purchaſed, and the repairs done, as cheap without the intervention of the uſher (and no reaſon appears why they might not) the public paid 14,440l. 3s. 6d. for what was really worth but 9,187l. 15s. 2d.; that is, near forty per cent. more than they would have paid, had no ſuch office exiſted as that of the uſher.

As whatever is wanted for public uſe, ſhould be purchaſed at the firſt hand, and at as cheap a rate as may be, we think it neceſſary for the public intereſt, that the office of the uſher of the Exchequer ſhould be diſcontinued, as expenſive and unneceſſary; and that every principal officer ſhould procure all articles requiſite for his own department, and for that purpoſe be paid by the public an annual allowance proportioned to the wants of his office; a method now practiſed in the paymaſter-general's and in various other offices.

The teller's is one office, at the head of which are placed four officers, independent of each other, each preſiding over his own diſtinct diviſion, but none of them contributing to the execution of any part of the buſineſs. It is expedient, that in an office of this importance, ſome perſon of rank and reſponſibility ſhould preſide, to ſuperintend, direct, and controul, the execution, with an appointment adequate to his conſequence and ſtation in the official ſcale, leaving to ſubordinate officers and miniſters the laborious detail of the execution; but no advantage is derived to the public from placing four inoperative officers at the head of this one office.

Judging then, as we muſt do, ſolely by the rule of public frugality, and ſuppoſing the nation to ſtand in need of every practicable retrenchment, and conſequently to require the reduction of every uſeleſs and expenſive office, we are led neceſſarily to conclude, that, as the public ſervice receives no aſſiſtance or advantage from the labours of the tellers, and the public treaſure will find a conſiderable increaſe from their emoluments, the public intereſt requires their number ſhould be reduced.

Whatever reaſons there may be for continuing theſe, and other offices mentioned above; whether drawn from policy or expedience; as a reſource for the reward of ſervices, in preference to penſions; or from juſtice, for continuing them during the lives of the preſent poſſeſſors only, in favour of the rights of private property; or whether it would be proper to change them again from offices for life to offices during pleaſure; all theſe are topics not within the limits of our commiſſion, but for the diſcuſſion of the legiſlature; whoſe deliberations comprehend arguments drawn from every ſource. But, in whatever ſhape they may be permitted to continue, every reaſon of prudence demands the reduction of their emoluments, from an exceſs to a reaſonable limited ſtandard.

There are likewiſe in this office of the tellers, four officers, under the denomination of ſecond clerks, who are merely nominal, without attendance, without buſineſs, care, or trouble; but they have fees, and to no inconſiderable amount. In the year 1780, the total of them was 5,518l. 8s. 4d. and were either paid to, or to the uſe of, the perſons named to theſe offices, or increaſed the profits of the tellers themſelves. Whatever pretenſions a ſuperior officer may have to an exemption from duty and ſervice, a ſinecure is repugnant to the idea of the condition of a clerk in office; and therefore we are of opinion, that common ſenſe requires the ſuppreſſion of the offices of the ſecond clerks to the tellers.

We have ranged the emoluments of theſe offices under the heads of Salaries, Fees, and Gratuities. From our examination into the ſtate of the Salaries, many of them appear to be made up of a variety, and ſometimes of very ſmall payments, ariſing out of different funds. Of the inferior clerks, ſeveral pay over, either the whole or portions of their ſalaries, or fees, to increaſe the profits of other clerks; all which is contrary to that ſimplicity and regularity that ought to be obſerved in every office, and may be eaſily corrected by a regulation we ſhall hereafter propoſe.

The Fees are either ſums paid for tranſacting particular kinds of official buſineſs, or a poundage; the firſt ſort of fees fall, in many caſes, very heavy upon individuals: in ſome caſes they fall upon the public: it would be much for the benefit of both, as well as for the honour of government, that all perſons employed in the public ſervice, and who muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to offices for inſtructions, inſtruments, and other official buſineſs, eſſential to the execution of their employments, ſhould be furniſhed with all neceſſary materials, and have their buſineſs done in every office, without fee or reward: the regulation hereinafter ſuggeſted will, if adopted, be attended with this good effect.

The poundage is the moſt fruitful ſource of fees to moſt of the ſuperior, and to ſome of the inferior officers; it is a payment, after ſome certain rate in the pound, upon the ſum received, or iſſued, or contained in ſome official inſtrument made out in the office, and delivered to the perſon applying.

In ancient times, when the tranſaction was an actual delivery of money, and that money conſiſted of coin of various denominations and value, and poſſibly clipt, or of doubtful weight, the trouble and attention of the perſon employed in the receipt or payment increaſed with the ſum; and therefore the poundage was a mode of reward that bore a proportion to the labour: but in theſe times, when all money tranſactions are carried on, not by the medium of caſh, not by the tale or weight of current coin, but by the ſubſtitution of paper, by caſh notes, draughts, or bills, to any amount; ſince the clear and conciſe method of the debtor and creditor account has been ſo univerſally introduced to practice, an increaſe in the magnitude of the ſums, though to a vaſt amount, is the addition of a few figures, or of a few entries, only; and the increaſe of trouble ariſing from it is too inconſiderable to be eſtimated. The examination of Mr. Cowper, who attends daily at the Exchequer on the part of the Bank, ſhews us with what eaſe, perſpicuity, and exactneſs, the various and moſt extenſive receipts and payments of the public revenue are tranſacted there, by the intervention of the Bank, with whom the principal offices of receipt, and ſeveral of the greater accountants, keep their caſh: the tranſactions there, of each day, are carried on, not in coin told or weighed by the tellers, but by the interchange of caſh notes, or by the bare entries of the ſums received and paid; and that account being made up when the tranſactions of the day are finiſhed, the balance only is either taken out of, or depoſited in, the teller's cheſts, in exchequer bills, or labelled bags of caſh, according as that balance turns out in favour of, or againſt, the Bank.

Beſides this facility in conducting money tranſactions, a courſe of years has introduced, and very rapidly within theſe few years, another alteration, moſt ſenſibly felt, in this payment by poundage. In its firſt eſtabliſhment, the revenue of this kingdom was not conſiderable, and the profits of the poundage exceeded not the earnings of the officer; but in theſe later times, the neceſſities of the ſtate have required a revenue far beyond the imagination of our anceſtors. In the year under our contemplation, the receipt of the Exchequer was 31,821,195 l.; the iſſue, 30,384,838 l.: on near 16,000,000l. was a poundage paid to different branches of that office, amounting, as much of it as we could extract from the returns, and which is not the whole, to 62,225 l.; of which much the greateſt part was paid to officers for tranſacting either very little, or no buſineſs at all. The total of the emoluments accruing in that year to the ineffective officers of the Exchequer, amounted to 45,332l.

But the exceſs of this poundage reaches beyond the ſuperior claſs; it ſwelled the profits of a ſingle officer, not the principal in the department, to a ſum nearly equal to what ſupported an entire office of equal expenditure for the whole year. The net actual receipt of the caſhier alone, in the pay-office of the army, was 7,175l. 19s. 6d.: the net receipt of the whole pay-office of the navy was 7,938l.; and it would have been inferior to that of the caſhier, had he at the time of his examination received the whole of his income for that year.

Since then, on the one hand, the improvements of the age have taken away the foundation upon which this ſpecies of reward was built, it is but reaſonable the ſuperſtructure ſhould fall with it; and, on the other hand, the exigencies of the age having converted what was deſigned to be the reward of induſtry, into the means of rendering ſome offices lucrative to exceſs, and of ſupporting others that are uſeleſs to the public, the ſubject has a right to be relieved of that burthen: and therefore we are of opinion, that all poundage fees, of every kind ſoever, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and totally aboliſhed: and of this opinion was the privy council; who, by their order in the year 1695, above alluded to, ſhewed their ſenſe of a poundage, by directing it, in inſtances therein mentioned, to be ſuppreſſed in the office of the treaſurer of the navy.

The remaining head is that of Gratuities; a ſpecies of emolument very liable to abuſe: it may be a reward for civility, favour, or extra ſervice; it may be alſo the purchaſe of undue preference, expedition, and, in ſome caſes, of procraſtination. Flowing, at firſt, from the liberality of opulence, the oſtentation of vanity, or the deſign of cunning, it very ſoon aſſumes the name of cuſtom, and becomes a claim, ſubmitted to, to avoid the imputation of meanneſs, and frequently to the great inconvenience of contracted circumſtances; nor is it confined to individuals only; the public pay their ſhare: in the payments out of the deductions of twelve pence in the pound, there are two articles, making 653l. 12s. 8d. diſtributed by the paymaſter general of the forces in gratuities. The public voice unites with that of individuals, in demanding a ſuppreſſion of a ſpecies of emolument ſo eaſily perverted to purpoſes injurious to the intereſt of both.

But there is one other ſort of gratuity, that requires particular obſervation; that is, what is paid to the officers and clerks in the pay office of the navy and army, for carrying on and making up the accounts of the treaſurer and paymaſter general after their reſignation. It ſhould ſeem, that in every office of accounts, the balancing the books every year, and as ſoon as poſſible after the expiration of that year, is a duty incumbent upon the perſons employed in that office; or difficulty, confuſion, and ignorance of the real ſtate of their accounts, muſt enſue; it is an eſſential part of their conſtant yearly buſineſs, for which their annual ſtipends are or ſhould be an adequate reward; and the preſiding officer is bound to ſee that this buſineſs is done. But in theſe two offices a different ſyſtem has prevailed: during the time the treaſurer or paymaſter general has continued in office, not one of his year's accounts has been ever made up; and it has been the intereſt of the officers not to make them up: if they had, it muſt have been conſidered as part of their official buſineſs, and paid for by their yearly emoluments; but, by delaying it for ten or fifteen years, they crave, on the ground of cuſtom, and obtain of the treaſury, a ſpecial allowance for this buſineſs, as for extra-ſervice they were not bound to perform. The final accounts of Lord Holland, ending in June 1765, are at length near being cloſed; and the treaſury allowance for making them up has been craved and allowed. This recent tranſaction, completed ſince the iſſuing our precept for an account of theſe allowances, conſiſts of the memorial to the treaſury by the acting executor of Lord Holland; the diſtribution of 11,320l. amongſt the officers, and the ſum of 3,665l. 10s. 6d. for incidental charges, craved by the memorial; and his majeſty's warrant authoriſing theſe allowances. If the profits of this office laſt year equalled the profits of the preceding year, as they probably did, the addition of this allowance would have increaſed the actual net receipt of the whole office to 34,881l. 1s. 8d.; and that of the caſhier only to 9,825l. 19s. 6d. and, if he had received all his fees, to 11,039l. 15s.

The memorial ſtates "theſe accounts to be intricate and voluminous, and to amount to above 45,900,000l. notwithſtanding which they have been made up by the officers and clerks mentioned in the diſtribution, without any expence to the public for additional aſſiſtance or allowance." If they have been made up in the courſe of theſe laſt years, the load of annual current buſineſs in this office, during the time of Lord Holland, could have been no impediment to their being made up at that time, or ſoon after his reſignation, and with much greater eaſe, whilſt the tranſactions were recent and freſh in their memories.

There ſtill remain to be made up the accounts of four treaſurers of the navy, to the amount of 58,944,588l.; and of three paymaſters-general of the forces, amounting to 4,666,875l.; excluſive of the treaſurer and paymaſter-general in office; to the firſt of whom has been iſſued, to the 30th of September, 1780, 16,781,217l. and to the latter, to the end of the ſame year, 43,253,911l. and not one year's account of either are completed. So that of the money iſſued to the navy, 75,725,805l.; and of the money iſſued to the army 47,920,786l. together 123,646,591l. (not including 10,647,188l. iſſued to the navy, and 8,121,000l. to the army, to the end of the laſt year) is as yet unaccounted for; and for the making up of theſe accounts, if this cuſtom is ſuffered to continue, nine more gratuities are to be craved of the public. How much then does it behove them that this evil ſhould be corrected!—An evil that furniſhes another weighty reaſon, in addition to thoſe urged in our former reports, for proceeding immediately to bring forward the long arrears in the accounts of theſe offices, in order for their ſpeedy completion.

Having thus ſtated the miſchiefs attending the preſent eſtabliſhment, both to the public and individuals, and the reaſons for aboliſhing the multifarious emoluments by which theſe offices are now ſupported, it remains for us to propoſe ſuch a regulation, as appears beſt calculated to avoid the like miſchiefs, and moſt beneficial to the public ſervice.

We are of opinion, that in the place of all theſe ſalaries, fees, and gratuities, there ſhould be ſubſtituted and annexed to each of theſe offices, of whatever rank or denomination, one certain ſalary, paid to the officer by the public quarterly, and free of all deductions: this ſalary ſhould be an ample compenſation for the ſervice required; and the *quantum* eſtimated by the various qualifications and circumſtances neceſſary for the execution, cation, and which, together, form the title to reward.

By this regulation the officer will know his income, the public will know their expence, and uniformity and equality will be introduced in the proviſions for officers of equal rank and ſtation in ſimilar offices. The induſtry of ſome perſons requires the ſpur of profits continually flowing in, or the hopes of increaſe: others prefer the certainty of a known, ſure income, paid at ſtated times. No arrangement can ſuit the diſpoſitions or occaſions of all men; but time and uſage will ſoon reconcile one reaſonable rule, extended through theſe departments of government.

Notwithſtanding this regulation throws upon the public the whole expence of theſe offices, which are at preſent ſupported in part by individuals, yet, by adopting it, that whole expence will become leſs than the ſum it now coſts the public; for that ſum is ſo great as to afford every liberal ſalary, and yet leave no inconſiderable ſaving. Not that this is the only ſaving propoſed by the regulation: the public at preſent bear a much greater ſhare of the burthen than is obvious at the firſt view. Beſides fees and gratuities paid by public offices, and refunded to them out of public money, many payments, though made by individuals, are charged by them ultimately to the account of the public. For inſtance, the contractor, when he calculates the terms upon which he may ſafely engage with government, muſt eſtimate every article of profit and loſs conſequential to his bargain: to the account of the latter, he places all his charges, and amongſt them the long catalogue of fees, certain and uncertain. The firſt he knows; the laſt he will calculate not to his own diſadvantage; and if by them he can procure credit, or preference, or expedition, he will charge them to government at their full price. If this head of various expences was blotted out of his column of charges, by ſo much would the terms of his contract be more favourable to the public.

But beſides this, ſo very various and extenſive are the operations of government, that the number of perſons employed in their ſervice conſtitute a very conſiderable body of the people; and their relief is a public concern. If, by diſcharging an office, at preſent paid by a ſalary, from thoſe fees and deductions to which it is now ſubject, that ſalary ſhould become greater than the office ought in reaſon to have annexed to it, it may eaſily be regulated, and reduced to its proper ſtandard.

We have ſaid the ſalary ſhould be paid free of all deductions; that is, as far as is conſiſtent with the laws in being. The ſalaries and fees of office are at preſent ſubject, by three acts of parliament, to the land-tax, the ſixpenny, and the one ſhilling duties. Whoever takes a view of the above ſtate of the official profits, will not wonder they ſhould be deemed by the legiſlature a fit ſubject of taxation; and, under the ſyſtem then in uſe, no other mode of taxation could well be contrived, but that adopted in thoſe acts, though attended with inequality; and, in many caſes, with hardſhip. Had one known ſalary been at that time the pay of office, and the neceſſities of the ſtate required the aid of every ſubject, in proportion to his faculties, it is poſſible a diminution of the ſalary before it iſſued, might have appeared a more eligible, more equal, and leſs expenſive mode of taxation, than paying it entire out of the Exchequer, and then bringing back again a part of it, delayed and defalcated by a variety of deductions in its circuit; but, as it is, the ſums at preſent aſſeſſed upon theſe offices muſt continue to be paid; becauſe, otherwiſe, in the land-tax, it will occaſion a deficiency in the ſum to be raiſed by that diviſion in which the office is aſſeſſed; and, in the other duties, it will diminiſh the funds created by thoſe acts, and conſequently the ſecurity of the creditors upon thoſe funds. The land-tax and duties are now paid by the officers, at ſtated times, to the collectors and receivers. If the mode of payment by a clear ſalary is adopted, the total ſum, now aſſeſſed upon all the officers in one office, may ſtill continue to be paid as one ſum, in like manner, out of the ſame fund with the ſalaries themſelves.

We have ſaid the ſalaries ſhould be annexed to the office: it ought to be a full and competent recompence for the execution, and no more. The whole of it ought to be paid to the perſon who executes, independent of the officer who preſides, but who ſhould ſtill retain the ſame power of appointment, and the ſame controul that he now exerciſes over the inferior officer. Where the profits exceed what the officer is in reaſon entitled to, the overplus ſhould be aboliſhed, and the public reap the benefit, not a perſon who earns no part of it.

In the pay-office of the army, ſome of the offices of the deputy paymaſters abroad are ſinecures: though deputies themſelves, they execute theſe offices by their deputies, being themſelves engaged in very different employments under government.

Inſtances are not wanting, in all theſe offices, to warrant this regulation of payment by a ſalary. The treaſurer of the navy and his paymaſter, the paymaſter-general of the forces, the paymaſters of exchequer bills, and their officers, are all paid by ſalaries only; and why the ſame rule may not be extended to the reſt, no ſufficient reaſon has hitherto occurred to us. It might ſeem too ſanguine, to ſuggeſt how far this rule may be applied to other offices, without a previous examination into their peculiar circumſtances; and yet the advantage it holds out to the public, its ſimplicity, and aptitude to be accommodated to all offices, however diſtinguiſhed, afford great reaſon to believe it may be applied to every department of government.

The principle of œconomy by which we have been guided, has led us to the concluſions we have formed, and the regulations we have ſubmitted to the wiſdom of parliament: concluſions ſtrictly deduced from that principle, and regulations made neceſſary by the preſſing exigencies of the times.

GUY CARLETON, *(L. S.)*
T. ANGUISH, *(L. S.)*
A. PIGGOTT, *(L. S.)*
RICH. NEAVE, *(L. S.)*
SAM. BEACHCROFT, *(L. S.)*
GEO. DRUMMOND, *(L. S.)*

Office of Accounts, *Surry-ſtreet*, 9th *February*, 1782.

CONTENTS.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Ireland. Retroſpective view of the internal ſtate of affairs in that country. Attempt to reform the conſtitution, by ſhortening the duration of parliaments. Mutiny bill paſſed. Meetings of the Iriſh volunteers to obtain a parliamentary reform. Ineffectual attempt to induce them to diſband. Bill for effecting a parliamentary reform—rejected by a great majority; and reſolution thereupon. Addreſs to his majeſty on that ſubject. Counter-addreſs. Another bill preſented, and rejected. Propoſition for the relief of the Roman catholics. Petition of the delegates conveyed to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt's anſwer. Diſunion among the volunteers, on the ſubject of the Roman catholics. Lord Charlemont thanked by the city of Dublin for his conduct. Steps taken by government to prevent the meeting of the delegates. Letter from the Attorney General to the ſheriffs of Dublin. High ſheriff of the county of Dublin proſecuted, fined, and impriſoned; others alſo proſecuted. Meetings of delegates nevertheleſs held. Another bill preſented, and rejected. Diſtreſſes of the manufacturers of Dublin. Committee appointed for their relief. Mr. Gardener's plan—rejected by a very great majority. Violent ferment amongſt the people. Outrages of the mob, who are diſperſed by the military. Bill for reſtricting the liberty of the preſs. Petitions againſt. Modified, and paſſed. Non-importation agreements entered into. Precautions to prevent enormities. Lord Lieutenant incurs popular odium, and is openly inſulted. Commercial arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland. A ſet of reſolutions preſented to the houſe of commons in Ireland; agreed to; tranſmitted to England. Buſineſs opened in the houſe of commons there by Mr. Pitt; his ſpeech. Propoſitions minutely inveſtigated. Ten new propoſitions added. Propoſitions paſſed. Very ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of lords; paſſed. Bill thereupon. Propoſitions tranſmitted to Ireland; their reception there. Bill moved for, correſpondent to that in England; debates thereupon. Speeches of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood. Bill brought in; ordered to be printed. Further proſecution of the meaſure declined. Mr. Orde's ſpeech on the occaſion. —Intended emigration of the Geneveſe to Ireland. Reception of their commiſſioners there. Diſagreement between the parties. Scheme proves abortive. [1

CHAP. II.

Retroſpective view of continental matters, which, through the multiplicity and importance of other foreign or domeſtic affairs, were, of neceſſity, paſſed over in our late volumes. France. Death of the Count de Maurepas, *and ſome account of that celebrated miniſter. Convention with Sweden, by which the French are admitted to the rights of denizenſhip, of eſtabliſhing warehouſes and factories, and of carrying on a free trade in Gottenburgh; in return for which, France cedes the Weſt India iſland of St. Bartholomew to Sweden. Obſervations on that ceſſion. Spirit of civil liberty, of enquiry, of reform and improvement, with a diſpoſition to the cultivation of uſeful arts, characteriſtics of the preſent times. Cauſes.—Great improvements in Spain with reſpect to arts, manufactures, and agriculture; meaſures purſued for the diſſemination of uſeful knowledge, for improving the morals, and enlightening the minds of the people. Inquiſition diſarmed of its dangerous powers; numerous patriotic ſocieties formed, and public ſchools inſtituted, under the patronage of the firſt nobility; canals and roads forming; ſubſcriptions for conveying water to large diſtricts deſolate through its want. King ſucceſsfully reſumes the project of peopling and cultivating the Sierra Morena; aboliſhes bull feaſts; reſtricts the number of horſes and mules to be uſed in the carriages of the nobility; procures an accurate ſurvey and charts of the coaſts of the kingdom, as well as of the Straits of Magellan. Attention to naval force and to commerce. New Eaſt India company formed. Improvements in the adminiſtration of colonial government. Intermarriages with the royal line of Portugal lay the foundation for an alliance between the latter and France. Patriarchal age, eminent qualities, and death of the celebrated Cardinal de Solis, Archbiſhop of Seville. Important reforms in the police of Portugal. Queen forms the excellent reſolution of never granting a pardon in any caſe of aſſaſſination or deliberate murder; which has already produced the happieſt effects. Excellent regulation of taking up the idle and diſſolute throughout the kingdom, and of applying them, at the expence, or under the care of government, to proper labour. Improvements in agriculture attempted; climate and ſoil unfavourable to corn. Political obſervations on the intermarriages with Spain, and on the new alliances with the houſe of Bourbon.—Italy. Noble act of Pious the VIth, in his generous endeavours to drain the Pontine marſhes.—Naples. Diſpoſition of the king to naval affairs, and to the forming of a marine force. Grand Duke of Tuſcany. Regulation in Florence for the diſpoſal of the dead in a common cemetery, cauſes great diſcontent.* [25

CHAP. III.

Retroſpective view continued.—Venice. War with Tunis.—Germany. Diſappointment in the Emperor's commercial views. Failure of the Aſiatic company. Ancient crown and regalia of Hungary removed from Preſburgh to Vienna. Archduke Maximilian ſucceeds to the electorate of Cologn, Admirable improvements in the eccleſiaſtical electorates. Paſtoral letter from the elector of Triers. Death of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.—Turkey. New prophet. Some account of the Sheich Manſour. Porte obliged to procure a peace for the Emperor's ſubjects with the Barbary ſtates. Perſian phyſician conſtructs a balloon at Conſtantinople, and aſcends ſucceſsfully into the air, with two others, in the preſence of the court *and city. Nobly rewarded by the Grand Signior. Proffered ſervices of a celebrated aeronaut, about the ſame time, rejected by the Emperor and the king of Pruſſia. All attempts of the ſort forbidden in the Ruſſian empire. —Demark. Prince Royal diſplaying uncommon early abilities, is declared major. Unexpected revolution in the miniſtry, and wiſdom with which it was conducted. New council or adminiſtration formed under the auſpices of the prince. Queen Dowager preſented with the royal caſtle of Frederickſburgh, in Holſtein, to which ſhe retires. Prince ſupports with luſtre the early hopes formed of his talents and virtues. Becomes the encourager of literature, and patron of learned men. Liberal and ſucceſsful attempt to recover the antiquities, and to procure materials for eſtabliſhing the hiſtory of the northern nations. Succeſſion of irregular ſeaſons, with violent ſhocks of the earth, extraordinary commotions in the heavens, and other natural evils, produce great calamities to mankind in various parts of the world. Peſtilence deſolates the coaſts of the Levant with unexampled malignity. Failure of harveſts in Europe. Many parts of Italy, Hungary, Germany, and France, deſolated through the inundations of their great rivers. Prince Leopold of Brunſwick unfortunately periſhes in the Oder. Famine and diſtreſſes of every kind prevail in the northern kingdoms. Ruſſia refuſes the ſtipulated ſupply of grain to Sweden from Livonia, which increaſes the calamity of that country. Complicated diſtreſſes of Norway. Unexampled deſtruction, and calamity of Iceland.* 145

CHAP. IV.

Neither the danger of foreign war, nor the reſignation of the duke of Brunſwick, ſerve in any degree to allay the ferment in Holland, or to reſtore tranquillity to the Stadtholder's government. Great point gained by the adverſe party, in procuring a French General to command the armies of the Republic. Some account of the Marſhal de Maillebois. Short view of the origin and hiſtory of that celebrated republican party, which has ſubſiſted in Holland from the days of Prince Maurice to the preſent time. Motives on both ſides for the cloſe connection which generally ſubſiſted between that party and France. Late war with England, and its conſequences, afforded the means for that party to become again formidable. General charges againſt the Stadtholder with reſpect to the conduct of that war, and the anſwers made to them. Repeatedly challenges them to the proof. Their views anſwered by ſupporting and ſpreading the clamour and jealouſy. Specific enquiry into the conduct of the navy, after a long and tedious courſe of proceeding, produces nothing equal to the public expectation. Various cauſes which concurred at this time to raiſe the republican ſpirit to the higheſt pitch in that country. Injudicious meaſure of placing arms in the hands of the burghers, produces effects little expected or wiſhed by the leaders of the party, and cauſes great innovations in the government of many towns. Peculiar advantages poſſeſſed by the adverſe party over thoſe on the Orange ſide. Great legal, official, and natural powers, and reſources, poſſeſſed by the Prince Stadtholder. Violent meaſure of depoſing the Prince from the government of the Hague. Prince and family abandon

don the Hague. Ineffectual interpoſition of the late King of Pruſſia. Judicious meaſure of the Prince Stadtholder in retiring to Guelderland. Aſſemblage of the States of Holland and Weſt Friezeland at the Hague. Riot on opening the Stadtholder's gate. Violent diſſenſions and great preparations for defence or war, in the city of Utrecht. Large ſubſcriptions for ſupporting the armed burghers and volunteers. Republic convulſed in all its parts. Great debates in the aſſembly of the States of Holland and Weſt Friezeland, on the queſtion for reſtoring the Stadtholder to the government of the Hague. Queſtion loſt by a ſingle vote. Spirited letter, immediately upon his acceſſion, from the preſent King of Pruſſia in behalf of the Stadtholder, conveyed by his miniſter of ſtate, the Baron de Goerts. Little effect produced by the King's repreſentations. Memorial from the Court of Verſailles, not only diſclaiming all interference herſelf in the government of the republic, but declaring her intention to prevent their being diſturbed by that of others. Refractory burghers of Elbourg and Hattem reduced by the Stadtholder, under the orders of the States of Guelderland. Violent ferment on the taking of theſe towns. States of Holland ſuſpend the Stadtholder from all the functions appertaining to his office of Captain General within their province; and diſcharge the troops from their military oath to obey his orders. [63

CHAP. V.

Opening of the third ſeſſion of parliament. Amendment moved upon the addreſs in both houſes, and negatived without a diviſion. Mr. Fox's obſervations on the king's ſpeech—on the ſtate of foreign alliances—treaty between France and the United Provinces—Germanic league—treaty with Ruſſia—commercial treaty with France—prepoſterous mode of conducting the public buſineſs—Iriſh propoſitions—affairs of India. Mr. Pitt's reply; his obſervations on Mr. Fox's dexterity in debate; his account of the Ruſſian treaty and German confederacy; his opinion reſpecting the connection between Hanover and Great Britain; defence of his India bill; flouriſhing ſtate of the revenues. Remarks by Mr. Fox on the miniſter's opinion concerning the political connection between Great Britain and Hanover. Major Scott calls on Mr. Burke to bring forward his charges againſt Mr. Haſtings. Mr. Burke relates in reply an anecdote of the duke of Parma. Grand debate on the duke of Richmond's propoſed fortification of the dock-yards. Inſtructions to the board of land and ſea-officers, and extracts from their report. Mr. Pitt's motion and arguments in ſupport of the plan propoſed, as neceſſary, as beſt adapted to their purpoſe, as tending to increaſe the effects of our naval force, and to reduce the army. Amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion by Mr. Baſtard and Sir William Lemon. Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech in favour of the amendment; firſt he ſhews that the plan propoſed was dangerous to the conſtitution; he denies it would reduce the ſtanding army, and if it did, he proves that in the ſame proportion it would increaſe its power; 2dly, he denies that it is ſanctioned by the report of the board of officers, the extracts from the report prove the members were not agreed; the report itſelf founded on hypothetical ſuggeſtions from the maſter general. Mr. Pitt's motion rejected by the caſting vote of the ſpeaker.

Debate

Debate in the houſe of lords on the new clauſe in the mutiny bill for ſubjecting officers by brevet to the military law; amendment propoſed by lords Carliſle and Stormont; rejected on a diviſion; queſtion ſtarted, whether an officer could reſign his commiſſion at pleaſure; opinions of the lord chancellor and lord Loughborough. [89

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Pitt's motion with reſpect to the reduction of the national debt.—Report of a ſelect committee relative to the annual income and expenditure of the ſtate.—Supplies and ways and means for the current year.—Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt to form a ſinking fund of one million annually, to be veſted in commiſſioners, and to be applied to the reduction of the national debt; debates thereon; reſolutions moved by Mr. Sheridan negatived; an amendment moved by Mr. Fox, and agreed to without a diviſion; the Bill paſſes both houſes of parliament, and receives the royal aſſent.—Mr. Pitt's Bill for transferring the duties on wines from the cuſtoms to the exciſe; debates thereon; a new clauſe, moved by Mr. Beaufoy, negatived; the bill carried up to the houſe of lords; debates upon it there; paſſed.—Mr. Pitt's Bill, empowering commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of, and to ſell, the crown lands; debates thereon; amendments moved by Mr. Jolliffe agreed to; the Bill carried up to the lords; debates thereon; carried on a diviſion; proteſt entered againſt it.—Bill brought in by Mr. Marſham to extend the diſqualifications in Mr. Crewe's Bill to perſons holding places under the navy and ordnance offices; debates thereon; negatived on a diviſion. [111

CHAP. VII.

Accuſation of Mr. Haſtings.—Speech of Mr. Burke on opening that buſineſs in the houſe of commons; he gives the reaſons for his undertaking it; reminds the houſe of their former proceedings; ſtates three different modes of accuſation, proſecution in the courts below, bill of pains and penalties, impeachment; objection to the two former modes; his plan of conducting the laſt; general obſervations on the whole; he moves for a variety of India papers and documents; debates thereon; Mr. Dundas's defence of himſelf; Mr. Pitt's argument on the ſame ſide; anſwer to objections by Mr. Burke; rights and privileges of an accuſer; the production of papers relative to the treaties with the Mahrattas and the Mogul objected to, on the ground of diſcloſing dangerous ſecrets; anſwer to that objection; papers refuſed on a diviſion; motion renewed by Mr. Fox, and rejected. Mr. Burke delivers in twenty-two articles of charge againſt Mr. Haſtings; Mr. Haſtings petitions to be heard in his own defence; converſation thereon; Mr. Haſtings heard at the bar; his defence laid on the table: firſt charge, reſpecting the Rohilla war, moved by Mr. Burke; his introductory ſpeech; liſt of ſpeakers on both ſides; charge rejected on a diviſion: ſecond charge, reſpecting Benares, moved by Mr. Fox; ſupported by Mr. Pitt; carried by a large majority; indecent reflections of Mr. Haſtings's friends thereupon.

—Mr. Dundas's Bill for amending the India act of 1784; its arbitrary principles ſtrongly oppoſed; defended by Mr. Dundas; paſſes both houſes. —King's ſpeech.—Parliament prorogued. [125

CHAP. VIII.

Ruſſia.—Magnificence of the Court of Peterſburgh.—Expeditions of diſcovery by land and ſea, to the yet-unexplored parts of the empire.—Small colony of Chriſtians diſcovered in the wilds of Caucaſus.—New canal for opening an inland navigation between the Caſpian Sea and the Baltic.—Commercial treaty with the Emperor.—Similar treaties in negociation with France and other nations.—Old commercial treaty with England ſuffered to expire without renewal.—Some obſervations on that circumſtance, and on the change which ſeems to have taken place in the Empreſs's political ſyſtem.—War with the Tartars.—Inequality of the contending parties.—Brave and obſtinate reſiſtance notwithſtanding made.—Prince of Heſſe Rhinfels killed.—Tartar chief, with his ſons and nephew taken priſoners. —Cuban Tartary deſolated.—The new prophet, Sheich Manſour, defeated. —Empreſs announces her intention of making a progreſs to Cherſon and the Crimea.—Extraordinary preparations for rendering the proceſſion ſuperbly magnificent.—The intelligence of this intended progreſs and deſign, inſtead of terrifying the Tartars, occaſions a ſtricter union and general confederacy among them; ſhew unuſual judgment in ſeizing the gorges and defiles of the mountains, and interrupting the Ruſſian communications.—Victory gained by the Tartars in the autumn of 1786, on the ſide of Caucaſus.—Some of the apparent conſequences of that event; and particularly its effect with reſpect to the intended progreſs.—Georgians ſorely preſſed by the Leſghis Tartars.—Court of Peterſburgh vents its indignation on the Porte, as the cauſe of all theſe untoward events.—Some jealouſies entertained by the Chineſe.—Death of Kienlong, the excellent Emperor of China.—Singular bank eſtabliſhed by the Empreſs at Peterſburgh.—Ruſſian troops ſent into Courland, in order to ſupport the freedom of election in caſe of the Duke's death.—Turkey.—Appeal from the Grand Signior to his ſubjects, and to all true Muſſulmen, on the differences with Ruſſia, the treatment he has received, and calling upon them to be in preparation for the expected conſequences.—Preparations for placing the empire in a formidable ſtate of defence.—Troubles in Egypt.—Captain Pacha's expedition to that country; —defeats Murat Bey in two battles, and takes Grand Cairo.—Porte does not relax in its endeavours, notwithſtanding the critical ſtate of public affairs, to introduce the arts and ſciences in that empire; orders a tranſlation of the French Encyclopediæ.—Emperor's conduct with reſpect to Ruſſia and the Porte.—Engaged ſtill in a multiplicity of internal regulations.—Abrogation of the old laws, and eſtabliſhment of a new code.—Eccleſiaſtical reforms.—Suppreſſion of religious houſes.—Number of the conventual clergy already reduced.—German prelacy join the Emperor in reſiſting the interference of the court of Rome in their eccleſiaſtical and metropolitan government.—Elector of Mentz and Archbiſhop of Saltzbourg apply to the Emperor, to prevent a nuncio's arrival at the court of Munich.

Munich.—Emperor publiſhes a declaration againſt the powers aſſumed by nuncios, and promiſes to ſupport the Germanic Church in all its rights.—Reſolutions of the eccleſiaſtical princes againſt the encroachments of the ſee of Rome.—Emperor's edict, laying reſtrictions on free-maſonry.—Letters in favour of the Jews to the corporations of Vienna.—Edict prohibiting gaming.—Forbids all publications from making any mention of the Germanic league, &c.—Regulation of the numerous proſtitutes in Vienna.—Attention to the troubles in Holland.—New claim in preparation on the Eaſt-India trade of that country. [138

CHAP. IX.

Death of the King of Pruſſia. Some account of that great prince. Hoſpitals for diſtreſſed old age of all nations endowed by him in Berlin. Temper and diſpoſition ſoftened and rendered more kindly by age. Leaves his ſucceſſor the beſt ſecurities to a kingdom, in a full treaſury, excellent armies, and ſubjects ſtrongly attached to the government. Popular meaſures purſued by the preſent King. Reſtores the German language to its proper place, in the room of the French, which had been uſed at Court, and in all public tranſactions during the late reign. Patronizes the native literature as well as language. Prohibits irreligious publications. Forbids duelling, and erects a court of honour.—Perſecution of the free-maſons by the Elector Palatine, occaſions M. de Born indignantly to return his diplomas, and to abandon the Academy of Sciences at Munich.—Northern kingdoms. Dearth, and its conſequent diſtreſſes, continued in both. Diet held at Stockholm, after an intermiſſion of eight years. King of Sweden aboliſhes the torture.—Daniſh Eaſt India company reſign ſtock into the hands of the king. Junction between the Baltic and ocean, by a navigable canal drawn acroſs the peninſula of Jutland.—France. Commercial treaty with England. Attention to her marine and commerce. Stupendous works carrying on at Cherburgh, in order to render it a great naval arſenal. King viſits that place. Religious prejudices happily wearing away. Foreigners of all religious perſuaſions and countries invited to ſettle in the kingdom, with the privileges of purchaſing lands, and of enjoying the rights of citizens. Colony of Quakers and Baptiſts arrive from North America, to ſettle at Dunkirk. Great encouragement to foreign merchants, artiſts, and manufacturers to ſettle in France. Meaſures already adopted in favour of the native Proteſtants, to be conſidered as a happy opening towards their reſtoration in a more perfect degree to the rights of citizens. Edict in favour of the peaſantry. Edict in favour of the ſubject with reſpect to perſonal arreſts, and the ſeizure or detainer of his property, under the local authority of cities and corporations in which he is not a reſident. Singular inſtance of a Free Back of the Iſle of France being elected a correſponding member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. [161

CONTENTS.

CHRONICLE. [193—[215

Births for the year 1786 [215
Marriages [216
Principal Promotions [217
Deaths [220
Sheriffs appointed by his Majeſty in council, for 1786 [222

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Abſtract of the Narrative of the loſs of the Halſewell Eaſt-Indiaman, Capt. R. Pierce, which was wrecked at Seacombe, in the Iſle of Purbeck, on the coaſt of Dorſetſhire, on the 6th of January, 1786. *Compiled from the communications of Mr. Meriton and Mr. Rogers, the two chief officers, who eſcaped that dreadful cataſtrophe* [224
Extraordinary Gazette, reſpecting Margaret Nicholſon's attempt to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty [233
Letters written by the late King of Pruſſia, to the widow of Colonel Vantroſcke [234
Account of the trial of R. Fitzgerald, Eſq; and his aſſociates, at Caſtlebar, for the murder of P. R. McDonnell, Eſq; [235
Reſolutions of the Britiſh inhabitants at Calcutta, relative to Mr. Pitt's Eaſt India bill [241
A general bill of all the chriſtenings and burials in the cities of London, Weſtminſter, &c. for the year 1786 [244
Account of the quantities of all corn and grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the bounties and drawbacks paid, and the duties received thereon, for one year, ended 5*th January* 1787 [245
Prices of Stock for the year 1786 [247
Supplies granted by parliament, for the year 1786 [248
Ways and means for raiſing the ſupplies [251
Liſt of the national debt to the 5*th of January,* 1786 [252

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's ſpeech on opening the parliament, January 24*th,* 1786 [254
The humble addreſs of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, to the King; with his Majeſty's anſwer [255
The humble addreſs of the commons of Great Britain, to the King; with his Majeſty's anſwer [255
The ſpeech of the Duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to both houſes of parliament, on opening the ſeſſions there, January 19, 1786 [256
The ſpeech of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in Ireland to the lord lieutenant,

nant, on Tueſday March 21, on preſenting the money-bills at the bar of the houſe of lords — — — — — [257
The ſpeech of the lord lieutenant of Ireland to both houſes of parliament, on cloſing the ſeſſion, May 8, 1786 — — — [258
His Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, on cloſing the ſeſſion of parliament July 11, 1786 — — — — [259
The addreſs of the lord mayor, &c. of the city of London, Auguſt 11, 1786, on his Majeſty's happy eſcape from aſſaſſination; with his Majeſty's anſwer — — — — — [259
Treaty of alliance and commerce between Frederick III. King of Pruſſia and the United States of America, ratified by congreſs, May 7, 1786 — [260
Convention between his Britannic Majeſty and the King of Spain, ſigned at London, July 14, 1786 — — — [262
Treaty of commerce and navigation between his Britannic Majeſty and the Moſt Chriſtian King, ſigned at Verſailles, September 26, 1786 — [266
The Prince of Orange's letter to the States of the Province of Holland, ſent September 26, 1786, in anſwer to their notification of his ſuſpenſion from the office of captain general — — — [282
The King of Pruſſia's letter to the States General of the United Provinces, delivered September 18, 1786, by the Count de Goertz, his majeſty's envoy extraordinary — — — — [284
The memorial of the general meeting of Weſt India planters and merchants, delivered December 26, 1786 — — — [286
Tranſlation of the Emperor of Morocco's letter to the States of North America, relative to a treaty lately entered into by that emperor with the States [288
Fifth report of the commiſſioners of public accounts, relative to the balance in the hands of the paymaſter general of the forces in office — [288
Heads of the principal acts of parliament which paſſed in the ſeſſion of parliament commencing January 24, 1786 — — — [301

CHARACTERS.

Character of Dr. Samuel Johnſon; from Mrs. Piozzi's anecdotes concerning him — — — — — 1
Short account of the perſon and character of Peter II. Emperor of Ruſſia; and of his ſiſter the princeſs Nathalia; from Mrs. Vigor's additional Letters from Ruſſia, written during that emperor's reign — 3
Character of the Mogul Emperor, Shaw Aulum, eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor to the famous Aulumgeer Aurengzebe; from a tranſlation of the memoirs of Eradut Khan, a nobleman of Indoſtan, by Captain Jonathan Scott — 4
Characters of the four ſons of Shaw Aulum; from the ſame work 6
Account of the behaviour and conduct of Jehaundaur Shaw, after he became emperor — — — — — 7
Hiſtory and character of Lord Digby, by the Earl of Clarendon, from the Supplement to the third volume of his State Papers — — 9

CONTENTS.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Natural hiſtory of the different ſerpents in the Eaſt Indies; from Monſ. F. d'Obſonville's eſſays on the nature of various foreign animals, tranſlated by Mr. T. Holcroft — — — — — 45

Natural hiſtory of the Ichneumon; from the ſame work — 49

Natural hiſtory of the Thevangua, or Tatonneur, from the ſame work — 50

Particulars relative to the nature and cuſtoms of the Indians of North America, by Mr. Richard M^cCauſland — — — 52

Some particulars of the preſent ſtate of Mount Veſuvius; from a letter from Sir William Hamilton, K. B. F. R. S. to Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. — — — — — 55

Account of a new electrical fiſh; in a letter from Lieutenant William Paterſon, to Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. — — 57

Advertiſement of the expected return of the comet of 1532 *and* 1661 *in the year* 1788; *by the Rev. Nevil Maſkelyne, D. D. F. R. S. and aſtronomer royal* — — — — — 58

Obſervations on longevity, in a letter from Anthony Fothergill, M. D. F. R. S. to Dr. Percival — — — — 61

Reſult of ſome obſervations relative to army diſeaſes, made by Benjamin Ruſh, M. D. profeſſor of chemiſtry in the univerſity of Philadelphia, during his attendance as phyſician general of the military hoſpitals of the United States of America, in the late war — — — 70

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Obſervations on the uſe of acids in bleaching of linen, by Dr. Eaſon — 73

Experiments and obſervations on ferments and fermentations, by which a mode of exciting fermentation in malt liquors, without the aid of yeaſt, is pointed out, with an attempt to form a new theory of that proceſs; by Thomas Henry, F. R. S. — — — — — 74

A view of Kentiſh agriculture, by the Rev. Mr. Hill, of Eaſt Malling, Kent; being his anſwers to the queries propoſed to him by the Bath Agriculture Society — — — — 83

Culture, expences, and produce of ſix acres of potatoes, being a fair part of near twenty acres, raiſed by John Billingſley, Eſq; — 86

Account of the origin, progreſs, and regulations, with a deſcription of the newly-eſtabliſhed bridewell or penitentiary-houſe at Wymondham; by Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart. — — — — 87

On the uſe of ſteeping ſeed-barley in a dry ſeaſon; by Mr. James Chapple 93

Account of a new kind of cement, peculiarly hard and laſting, made from ſome red earth or puzzolana, found in Jamaica — — 94

CONTENTS.

ANTIQUITIES.

Deſcription of Thebes; ſtate of that city under the Perſian, Roman, and Turkiſh emperors; the porticos, &c. of the great temple near Carnac; the plain of Carnac, leading to Luxor; remains of the temple of Luxor; the magnificent obeliſks, &c. deſcribed. From the tranſlation of Monſ. Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. ii. — — 97
A viſit to the tombs of the kings of Thebes; ſarcophagi, &c. deſcribed; obſervations on the grand temple; parts of a prodigious coloſſal figure found among theſe ruins; the ruins of Memnonium, denoted by heaps of marble, &c. either mutilated or ſunk in the earth; from the ſame work — 102
Dr. Glaſs's letter to William Marſden, Eſq; on the affinity of certain words in the language of the Sandwich and Friendly Iſles in the Pacific Ocean, with the Hebrew — — — — 107
Obſervations on a picture by Zuccaro, from Lord Falkland's collection, ſuppoſed to repreſent the game of Primero; by the Hon. Daines Barrington 109
Obſervations on the antiquity of card-playing in England; by the ſame 110

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The hot baths uſed all over Egypt, and the manner of bathing deſcribed, with obſervations on the benefits ariſing from them; on the women who bathe once or twice a week; and compariſons between theſe baths and thoſe of the ancient Greeks. From Monſ. Savary's Letters on Egypt — 118
An account of the Almai, or Egyptian Improviſatore, their education, dancing, muſic, and the paſſionate delight the natives take in theſe actreſſes; from the ſame work — — — — 121
Some account of the private life of the Egyptian women, their inclinations, &c.; the manner in which they educate their children; and their cuſtom of weeping over their kindred; from the ſame work — — 124
Curious account of the chicken-ovens in Egypt; from the ſame work — 128
Account of the Krimea; from the Gentleman's Magazine — — 129
Taciturnity, an apologue, tranſlated from the French of Abbé Blanchet 134

POETRY.

Ode for the new year 1786, by the Rev. T. Warton — 136
Ode for his Majeſty's birth-day, June 4, 1786, by the ſame — — 138
Verſes ſuppoſed to be written by Alexander Selkirk, during his ſolitary abode in the iſland of Juan Fernandez; by W. Cowper, Eſq; — — 140
Report of an adjudged caſe, not to be found in any of the books; by the ſame 141
Ode to Edmund Malone, Eſq; from the Gentleman's Magazine — 142
Prologue to the Heireſs, by the Right Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick — 144

CONTENTS.

Epilogue to the ſame — — — — — 145
Pathetic apology for all laureats, paſt, preſent, and to come; by W. Whitehead, Eſq; late poet laureat — — — — 146
Sonnet from Petrarch; by Charlotte Smith — — 149
Another; by the ſame — — — — 149
A parody on "Bleſt as th' immortal Gods is he;" ſaid to be written by the Hon. Henry Erſkine — — — — 150
Lines to Edmund Hopkins, Eſq; by David Garrick, Eſq; — — 150
Epigram on the phraſe "Killing Time;" by Voltaire — — 151
Epitaph on Sir William Draper, K. B. by C. Anſtey, Eſq; — 151
Anacreontique, addreſſed, in a far country, to a once new year — 152
Portrait of a provincial poet, drawn from the life, above forty years ago 153

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1786.

The Hiſtory of Ancient Greece, its colonies, and conqueſts, from the earlieſt accounts till the diviſion of the Macedonian empire in the Eaſt; including the hiſtory of literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts, in 2 vols. By John Gillies, LL. D. — — — — 154
An account of State Papers, collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. *folio* — — — — — — 159
Sixth Report of the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts; omitted by miſtake in the State Papers — — — — 175

FINIS.

20328

NOT TO BE TAKEN
FROM THIS ROOM.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
004559

Case D 2 .A55 1786 20328

The Annual register, a
review of public events
home and abroad